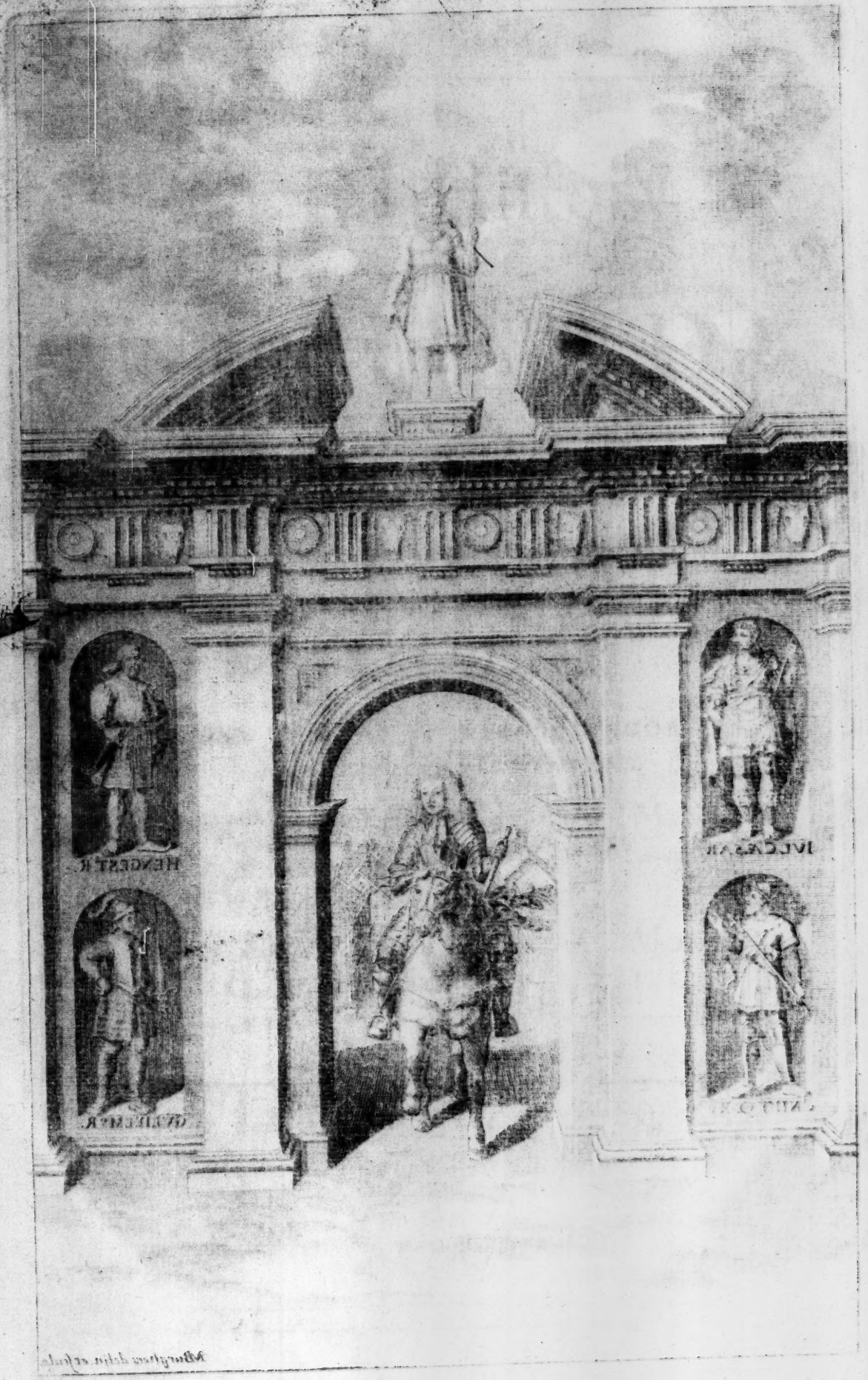

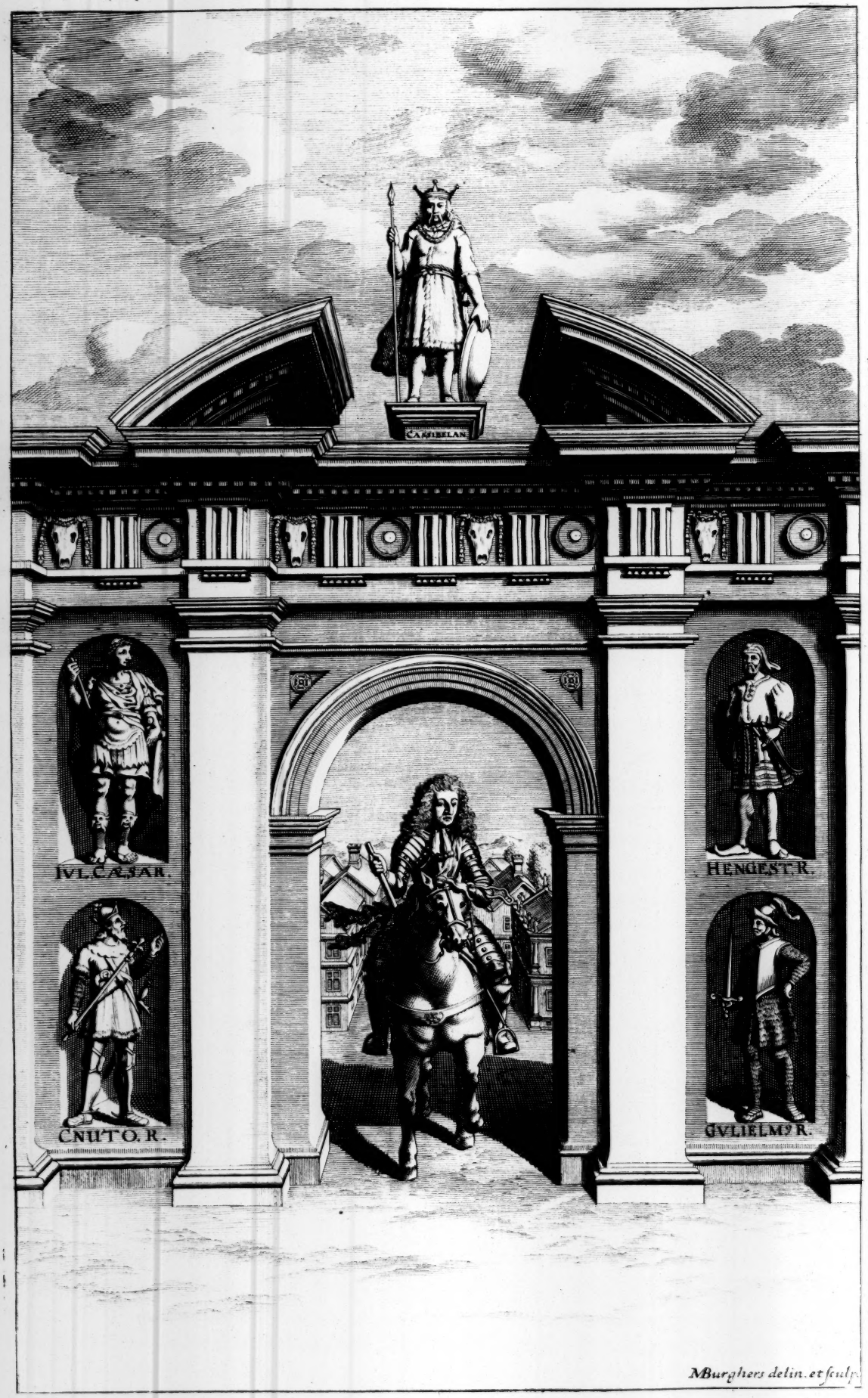
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THE

General History

OF

ENGLAND,

AS WELL

Eccleſiaſtical as Civil,

From the Earlieſt Accounts of Time,

To the Reign of his Preſent Majeſty

King *WILLIAM.*

Taken from the moſt ANTIENT RECORDS, MANUSCRIPTS, and HISTORIANS.

Containing the LIVES of the KINGS, and MEMORIALS of the moſt EMINENT PERSONS both in CHURCH and STATE:

With the Foundations of the NOTED MONASTERIES, and both the UNIVERSITIES.

VOL. I.

By *JAMES TYRRELL*, Eſq;

LONDON,

Printed for Henry Rhodes in *Fleetſtreet*, John Dunton in *Jewenſtreet*, John Salusbury in *Cornhil*, and John Harris in *Little-Britain*.

MDCXCVI.

THE

General History

OF

ENGLAND,

AS WELL

Ecclesiastical as Civil.

To the Right Honourable

THOMAS

Earl of Pembroke *and* Montgomery;

Baron Herbert *of* Caerdiff; *Lord* Roſſe, Par, Marmion, St. Quintin *and* Shurland;

Lord Privy-Seal; *Lord Lieutenant of the County of* Wilts, *and* South-Wales; *and*

One of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council.

My Lord,

IT having been uſual to dedicate Works of publick Uſe and Benefit to great Perſons, eminent for Vertue, Learning and Nobility, I think my ſelf happy under the Obligation of that Cuſtom; ſince it ſomewhat excuſes, as well as encourages my Preſumption, to lay this Performance at your Lordſhip's Feet.

I am ſure it could not be honoured with a more agreeable Name:

A Name ſo univerſally known, that all Men acknowledg your Lordſhip to be ſignally endued with thoſe excellent Qualities, which render you not only a great Maſter in the moſt uſeful Parts of Learning, but likewiſe incline you to a generous Encouragement of all thoſe who have any pretence to them. Which Favour, your Lordſhip having been pleaſed to confer on me, among ſeveral others of greater Merit, gives me the more Confidence to addreſs this firſt Volume of our Engliſh Hiſtory to your Lordſhip's Patronage: for as no Perſon hath been more converſant in things of this Nature than your ſelf; ſo I know none more able to make a right Judgment of them.

And tho I will not affirm this to be an Exact Hiſtory according to the ſtrict Rules of Art, yet if I were conſcious to my ſelf, that it was wholly unworthy your Acceptance, I ſhould derogate very much from that Reſpect which is ſo juſtly due to your Lordſhip's Character.

But if the not Writing any thing which I did not believe to be true, nor the concealing any thing uſeful to the World, that is ſo, might qualify me for an Hiſtorian, perhaps then I may have ſome pretence to that Title. However, your Lordſhip will here meet with a faithful Account of all the chief Actions and Revolutions, that have

have happened in this Kingdom down to the *Norman William.* As firſt, the Conqueſt the *Romans* made of that part of *Britain* we now call *England*; then their quitting it after a long Poſſeſſion, in order to ſecure their Empire at Home from the Inſults of ſo many barbarous Nations: after which followed the calling in of the *Saxons* to aſſiſt the *Britains.* And laſtly, from the formers quarrelling with the latter, enſued their total Expulſion out of the beſt and moſt fertile parts of this Iſland.

As for the Invaſions by the *Danes* under King *Cnute*, and by the *Normans* under King *William*, commonly called the *Conqueror*; though it muſt be granted, that theſe Princes were victorious by their Arms, yet was not this Nation ſubdued by either of them ſo entirely, as that its Submiſſions could properly be ſtiled Conqueſts, but rather Acquiſitions gained by thoſe Princes upon certain Compacts between them and the People of *England*; both Parties ſtanding obliged in ſolemn Oaths, mutually to perform their parts of the Agreement, as will be clearly ſeen in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

Yet I doubt not but in theſe great Revolutions, your Lordſhip will take notice, that the People of this Kingdom were never overcome by Strangers, till their Luxury ſoftning their warlike Tempers, and producing a careleſs Adminiſtration of their Affairs, had made them an eaſy Prey to their Invaders: This I obſerve not to reproach,

but

but to warn our Nation, leſt by the like Miſcarriages they ſhould incur the like Puniſhments.

I have now no more, but to beg your Lordſhip's Acceptance of this Dedication, as a Tribute juſtly yours, by reaſon of thoſe great Obligations, for your ſo freely communicating to me ſome part of your uncommon Knowledg, whenever I have had the Happineſs of your excellent Converſation;

An Honour, which engages me to own my ſelf, with the utmoſt Reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble and

moſt obedient Servant,

James Tyrrell.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

THO it hath been a general Complaint of the moſt Learned and Judicious Men of this Nation, that we have extreamly wanted an exact Body of Engliſh Hiſtory in our own Language, for the Inſtruction and Benefit of our Nobility and Gentry, together with others who would be glad to underſtand by it the Original Conſtitutions and Laws of their own Country; yet ſince perhaps ſome ordinary Readers may be inclined to think this Work unneceſſary, becauſe it hath been already performed by ſo many different Hands; I ſhall therefore in the firſt Place ſay ſomewhat to obviate and remove this ſeeming Objection.

THOSE that are any thing converſant in our Hiſtorians, do know that the Writers in Engliſh, eſpecially of this Period now publiſh'd, are not many. As for Caxton, Fabian, and others of leſs Note, (who are very ſhort, and now read but by few) I ſhall paſs them by, and only mention Grafton and Hollingſhead, the former of whom lived in the Reign of Henry VIII. and the latter in that of Queen Elizabeth. And of theſe I need not ſay much: for tho they contain a great deal of Matter, very curious and fit to be known, eſpecially relating to the Times wherein they lived, yet not only their dry and uncouth way of Writing, and dwelling ſo long on the exploded Fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but the ſtuffing of their Hiſtories with divers mean and trivial Relations unworthy the Dignity of their Subject, have rendred their Labours tedious, and in a great meaſure unuſeful to their Readers.

BUT as for Stow and Speed, who wrote in the time of King James the Firſt, 'tis true the former of them is not ſo long and tireſom in Geoffrey's Stories, as thoſe abovementioned; and it muſt be confeſſed that Mr. Speed was the firſt Engliſh Writer, who, ſlighting Geoffrey's Tales, immediately fell upon more ſolid Matter; giving us a large Account of the Hiſtory of this Iſland during the Time of the Roman Emperors, and Engliſh Saxon Kings; and had he not, by making his Reader follow thoſe Emperors in all their Foreign Wars and Expeditions, wherein Britain was no way concerned, he had rendred his Work leſs Irkſome, and more Profitable than now it is.

BUT notwithſtanding both theſe Writers had many choice Collections of Noble Manuſcripts relating to our Engliſh Hiſtory, and might have had the View of ſeveral others if they would have been at the Pains of ſeeking af-

ter them; yet it must be owned they did not make that Improvement of those Opportunities as might have been expected from such great Assistances; there being not much to be found material in either of them, but what was in the other Histories before published: though this must be allowed in their Commendation, that they are both of them (especially the former) commonly right in their Chronologies, *and the latter has given us a choice Collection of the Antient Coins of the* Roman *Emperors, as well as of the* English Saxon *Kings; and has been also more exact than any other Writer, in his Account of their Wives and Issue.*

AND as for those who wrote in the Time of K. Charles *the* First, *viz. Mr.* Daniel, *and Sir* Richard Baker; *the Relations they have afforded us of those Kings, are rather short Abstracts of their Reigns, than just Histories, it not being their Design to write at large of that Period we here treat of.*

BUT since the Restoration of K. Charles *the* Second, *there are several who have undertaken this Province, the first of whom was Mr.* Milton; *and it must be acknowledged, that he wrote this* English Saxon *History with Judgment, though not with that Diligence and Exactness as we may see he did his other Works of a different Nature; since either through want of Opportunity to consult Antient Manuscripts, (several of which have been published since he wrote) or else by not making use of those Authors he might have had, and by confining himself too much to the relating of Military Matters, and almost wholly neglecting Ecclesiastical affairs, or looking into those things which he by way of Contempt called* Cathedral Registers; *as also by omitting the giving us any Account of the Antient* Saxon *Laws, and* Original Constitutions *of this Kingdom; he has thereby rendred that Work much more dry and imperfect than otherwise no doubt it would have been from such a Pen as his.*

THE next that succeeded him in this Labour was Mr. Sammes, *who had a fair Opportunity of improving his History, by amending Mr.* Milton's *Omissions; but instead of this, by indulging himself too much in the Relation of, and giving Credit to* Geoffrey *of* Monmouth, *and* White *(that called himself* Basingstoke) *their old Stories, and by making long and unnecessary Excursions on the Antiquity and Original of the* Greeks, Romans *and* Saxons, *as likewise of their Religion and Manners (things altogether foreign to this Subject) tho he hath shewn a great deal of Reading, yet having been all the while very short in* that *which ought to have been the main Business of his History, he hath thereby spoiled a Noble Design.*

'TIS true, the Learned Dr. Howell, *in the second and third Volumes of his General History, hath given us a faithful Account of the Affairs of* Britain, *from the Coming in of the* Romans, *as far as the* Norman Conquest; *and hath also a very elaborate Discourse of their Civil Polity and Laws: and had that Work been done by it self, and not involved in such large Volumes, (but written in a more Chronological Method) and had he not laid the History of each Kingdom of the* English Saxon Heptarchy *separately and apart, which makes him often guilty of divers unnecessary Repetitions; that Work would have proved much more useful than now it is: which being observed by many others besides my self, hath caused a certain Clergy-man (as I hear) to undertake the Epitomizing of that whole Work, which would be very useful to those ordinary Readers who cannot well purchase these larger Volumes.*

BUT since these Learned and Ingenious Authors have in some Point or other here mentioned been deficient in this Undertaking, I found it requisite

(for

(for the making a full and compleat Hiſtory of the Affairs contained in this Volume) rather wholly to erect a new Edifice, than to be at the Trouble of altering of theirs; and therefore have thought it neceſſary to draw this Work afreſh from the ſame Originals from which they had taken theirs. To which I have alſo added ſeveral other material Paſſages, that either they wanted the Happineſs of ſeeing, or elſe would not be at the Pains and Expence I have been at to peruſe; not but that I muſt own my ſelf much beholding to them for divers Choice Remarks and Obſervations; which, not to be thought guilty of Plagiary, I have noted in the Margin by the Initial Letters of their Names; and have likewiſe ſometimes taken their Tranſlations of a few diverting Legends or Stories, to ſpare my ſelf the Trouble of making them anew: and even theſe I have alſo compared with the Originals, and corrected the Stile, as well as the Senſe, in divers Places.

BUT I cannot here omit taking notice (among other Writers) of the firſt Part of Dr. Brady's *compleat Hiſtory of* England, *which, tho it comprehends the ſame Period of Time as this we now preſent you with; yet ſeeing he hath there rather choſen to give us an Account of the Political Government, and Laws of the* German *and* Engliſh Saxons, *than to write an Entire Hiſtory of thoſe Times; I beg his Pardon, if I do not take it as to that part for ſo* compleat a Hiſtory *as he is pleaſed to intitle it: however, it muſt be confeſſed he hath taken much Pains, and ſhewn a great deal of reading in that Volume; and I could have wiſhed I might have been able to ſay, he had been alſo as careful of the juſt Rights and Liberties of his Country, (which he has done all he can to depreſs) as he has been* in aſſerting an Imaginary Right of *Lineal Succeſſion* in our Kings long before the Conqueſt; and that before that time as well as after, the Commons had no Repreſentatives in Parliament; *both which Aſſertions we ſhall make bold to examine in our enſuing Introduction. And (tho I have otherwiſe a great Value for his Learning, yet) I hope neither he himſelf, nor any one elſe who has a real Concern for the publick Good, will take it amiſs if I differ from him, where the Truth of our Hiſtory, as well as our Antient Laws and Conſtitutions will juſtify me, in contradicting ſome Aſſertions, which he has with ſo great an Aſſurance publiſhed to the World.*

AND thus having acquainted you with the Defects of theſe Writers in their ſeveral Undertakings, and the Reaſons why it was neceſſary to compile a new Hiſtory; I ſhall now ſhew you what Method I have followed, and what Authors I have made uſe of, in the Performance of it.

AS for the firſt *Book, it is no other than an* Epitome *of* Geoffrey *of* Monmouth's *pretended* Britiſh *Hiſtory; and if it had not been more for the Diverſion of the younger ſort of Readers, and that the Work would have been thought by ſome others to be imperfect without it, I ſhould have been much better ſatisfied in wholly omitting it; yet I hope it will neither prove tedious nor unuſeful, ſince it may ſometimes be of Advantage to know Legends as well as true Hiſtory; or elſe which way can one tell how to paſs a juſt Cenſure on them?*

NOR can we poſitively affirm, that every thing contained in that Book of his is abſolutely falſe; for he, being a Perſon well vers'd in the Hiſtory of his own Country, could not but give us all he knew concerning it, though interſperſed with ſo many notorious Fables of his own, which he ſeemeth to have interwoven, the better to connect thoſe broken Remains of old Times: But ſince no Man can eaſily at this diſtance diſtinguiſh Truth from Falſhood,

Falſhood, he ought to be dealt with as we do with thoſe who would impoſe counterfeit Coin upon us; in refuſing the whole Sum, where the greateſt part of it is ſo plainly diſcernable to be falſe.

HERE by the way I muſt ingenuouſly own a ſmall Miſtake I have committed in the firſt Book of this Volume; where ſpeaking ſomewhat in Defence of this Author, that he was not the firſt Inventor of the Story of Brutus, *it being alſo found in* Nennius *who lived long before him, and from whom I then ſuppoſed* Henry *of* Huntingdon *to have borrowed it; I now perceive upon better Information, that* Geoffrey *and* H. Huntingdon *were not only Cotemporaries, but the latter in that part of his* Engliſh *Hiſtory ſtill in Manuſcript,* (viz. *in the Second of his Epiſtle, dedicated to one* Gwarin *a Britiſh or Welſh Nobleman*) *confeſſes, that in his Journey to* Rome, *ſtaying ſome time by the Way at the Abbey of* Bec, *he there found a large Book of this* Geoffrey's, (*whom he alſo calls* Arthur) *who had copiouſly and diligently wrote the* Britiſh *Hiſtory; though in the common printed Copies we find no more, than that travelling to the Place abovementioned, he had there met with a certain Volume, in which were divers things relating to the* Britiſh *Hiſtory not before known, but yet without naming the Author.*

THIS I thought good to advertiſe the Reader of, becauſe thoſe Sheets were wrought off before ever I was ſenſible of my Miſtake.

AS for my ſecond *Book, I can only tell you it is a true and juſt Tranſlation of the* Britiſh *Hiſtory from all the* Greek *and* Roman *Authors I could meet with that have treated of it; from whom alſo I have given you a Deſcription of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Antient* Britains: *and tho I grant this has been already attempted by one* Daniel Rodgers, *whoſe Papers are in the* Cottonian *Library, and is fully performed by Mr.* Camden *in his Introduction to his* Britannia, *and likewiſe by Mr.* Speed *before his Hiſtory; yet I have my ſelf compared them with the Originals, and added ſome Remarks, which I thought were further neceſſary to be known.*

I have begun this Part with Cæſar's *Relation, as I found it in his Commentaries concerning his two Expeditions into* Britain; *and have ended with the laſt of the* Greek *and* Roman *Hiſtorians, viz.* Zoſimus, Oroſius, *and* Aurelius Victor.

AND whereas others who have undertaken this Province, have uſed the Liberty of Epitomizing or enlarging thoſe Paſſages they have cited from the Greek *and* Latin *Authors; I have thought fit faithfully to tranſlate them, except in ſome of their long-winded Orations; which, to avoid Prolixity, I thought it better to abridg, as not believing thoſe Orations to have been deliver'd in thoſe Circumſtances in which they are now dreſs'd.*

AND tho I do not pretend to have added much to what Mr. Camden *and Mr.* Milton *have already collected from thoſe Writers relating to the Hiſtory of* Britain; *yet I hope I have from ſeveral Verſes of the Poet* Claudian, *as alſo by the Aſſiſtance of thoſe great Maſters in Antiquity, the Lord Primate* Uſher, *the Reverend Dr.* Stillingfleet, *now Lord Biſhop of* Worceſter, *and Dr.* Lloyd, *now Lord Biſhop of* Coventry *and* Litchfield, *not only illuſtrated, but ſettled divers things relating to that part of our Eccleſiaſtical, as well as Civil Affairs, not commonly taken notice of before.*

IN the beginning of the third *Book, I have from Mr.* Sheringham's *Treatiſe* De Origine Gentis Anglorum, *as alſo from other Authors, given you, in order to our* Engliſh Saxon *Hiſtory, a more Exact Account of the Original of thoſe Nations, which (when they came over into* England) *were comprehended*

prehended under the General Name of Saxons, *than hath been hitherto publiſhed in our own Language.*

AFTER which I have given you a Relation of the Manner of their coming over hither, and the Ground and Occaſion of their quarrelling with the Britains, *from* Gildas, Bede *and* Nennius.

BUT as for the Time of their erecting themſelves into an Heptarchy, *ſince it is not to be learnt from* Bede, *who is wholly ſilent of what the* Saxons *did here from their firſt entrance to the Propagation of Chriſtianity, which he made it his Buſineſs chiefly to treat of; I have taken it from the* Saxon Annals, *as well as other later Authors that have mentioned any thing of it; though as to the whole Period of Time contained in this Book, it muſt be confeſſed it was when Letters were not in uſe amongſt them, and therefore could only be convey'd down by Tradition, which makes us here be beholding to the Annals abovementioned, or to ſome Antient Memoirs, which tho now loſt, were certainly ſeen by thoſe Writers, who have gathered from them.*

INDEED I was ſomewhat perplexed what Method to take in digeſting the Hiſtory of ſeven concurring Kingdoms; ſince, which way ſo ever I engaged, I found it attended with ſome Inconveniences.

WILLIAM *of* Malmesbury, *and ſeveral other Authors, as well in* Latin *as* Engliſh, *I know thought it beſt to give us this Hiſtory digeſted under each reſpective Kingdom apart; but then there is this Exception againſt that way of Writing, that without Chronological Tables, or frequent turning backward and forward, one cannot underſtand the* Synchroniſms *of the ſeveral Kings Reigns, or the Time wherein they lived, ſo as to compare them with others their Cotemporaries.*

BESIDES which, there is alſo a neceſſity of an unneceſſary Repetition of the ſame Wars or Tranſactions, as well under the Hiſtory of the King that made, as of him who ſuffered that Invaſion; this appeareth in Speed, *and* Dr. Howel. *'Tis true, Mr.* Speed *thought of a good Method to help this, by ſuppoſing ſo many ſucceſſive Monarchs to have been always in* England, *from the Time of* Hengeſt *to K.* Egbert, *under whoſe ſeveral Reigns he alſo reduces whatſoever Actions happened in the reſt of all the other ſubordinate Kings then Regnant. This I confeſs had been a very good Expedient to avoid the Difficulties abovementioned, were it as juſt as it ſeems ſpecious: but upon Examination it will be found, that tho* Bede *as well as the* Saxon Annals, *have given us a Series of all thoſe Supream Kings, whom ſome of the Modern Writers are pleaſed to call Monarchs; yet, as I have ſufficiently ſhewn in this enſuing Hiſtory, they could by no means deſerve that Title; ſince it may be clearly ſeen by any one who will peruſe Mr.* Speed, *that there were ſometimes Intervals of ten or twenty Years, before ſuch a victorious Prince could make all the reſt by the Terror of his Arms ſubmit themſelves to him; which yet they never all did till the Reign of King* Egbert, *without preſerving entire all their Royal Rights and Prerogatives over their own Subjects.*

AND beſides, this Power owing its Original wholly to Force, and not to a Lineal *Succeſſion or Election over the reſt of thoſe Princes upon whom it was uſurped, was without any Juſt or Legal Right, and conſequently laſted no longer than the Succeſs, or at fartheſt the Life-time of ſuch a Conquering Prince; and then it was for a time Extinct, until ſome other of the Seven by the like ſucceſs of his Arms, could ſet up for the ſame Power and Greatneſs.*

SO that at length we found, that the beſt way of Writing this Hiſtory was to follow the plain and natural Method of our Saxon Annals, *not only as the moſt eaſy for our ſelves, but alſo for the Reader.*

AND tho perhaps an Objection may be made againſt this Method, viz. *That the crowding of ſo many different Actions done in ſeveral Places, and under ſeveral Kings, renders the Work perplexed and difficult to be remembred, which I grant is in part true; yet to obviate this, I have at the end of each of the enſuing Books (except the laſt) preſented you with exact Chronological Tables, not only of the Names of all the Kings contained under each Period, but alſo in what Year of our Lord they began and ended their Reigns; ſo that the Reader by caſting his Eye upon any one of them, may eaſily find what Kings lived and reigned together, and conſequently in which of their Reigns any Action related in the Hiſtory was performed. And now,*

TO come to the fourth *Book,* Bede *being the moſt antient Author that gives us an Account of what was done in this Period, and out of whom the* Saxon Annals *themſelves have borrowed almoſt the greateſt part of what they relate, concerning thoſe early Times of Chriſtianity; I have therefore wholly confined my ſelf to him, without having recourſe to theſe* Annals, *or any other, unleſs it be where I find they relate any Action of which he has been wholly ſilent. But in this Period, I cannot but mention* Stephen Eddi, *or* Heddi, *a Monk; who, as* Bede *tells, was one of the firſt Maſters for Singing in the* Northumbrian *Churches; and having been invited by* Wilfred *Archbiſhop of* York *out of* Kent *for that purpoſe, had ſo great a Veneration for his Memory, that he wrote his Life in Latin, in a Stile ſomewhat better than could be expected from that Age: this Treatiſe having continued in Manuſcript in the Library of Sir* Jo. Cotton, *and alſo of that of* Salisbury, *has lately been publiſhed by the Learned Dr.* Gale, *in his laſt Volume of* Engliſh *Writers; and to which I muſt own my ſelf beholding for many choice Paſſages relating to the Eccleſiaſtical, as well as Civil State in thoſe Times: this Author flouriſh'd cotemporary with* Bede, *in the Reign of* Oſric *King of* Northumberland, *and died about* Anno Dom. 720.

BUT indeed as for the laſt forty Years, or thereabouts, viz. *from the Time when* Bede *ceaſed to write, which was* Anno Dom. 637. *we have been forced to make uſe of the* Annals, *or elſe of thoſe of later Writers that have made any Additions to them.*

WHICH Annals, *ſince I found them the Store-houſe, or Repoſitory, from whence moſt (if not all) of our* Latin *Hiſtorians, as well thoſe that wrote before, as ſince the Conqueſt, have borrowed the earlieſt Accounts of our* Engliſh Saxon *Affairs; I have by the advice of Perſons of much greater Learning and Judgment than my ſelf, rather choſe to tranſlate and give you them almoſt entire, as I find them in the Edition lately publiſhed, than to (do as moſt other Writers) cite them at ſecond Hand; not that I have omitted ſetting down whatſoever any other Authors have added to theſe* Annals *by way of Improvement or Illuſtration.*

WHEREFORE to avoid ſtuffing my Margins with unneceſſary Quotations, I deſire my Reader once for all, to obſerve, that whereſoever he ſhall find the Lines Comma'd, *(unleſs they be before ſome Speeches or Laws) they always denote the* Saxon Annals, *whether expreſly mentioned or not, as alſo in all other places, tho not* Comma'd, *where no other Writer is cited.*

BUT if ſome think I have inſerted too many Names of Authors into the Body of this Hiſtory, and that it had been better omitted there, and put into the Margin, or bottom of the Pages; to this I anſwer, that intending faithfully to tranſlate theſe Annals, *and to make ſuch frequent uſe of them as I have done, there could be no way to diſtinguiſh them from other Writers, but either by Letters in the Margin, or elſe by ſetting them in a different Character.*

racter. But as the former would have been a conſtant and unſightly clog to the Margin, ſo the other would have looked as unhandſome in the Body, and eſpecially at the latter end of the Work, where theſe Annals alone take up ſeveral whole Pages.

AND tho in my Citations of Authors I have ſeldom quoted the Page, yet having taken what I write from thoſe who have wrote in a Chronological Method, the Reader by turning to the Years of our Lord, may eaſily find what he looks for, making ſome ſmall allowance for different Accounts; and where other Authors have not taken that Courſe, I have there quoted the Chapter or Book, and in matters of greater Moment the very Page.

BUT that even the Annals themſelves do vary from each other in Account of Time, often one, and ſometimes two or three Years, that is to be aſcribed either to the fault of the ſeveral Amanuenſes, or elſe to the different Calculations of thoſe Monks, who drew them up in the Form we now have them, as any may eaſily perceive that will give himſelf the Trouble to compare the various Readings of the ſeveral Copies of theſe Annals, lately publiſhed at Oxford by the Ingenious Mr. Edmund Gibſon.

IN the fifth and ſixth Books, as I have endeavoured faithfully to tranſlate the ſame Annals, ſo I have alſo uſed that Liberty, as not ſlaviſhly to confine my ſelf to the very Words themſelves, when either the Obſcurity or Uncouthneſs of the Phraſe would not bear a literal Tranſlation, but I thought I could give them a better turn.

AND here, as alſo in the two preceding Books, I have often added by way of Illuſtration to the Text, the preſent proper Names of Places in a Parentheſis immediately after the obſolete Saxon ones, as alſo the Titles of the Ealdormen, or Earls, Biſhops and Abbots, out of Florence of Worceſter, and other Authors, where the Annals have only given their bare Names, without telling us to what Places they belonged; and here likewiſe I would note, That in all Saxon words, where the Letter (C) is made uſe of, it is always pronounced like (K), there being no K in that Language. And as for the Saxon Names of Men made uſe of in the Annals, I have as near as I could faithfully kept to the Saxon Original, tho they often differ very much in their way and manner of ſpelling them from that of thoſe Latin Authors that tranſlate them.

HAVING thus given you a ſhort Account of the ſeveral Books into which I have divided this Volume, I will now proceed to acquaint you with the reſt of my Authors from whom I have collected it; nor will I give you only their Names, which has been done by ſo many already, but a brief Cenſure of them and their Works, and in what Time they wrote, being ſuch as lived either before or after the Conqueſt: Of the former ſort there are but few, ſince from Bede to Aſſer. Menev. there flouriſh'd no general Hiſtorian; for William of Malmsbury himſelf confeſſes, that after Bede, all liberal Studies more and more declining, thoſe that followed ſpent their Lives in Idleneſs or Silence: yet during even that Period, there were ſome Writers of this kind, viz. certain Monks in the greater Monaſteries, whoſe buſineſs it was to ſet down in ſhort, by way of Annals, the moſt remarkable Paſſages of their own Times in their own Language; nay, Learning was in that King's Reign fallen to ſo low an Ebb, that even King Alfred tells us in his Preface to the Saxon Verſion of Gregory's Paſtoral, That "in the "beginning of his Reign, there were few on this ſide Humber who could "underſtand their own Prayers, much leſs turn a piece of Latin into Eng- "liſh, and where then were our ſuppoſed flouriſhing Univerſities? *Vid.* Append. 3. ad vit. Alfredi.

AND

AND I shall here begin with Asserius Menevensis, *who was so called because he was a Monk of* Menevia *or* St. Davids. *This was he who being sent for by King* Alfred *out of* Wales, *assisted him in his Studies, and besides taught his Children, and others of the Nobility,* Latin: *after this King* Alfred *sent him with others to fetch* Grimbald *out of* Flanders *into* England; *and after the Schools were opened at* Oxford, *the latter there professed Divinity, and the former Grammar and Rhetorick, as you may find in the* Annals *of* Hyde, *cited in the ensuing History.*

Vid. Gotcelin in vit. Grimbaldi.

THIS Monk, being Learned above the Age in which he lived, first wrote the Annals *that go under his Name; which having long continued in the* Cottonian *and other Libraries in Manuscript, have been lately published by the Learned Dr.* Gale, *in his last Volume of Historians printed at* Oxon. *After these* Annals, *it is certain* Asser *also wrote the whole History of King* Alfred's *Life, under the Title of* de Gestis Regis Ælfredi, *which were first published by the Reverend Arch-bishop* Parker, *in* Saxon *Characters, according to the Copy now in the* Cottonian *Library, and was also again put out by Mr.* Camden *in another Edition at* Frankford. *But it must be confessed there is some difference between these two Copies concerning the University of* Oxford, *which is taken notice of in this Work in its proper Place; but that the* Annals *abovementioned were written before his History of King* Alfred's *Life, is plain, for he there refers you to those* Annals, *which he has also inserted in the Life almost word for word. But tho the former of these is continued to the Death of King* Alfred, *and the latter as far as the* 14th *Year of the Reign of K.* Edward *the* Elder: *yet it is evident that he himself wrote neither the one nor the other after the Year* 893, *being the* 45th *of King* Alfred's *Age; and this appears from the Life it self, in which the Author particularly mentions it, nor could he extend the* Annals *any farther, because they were written before he wrote the Life. This I observe to let the Reader understand, that whatever he finds farther in the* Annals *or* Life, *(the Substance of both which I have given him in this Volume) were continued by some other Hand; and as for the* Annals *they sufficiently declare it; for towards the latter end, under* Anno Dom. 909. *you may meet with this Passage,* hoc Anno Asserius Episcopus Scireburnensis obiit, *which was no other than our Author himself: yet this must be farther observed of him, that he was so extreamly negligent in his Account of Time, that he begins the first Year of King* Alfred's *Reign, sometimes at one Year of our Lord, and sometimes at another, so that no Man can tell by him when it commenced.*

Page 491. Edit. Camden.

BUT why he left off Writing so many Years before King Alfred *died, and never finish'd his Life though he survived him nine Years, I confess I know not; unless being preferred, about the Time when he had finish'd it, to the Bishoprick of* Shireburne, *he left the King's Service, and going to reside at his own* See *had other Business on his Hands than Writing. And that the same* Asser *who taught King* Alfred, *was also by him made Bishop of* Shireburne, *appears from this King's Preface to the* Saxon *Translation of St.* Gregorie's *Pastoral, in which he tells you, he was assisted by* Plegmund *his Archbishop, and* Asser *his Bishop, to whom the said King in his Will, (after the Archbishop and some other Bishops) bequeathed a* 100 *Marks, by the Title of* Asser *Bishop of* Shireburne: *from whence it is manifest, that the same Person who was King* Alfred's *Instructor, was also Bishop of* Shireburne; *which Bishoprick was certainly bestowed on him after he had done Writing, since tho he mentions the Abbeys of* Banwell, Ambresbury, *and* Exceter, *to have*

have been beſtowed upon him by the King, yet he is utterly ſilent of his being made Biſhop, which he would not ſurely have omitted, if he had been then ſo preferred; but how long he held this Biſhoprick we can ſay little poſitively, becauſe we do not find when it was firſt given him; but as for the time of his Death, not only the Annals *that go under his Name, but the* Saxon *Chronicle alſo, places it under* Anno 909. *So that I think there can be no reaſonable cauſe to doubt of that.*

BUT what ſhould lead ſuch a careful Chronographer as Florence *of* Worceſter *into ſo great a Miſtake, as to place this Biſhop's Death under* Anno 883, *I know not, unleſs he had ſome other Copies of the* Saxon Annals *by him than are now extant, but the* Faſti *of the* Saxon *Kings and Biſhops publiſh'd by Sir* H. Savil, *at the end of* William *of* Malmesbury, *and other Writers are guilty of the like Miſtake, making this* Aſſer *to have ſucceeded* Sighelm *Biſhop of* Shireburn, *and to have died* Anno 883; *whereas it appears from our* Annals, *that* Sighelm *(whom* William *of* Malmesbury *makes to be the ſame Perſon with the Biſhop abovementioned) this very Year carried King* Alfred's *Alms to* Rome, *and afterwards went himſelf as far as* India: *however this Miſtake of* Florence, *as alſo the pretended Authority of our* Welſh *Chronicle, hath (as I ſuppoſe) led divers other Learned Men (and particularly Biſhop* Godwin, *and Arch-biſhop* Uſher) *into a Belief of two* Aſſers *both Biſhops, the one of whom died* Anno 883, *and the other to have been Arch-biſhop of* St. Davids, *and to have ſucceeded* Novis: *who (according to the Chronicle of that Church publiſh'd in the* 2d *Volume of* Anglia Sacra) *died* Anno 872; *and there immediately follows under* Anno 909, Aſſerius Epiſcopus Britanniæ fit, *which muſt certainly be an Errour in the Monk that wrote this Chronicle; for* Aſſer *himſelf in his Life of King* Alfred, *tells us of* Hemeid *Prince of* South-wales, *That* & Nobis Archiepiſcopum Propinquum meum & me expulit, *viz. from the Church of* St. Davids: *which word* Nobis, *the Learned Dr.* Gale *reads* Novis, *and ſo makes it good Senſe, that otherwiſe ſeems Non-ſenſe in the printed Copies. The falſe reading of which Word, as well as this Chronological miſtake of* Florence *abovementioned, led* Bale *into the belief that the Arch-biſhop abovementioned muſt have been that* Aſſer, *whom* Caradoc's *Chronicle (publiſh'd by Dr.* Powel) *makes to have died* Anno Dom. 906. *and which Authority led the Lord Primate* Uſher *into that ſmall Miſtake in his* Index Chronologicus, *at the end of his* Britan. Eccleſ. Antiquitat. *of ſuppoſing this* Aſſer *to have been the Author of the Hiſtory of King* Alfred, *and not he who was Biſhop of* Shireburn.

De Geſt. Pont. lib. 2.

Script. Britan. Cent. 2. cap. 25.

AND the right reading of this word Nobis *in* Aſſer, *alſo proves the falſhood of that Welſh* Annal *but now mentioned: for if* Novis *was expell'd his Biſhoprick not long before* Aſſer *was ſent for by King* Alfred, *which was about* Anno 885. *then* Novis *could not be dead in* Anno 872. *as that Chronicle makes him; nor yet could* Aſſer *ſucceed* Novis, Anno Dom. 909. *for then there would have been a Vacancy of near* 40 *Years in that See, whereas the* Saxon Annals *rightly place the Death of our* Aſſer *Biſhop of* Shireburn *under this very Year.*

SO that upon the whole Matter, it is the Judgment of the Reverend and Learned the now Lord Biſhop of Litchfield *and* Coventry, "*That there never was but one* Aſſer, *who was alſo Biſhop of* Shireburn; *and that as* " *for this* Aſſer *Biſhop of* St. Davids, *he had never any Being in Na-* " *ture, but in the Brain of ſome ignorant Monks, who would for the Honour* " *of their Church have made this* Aſſer *to have been Biſhop, not only of*

" *St.* Davids, *but of* Britain, *contrary to the Truth of all Chronology, as* " *well as Matter of Fact.*

I have no more to remark of this Aſſer, *but that* Ingulph *not only ſays he was Biſhop of* Shireburn, *but alſo Abbot of* Bangor, *which I find not related by* Aſſer *himſelf, nor by any other Author; and therefore I look upon it as a Miſtake either in* Ingulph *or his Tranſcriber, in writing* Bangor *inſtead of* Banwell, *which was one of thoſe Abbeys that* Aſſer *ſays King* Alfred *beſtowed upon him.*

FROM this Aſſer *to* Ethelwerd, *who calls himſelf* Quæſtor, *(i. e. Treaſurer) and wrote in the beginning of the Reign of King* Edgar, *being deſcended from the* Saxon *Blood-Royal by King* Alfred *his Great-Grandfather, there flouriſhed no Hiſtorian; nor are we indeed ſo much the better for him as I could wiſh, for unleſs it be in the right ſettling of the Reigns and Deaths of ſome of our* Saxon *Kings, who lived not long before him, (about which the ſeveral Copies of the* Saxon Annals *do differ) there is not much to be learnt from him but what is in the* Annals *themſelves, or elſe in the laſt mentioned Author: from both which one may perceive that he had borrowed the moſt part of what he there writes. So that partly from the affected Obſcurity of his Stile, and partly from the bad Copy from which it was printed, (being that which is now in the* Cottonian *Library) in many Places we do not underſtand his meaning; but as far as we are able to do it, we have given you a true Account of what he has added to this Hiſtory.*

BUT either from the Lazineſs or Ignorance of the Monks, who were almoſt the only Writers of that Age, from the Time that Ethelwerd *left off, to ſome Years after the Conqueſt, we meet with no Hiſtorians, except* Osbern *and another Monk, that is* Anonymous; *the former of whom writing the Lives of St.* Dunſtan *and St.* Alphege, *has afforded us ſome Paſſages relating to this Hiſtory, as has alſo the latter in his Life of St.* Dunſtan, *which is ſtill in Manuſcript in the* Cottonian *Library: But as for* Osbern, *he is publiſhed in the firſt Volume of* Anglia Sacra. *And from theſe that Age gives us none, unleſs the Author (whoſe Name we know not) that wrote that ſhort Account of the Times immediately preceding the Reign of* Edward *the* Confeſſor, *called* Encomium Emmæ, *until* Ingulph *Abbot of* Croyland *finiſhed the Hiſtory of that Abbey about the latter end of the Reign of* William *the* Firſt. *And tho he did not take upon him to write a Hiſtory of more Affairs than thoſe of his own Monaſtery, yet he hath by the by interſperſed many conſiderable Paſſages relating to the Publick Tranſactions of this Kingdom, which I likewiſe have here inſerted.*

FROM him to Eadmerus *we find no Hiſtorian; and He, only relating the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory during the Reign of* William *the* Firſt, *and his Sons* William Rufus *and* Henry, *is of no uſe to us in this Volume here publiſhed.*

IN the beginning of the Reign of Henry *the* Firſt, *we find a moſt Laborious and Diligent Chronologer, viz.* Florence *of* Worceſter, *who continuing and enlarging the Hiſtory of* Marianus Scotus, *hath among the various Tranſactions of the reſt of* Europe, *given us at the end of almoſt every Year out of the* Saxon Annals, *an exact Account of the Affairs of* England; *to which he hath alſo added divers very curious Memoirs and Illuſtrations of his own: and beſides what is printed, there is alſo in Manuſcript in the* Bodleian *Library, a fair and perfect Copy of this Author, which once belonged to the Monaſtery of* St. Edmundsbury, *to which I have been much beholding, not only for ſome things concerning that Abbey, but alſo for ſeveral choice Paſſages relating to this our Hiſtory, which are neither to be found in the printed*

printed Editions of this Author, nor any where elſe that I know of; therefore where-ever the Reader ſhall meet with any thing cited from Florence *which is not found in Print, he may be aſſured it is in that Manuſcript, under the Year there ſet down in the Margin: this I mention, that the Reader may not be ſtartled, if he does not find the Paſſage I cite in the printed Copies, ſince I had not always time to compare them together.*

FLORENCE *was immediately followed by* Simeon *of* Durham, *who did not only Copy from him, but alſo added ſeveral Remarkable things particularly relating to the* Northumbrian *Kingdom, as well before as after it came under the Government of Earls. Tho Mr.* Selden *in his Preface to the* Decem-ſcriptores, *will not allow this* Simeon *to have been the Author of this Work, but that he was a Plagiary, and ſtole it from* Turgot *a Monk of the ſaid Church, who was alſo afterwards ordained Biſhop of* St. Andrews *in* Scotland; *and* Simeon *only adding ſome things to it of his own, took the whole Honour to himſelf: his Hiſtory reaches no farther than* 1129. *but was continued by* John *Prior of* Hagulſtad *to* Anno 1154.

TO whom we may adjoin Richard *(a Monk of the ſame Monaſtery) his Hiſtory of the Church of* Durham, *who has interſperſed many excellent Paſſages concerning the ſame* Northern *Story. Here likewiſe we may add the Chronicle of the Abbey of* Mailroſs, *which tho wrote by the Abbot of* Dundraimon, *was certainly collected out of ſome much antienter* Annals *of that Monaſtery which was then deſtroyed; and theſe together with the laſt mentioned Authors, have helped us to make up the Succeſſion of the* Northumbrian *Kings after* Eardulf, *that was expelled his Kingdom* Anno 806. *from whom our common Writers ſuppoſe there was an* Interregnum *for the ſpace of above ſixty Years, tho by thoſe above-named it appears to have been otherwiſe, as you may ſee in the Tables at the end of the laſt Book.*

AFTER theſe flouriſhed William *of* Malmesbury, *who finiſhed his Hiſtory in the Reign of King* Stephen; *but certainly he began it long before,* viz. *in the Reign of* Henry *the* First. *To which Learned* Monk, *being one of the beſt Writers both for Judgment and Stile of that Age, I muſt own my ſelf obliged for the beſt and choiceſt Paſſages in this Volume.*

TO him ſucceeded Henry *Arch-Deacon of* Huntington, *who wrote a Hiſtory of the Kings of* England, *as well before as after the Conqueſt, and retiring to* Rome *lived there for ſome time for that purpoſe. He deduced his Hiſtory almoſt to the end of K.* Stephen, *and writing moſt commonly by way of* Annals, *tranſcribed many things out of* Florence *of* Worceſter; *and was of that great Reputation, that* Geoffrey *of* Monmouth, *who was his Cotemporary, recommends the* Engliſh *Hiſtory to be written by his Pen, as he does the* Britiſh *to be continued by* Caradoc *of* Lancarvon, *who wrote a* Welſh *Chronicle as far as his own Time; the Subſtance whereof I have here likewiſe given you, as it was put out by Dr.* Powell, *to which I have alſo added ſeveral remarkable Paſſages that were deſigned in a new Edition of the ſame Work, to be publiſhed from the Manuſcripts of the Learned Antiquary Mr.* Robert Vaughan, *by Mr.* Ellis *late of* Jeſus *College in* Oxon, *but which were never finiſhed. And I have likewiſe inſerted divers choice Notes, that I gathered from another Manuſcript of the ſame Author's, relating to the Chronology and Actions of the* Britiſh *Princes, which he wrote for the Satisfaction of the Lord Primate* Uſher, *and from him is now in my Poſſeſſion. And I ſuppoſe no Ingenious* Britiſh *Antiquary will think this Performance unneceſſary, ſince he will here find the Subſtance of all that is contained in* Caradoc's *Chronicle, together with a great many conſiderable*

derable Additions from the Manuſcripts abovementioned, as alſo ſome others gathered from two MS. Copies of the Chronicles of Wales, the one in the Cottonian Library, the other in the Exchequer, written at the end of one of the Volumes of Doomeſday; for the peruſal of which I ſtand obliged to the Reverend Dr. Gale.

H. Huntingdon was followed by Rog. Hoveden a ſecular Prieſt of Oxford, and was Domeſtick Clerk or Secretary to Henry the Second; he ſeems to have chiefly tranſcribed from Simeon of Durham, as to the Affairs before the Conqueſt, as he does from William of Malmesbury and other Authors, as well as his own Obſervations for thoſe that occur'd afterwards to his own Time, continuing his Hiſtory to the beginning of King John's Reign.

THE next we come to, are thoſe Authors contained in that noble Volume, called the Decem-Scriptores, ſuch as Ailred, Abbot de Rievalle, who wrote concerning the Kings of England ſo far as King Henry the 2d. in whoſe Time he lived; as alſo concerning the Life and Miracles of Edward the Confeſſor, from whom I have taken divers memorable Paſſages relating to the Life of that King, as well as to his Predeceſſors, omitting his Fables and Legends in which he does too much abound.

AFTER him follows Radulphus de Diceto Dean of St. Pauls, London, who flouriſhed in the Reign of King John, about the Year 1210. he was eſteemed a very accompliſhed Hiſtorian, and an indefatigable Collector in his Time of things not only before, but after the Conqueſt.

I have alſo taken ſome few Paſſages from William Thorn a Monk of Canterbury, who wrote an entire Hiſtory of the Affairs of his own Monaſtery of St. Auguſtin down to the beginning of King Richard the Second, in whoſe Reign he lived.

AFTER whom we had for a long time no printed Hiſtorians of the Times before the Conqueſt, till that in the Decem-Scriptores, which goes under the Name of John Brompton Abbot of Jorvaulx in Richmondſhire; tho Mr. Selden has ſhewn us in his Preface to that Volume, that he was rather the Purchaſer, than Author of this Chronicle, which he left to his own Abbey: he is ſuppoſed to have lived in the time of Edward the Third, but the Hiſtory concludes with the Death of Richard the Firſt.

BUT the ſaid Reverend Dr. Gale farther obſerves of him, "That he "intended to continue Geoffrey of Monmouth, as appears in the Pre- "face, and in Col. 1153. as alſo that he took much from Benedictus "Abbas (ſtill in Manuſcript in the Cottonian Library) and not from "Roger Hoveden; for where a Fault or Omiſſion is found in Benedictus, "the ſame is here found alſo, but not ſo in Hoveden: e. g. Benedictus wanted "the Seal of the King of Sicily, and ſo did Bromton, till it was added "from ſome other Copy, and not out of Hoveden, for the Seals differ, and "ſome Copies of Hoveden have it not at all. And tho the Compiler of this "Hiſtory ſeems to have lived in the Time of Richard I. as himſelf ſeems "to intimate, yet Col. 967. it mentions Richard the Third, which "muſt have been added to continue down the Genealogy of our Kings, as is "often done in antient Chronicles by ſome later Hand. But the Learned "Doctor farther ſuppoſes this Chronicle to have been written by one John "Brompton, who (as the Doctor found in an old Manuſcript Year-Book, "or Collection of Reports of the Reign of King Edward the Firſt) was a "Juſtice Itinerant about that Time; which Conjecture is alſo confirmed by "his careful inſerting the Antient Saxon Laws into this Chronicle: This as "it was not done by any before him, ſo neither does it ſavour of the Monk.

THIS

THIS is the more worthy taking notice of, becauſe Sir William Dugdale *hath omitted this* John Brompton *in his Catalogue of Judges* Itinerant, *at the end of his* Origines Juridiciales.

TO this Hiſtorian ſucceeds Henry de Knyghton *Canon of* Leiceſter, *who wrote his Hiſtory* de Eventibus Angliæ, *beginning with King* Edgar, *and ending with the Reign of* Richard *the* Second.

BUT the Reader may be pleaſed to take notice, that in theſe two laſt Authors are found many Paſſages which are in none of the more Antient Writers; and ſince moſt of them relate to Cuſtoms and Terms that had their Original after the coming in of the Normans, *therefore they may with good Reaſon be ſuſpected to have been borrowed from ſome common Stories or Traditions that then paſſed up and down for current.*

NOR can we here omit ſeveral other Pieces of leſs Bulk and Note, publiſhed ſince that Volume laſt mentioned, containing the Chronicles and Hiſtories of divers Cathedrals and Abbeys, ſuch as are the Annals *of the Abbey of* Wincheſter, *&c. which have been publiſhed from the* Cottonian *and other Libraries, in* Monaſticon Anglicanum, *and the firſt Volume of* Anglia Sacra, *lately publiſhed by the late Learned and Induſtrious Mr.* Wharton.

TO theſe likewiſe may be added the Hiſtories of the Monaſteries of Ely *and* Ramſey, *as alſo of* Glaſtenbury, *by* William *of* Malmesbury, *from whom we have taken ſeveral Things, not only relating to that Abbey, but the General Hiſtory of* England: *nor can I omit the Hiſtory of* John *of* Wallingford, *whom* Matthew Paris *mentions in his Lives of the Abbots of St.* Albans; *as the* 21ſt *Abbot of St.* Albans, *he wrote the Hiſtory of the Kings of* England *as far as the* 42d *of King* Henry *the* Third; *the firſt Part of which down to the* Norman *Conqueſt, hath been publiſhed in the aforeſaid laſt Volume at* Oxford *by the Learned Dr.* Gale. *From all which laſt mentioned, tho mingled with abundance of Monkiſh Traſh, we have here and there excerpted ſeveral excellent Remarks.*

WE have alſo ſometimes made uſe of Ranulph Higden *his* Polychronicon, *who was a Monk of* Cheſter, *the firſt Part of which is publiſhed alſo by the ſaid Dr.* Gale *as far as the Conqueſt; and* Matthew *a Monk of* Weſtminſter, *his* Flores Hiſtoriarum: *theſe Authors being Cotemporaries, and collecting to the Reign of* Edward *the* Third, *from all the reſt of the Antient Writers abovementioned, I have ſeldom uſed but as ſubſidiary Helps, when the Paſſages they relate are not to be found any where elſe, ſeveral other Authors they borrowed from, being now loſt, or very rare to be met with.*

HAVING now done with our printed Authors, I proceed to thoſe that continue ſtill in Manuſcript, in the Bodleian *and* Cottonian *Libraries; and alſo in thoſe of* Lambeth, Greſham's *College, and the* Heraulds Office; *ſuch as are* John *of* Tinmouth *his* Hiſtoria Aurea, Johannes Caſtorius *(in Engliſh,* Beaver*) his Hiſtory of the Kings of* England, *and* John Rouſe *of* Warwick *his Collections on the ſame Subject; together with above forty or fifty nameleſs Authors which I have peruſed, to ſee what I could find in any of them that had not been taken notice of by others: but how little they have anſwered in my Expectations, the ſmall Additions I have made from them I hope will ſatisfy the unprejudiced Reader; and for any that are otherwiſe, if they pleaſe to take the ſame Pains that I have done, I wiſh their Labours may be better requited.*

BUT as for the Extracts of Eccleſiaſtical Canons and Laws, which I have inſerted at the end of divers King's Reigns, I have faithfully tranſcribed

them out of Sir Henry Spelman's *first Volume of* Britiſh *Councils, and Mr.* Lambard's Archaionomia, *under their reſpective Years; and have alſo compared and corrected them in a great Part from the Manuſcript Notes of the Learned* Junius, *at the end of the* Cambridg *Edition of* Bede, *which is in the* Bodleian *Library; or elſe by another Latin Manuſcript Verſion of the Induſtrious Mr.* Somner's. *And I do not know of any other* Saxon *Laws, unleſs there be ſome of King* Cnute's, *which remain as yet in Manuſcript untranſlated in the* Bodleian *Library, as alſo in the Hands of Dr.* Gale, *as I am well informed: I hope they may be one day added to a new Edition of Mr.* Lambard's *moſt uſeful Work.*

THUS having gone through all the chiefeſt Engliſh *Hiſtorians, both in Print and Manuſcript, that I know of, relating to the Times before the Conqueſt, which I think are as many, and of as good Credit as any Countrey in* Europe *can ſhew in the like ſpace of Time; it may be expected I ſhould ſay ſomething in their Vindication, ſince I find they have been attacked in a poſthumous Treatiſe, long ſince written by a Learned Civilian, Sir* Thomas Craig, *in Latin, in anſwer to what Mr.* Hollingſhead *has publiſhed concerning the* Homage *that was due from the Kings of* Scotland *to thoſe of* England; *and is lately tranſlated into* Engliſh *by the Ingenious Mr.* Ridpath: *and as I ſhall here faithfully give you his Arguments againſt the Antiquity and Credit of our Writers, ſo I hope I ſhall return ſuch Anſwers to them as will ſatisfy all impartial Readers.*

Vid. *Hollinſhead.* Lib. 1.

HIS firſt Objection is, "That *from the Death of* Bede, *(whoſe Credit, he* "*ſays, he will every where preſerve entire,) the* Engliſh *have no certain Hi-*
"*ſtory nor Writer to the Reign of King* Henry *the* Firſt, *except that Frag-*
"*ment of* Ethelwerd's; *for (ſays he) I do not acknowledg that Fragment*
"*of* Ingulphus, *who preceded* Ethelwerd *twenty Years, as an Hiſtory; nor*
"Aſſerius Menevenſis, *who wrote only concerning the Tranſactions of*
"*his own King* Alfred. *And leſt he ſhould be thought to affirm any thing*
raſhly, "*He brings* William *of* Malmesbury *to witneſs the Matter, ſaying,*
"*That all the Memorials of Tranſactions from the Death of* Bede *to his*
"*own Time, which was in the Reign of* Henry I. *about* 1142. *were utter-*
"*ly loſt; nor was there any who followed that Study, or indeavoured to pur-*
"*ſue the thread of Hiſtory till himſelf.*

Scotland's *Sovereignty aſſerted*, p. 39, 40.

Lib. 1. fol. 23.

NOW to give an Anſwer to this Learned Advocate, and take him Point by Point as he goes on; in the firſt Place I am ſorry to find a Perſon, otherwiſe every ways Able and Skillful in his own Profeſſion, ſo ignorant in our Engliſh *Hiſtorians, ſince if he had not been ſo, he could not have committed almoſt as many Miſtakes as he hath wrote Lines: for in the firſt Place he calls* Ingulph *and* Ethelwerd *two Fragments, whereas if he had been pleaſed to have looked upon either of them, he would have found them entire Pieces ſo far as they went, (and we call* Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Saluſt, Livy, *Hiſtorians, not Fragments, altho each of them be imperfect) only the Edition that was then publiſhed of* Ingulph *wanted the Laws of* William *the* Conqueror, *and ſome few Sheets at the Concluſion, which have been ſince added.*

Vid. Vol. 1. Script. Ang. Edit. Oxon.

AND whereas he ſays, that Ingulph *preceded* Ethelwerd *twenty Years, he is ſo far from being in the right of that, that the direct contrary is true; for* Ingulph *lived and wrote above one hundred Years after* Ethelwerd *had finiſhed his Hiſtory with King* Edgar's *Reign, whoſe Eulogy he only gives us in barbarous Verſe.*

AND

AND as for what the Advocate ſays concerning William *of* Malmesbury, *he much miſrepreſents the Senſe of this Author, who does not affirm that there were no Memorials from the Death of* Bede *to his Time, but the contrary; for he mentions the* Saxon Annals *in his Proem in theſe words,* Sunt ſanè quædam vetuſtatis Indicia, patrio Sermone, & chronico more per annos Domini ordinata: *alſo in his Book* de Antiquitate Glaſtoniæ *(publiſhed by Dr.* Gale, *as above) he citeth them as good Authority,* Tradunt Annales bonæ credulitatis, *&c. Nay, Sir* Thomas Craig *himſelf (I ſuppoſe through Forgetfulneſs) has allowed no leſs than three Writers of part of our Hiſtory, who lived before* Malmesbury, *as you may ſee above: and therefore he muſt alſo be underſtood only in this Senſe, that till himſelf there was none had undertaken an entire* Latin *Body of* Engliſh *Hiſtory; for he, diſtinguiſhing between an Hiſtory and* Annals, *did not reckon (it ſeems) theſe* Saxon Annals *as ſuch, though he often mentions them by the Name of the* Engliſh *Chronicles; being, as I ſaid before, the ground-Work upon which that Author, as well as others that followed him, built their Hiſtory: and theſe* Annals *remaining in Manuſcript till long after Sir* Thomas Craig's *Death, gave him perhaps occaſion to affirm in the ſame Place,* "*That there is nothing of cer-*
"*tainty to be found in the* Britiſh *Hiſtory from* 734. *which was the Tear*
"*of* Bede's *Death, to the Tear* 957. *but all things were founded upon the*
"*Rumours of Antient Men, and it may be old Wives Fables, which being*
"*collected together into one Book, and put in a Latin Dreſs, made up as it*
"*were the ſhadow of a Hiſtory, from whence* Hollingſhead *does nevertheleſs*
"*bring moſt certain Arguments to eſtabliſh his fictitious Homage.*

THIS Point concerning the Homage *I ſhall not take upon me here to decide: but tho I confeſs there is no expreſs mention of it in the* Annals, *yet I muſt needs ſay there is ſomewhat to be met with in them that comes very near it; for under* Anno 924. *they relate thus of King* Edward *the* Elder, "*That*
"*the King and whole Nation of the* Scots *choſe him* in Patrem & Domi-
"num, *in the Latin Verſion,* i.e. *for their Father and Lord; which is word for word the ſame with the* Saxon *Original, which I omit becauſe not commonly underſtood or read in that Character. But becauſe he ſuppoſes that* Florence *of* Worceſter *was the firſt Author that wrote this* Homage *and* Fealty, *therefore he muſt be the firſt that ever mentioned the Submiſſion of the* Scotiſh *King to the King of* England: *I deſire thoſe of Sir* Thomas *his Opinion to tell me, tho the formal Ceremonies of* Homage *and* Fealty *(which in different Ages and divers Countries, even where the Feudal Law was obtained, were very different) were not brought up till after the Norman* William *came hither; yet what could thoſe words* in Patrem & Dominum *ſignify, but ſuch an Acknowledgment or Dependance upon a Superior Lord as was tantamount? And it is the more remarkable, becauſe this is mentioned above* 20 *Tears before. The ſame* Annals *relate, that King* Edmund *the* Younger, *Son to King* Edward, *beſtowed* Cumberland *upon* Malcolm *King of* Scots, *viz.* Anno 945. *on condition, that he ſhould ſerve him in his Expeditions by Sea and Land, for which alone the* Scotiſh *Writers will allow this* Homage *to have been due.*

Florenc. An. Dom. 921. 943.

Craig. ubi ſupra. p. 47.

AND in the Tear following we find in the ſame Annals, *that K.* Eadred, *Brother to* Edmund, *having reduced all* Northumberland *into his Power, (which then took in almoſt all the Low-Lands of* Scotland, *as far as* Edinburgh) *thereupon* Scoti etiam ei juramenta præſtiterunt, ſeſe velle quicquid is vellet, *i.e. the* Scotiſh *Nation (by which I ſuppoſe muſt be underſtood*

derſtood the King *as well as the* People*) took an Oath to King* Eadred *to perform whatſoever he ſhould pleaſe to command them. But that* Florence *of* Worceſter *underſtood this to be an Oath of* Fealty, *appears by his Paraphraſe of theſe words in the* Annals *thus,* & Edredus à Scotis, ut ſibi fideles eſſent, juramentum accepit.

BUT that, if not Homage, *yet ſomewhat very like it, was rendered in that Age by the Kings of* Scotland *to thoſe of* England, *for the beſt part of what is now called the* Lowlands, *may appear from the Teſtimony of* John *of* Wallingford, *who in his Hiſtory relates, that* Keneth *King of* Scots *received* Lothian *from King* Edgar *under the Condition of doing* Homage *to himſelf and his Succeſſors: which, if it had not then the direct Ceremony of* Homage, *which perhaps came in with the* Normans, *yet that it was ſomewhat very near it,* John Fordun *the antienteſt* Scotiſh *Hiſtorian, acknowledges in theſe words, That King* Edmund (viz. *of* England) *gave the Province of* Cumberland *to* Malcolm *King of* Scots, ſub fidelitate Juramenti; *and it was afterwards agreed between the ſaid King* Edmund *and King* Malcolm, *that Prince* Indulf *his next Heir, and all the future Heirs of* Scotland *ſucceſſively, ſhould pay to King* Edmund *and his Succeſſors for the ſame,* Homagium, & fidelitatis Sacramentum: *ſo that if our Engliſh Writers have been miſtaken in calling that Submiſſion, which the Kings and Princes of* Scotland *then payed to* England, Homage, *you may here ſee the moſt Antient* Scotiſh *Hiſtorian guilty of the ſame Error: which was indeed an Oath of Fidelity, if not the ſame, yet very like what the* Scotiſh *Kings afterwards took when they did* Homage *to our Kings of* England *after the Conqueſt.*

Pag. 545.

Lib. 4. cap. 24.

HAVING ſaid thus much, I ſhall now leave it to the Reader's Judgment, when he has gone through our Annals, *to conſider, whether this Author's Cenſure of our* Engliſh *Hiſtory, from the Year* 734. *when* Bede *ended his, to the Year* 957. *be juſt,* that they were only things, *as he ſays,* founded upon the Rumours of Antient Men, and it may be old Wives Fables, and ſo being collected together in one Book, dreſs'd up in Latin, made up as it were the ſhadow of a Hiſtory.

AS alſo whether what Florence *is cited by the Author to ſay,* "*That* "*after* Bede's *Death the* Engliſh *Hiſtory ceaſed, and that for his own part* "*he had left things to Poſterity, either as he found them in the Text of* "*the* Engliſh *Chronicles, or as he had them from the relations of Men* "*worthy of Credit, or heard and ſaw them himſelf; deſerves that raſh Cenſure, not only concerning theſe* Annals *now publiſhed, but of* Florence *himſelf,* viz. as to what concerned the Text of the Engliſh Chronicles, he mentioned them that he might deceive his Reader with the greater Facility: *whereas* Florence *was accounted always a Writer of unqueſtionable Diligence and Veracity, as appears by the ſeveral Teſtimonies of Learned Men before his Hiſtory.*

Idem. pa. 41.

BUT the reaſon of this Author's Triumph before the Victory, was, that he did not believe any ſuch thing as a Saxon *Chronicle could be found; for ſays he immediately after,* "*If there were any Chronicles of thoſe Times, ſeeing* Florence *lived about the Year* 1148. *they muſt ſtill remain in the* "*Archives, which hitherto no Engliſh Author did ever alledg, or hath been* "*able to demonſtrate; for that Chronicle, as is obſerved by the Prologue,* "*did only ſet down the number of Years. And ſo he proceeds to invalidate the Credit of* Florence *of* Worceſter, *as if he had had no Voucher to warrant his Chronicle.*

Id. ibid.

BUT

BUT I hope this Tranſlation I here preſent you with, will ſatisfy all ordinary Readers, that the Saxon Annals *do contain much more than the bare numbers of Years, and the Edition firſt publiſhed by Mr.* Wheelock *in* Saxon *and* Latin *from two Copies in Sir* Robert Cotton's, *and* Bennet College *Libraries, have long ſince convinced all Learned Men, that we really had ſuch Monuments in our* Archives, *which have been alſo further confirmed as to the Truth of it, from two other Manuſcript Copies, given by Arch-biſhop* Laud *to the* Bodleian *Library at* Oxford, *and lately publiſhed together with thoſe abovementioned, by the aforeſaid Mr.* Edmund Gibſon; *moſt of which Copies belonged to ſeveral antient Monaſteries, and I doubt not but many more of them were loſt at their Diſſolution in* Henry *the* Eighth's *Time, or carried over Seas; for we find* Lazius *in his Book* de Migratione Gentium, *quotes ſeveral of them. And it's evident that our* Annals *ſometimes follow not Tradition only, but alſo old written Hiſtories, and perhaps* Latin *Writers, as may appear by the Actions of* Athelſtane *and* Eadmund, An. 938, *and* 942. *But for the ſupport of their Authority I refer the Reader to this Author's own Country-man* John Fordun, *where he tells us in his Prologue to his* Scotiſh *Hiſtory,* "*He had heard it was very* "*well ordered in* England, *that every Monaſtery of Royal Foundation ſhould* "*have its particular Writer, who was Chronologically to ſet down all the* "*Memorable things which happened in each King's Reign, either in their* "*own or Neighbouring Kingdoms; and that at the next Great Council af-* "*ter the Death of every reſpective King, each of thoſe Chronographers* "*met there, and produced whatſoever they had ſo remarked; and that ſome of* "*the moſt diſcreet Perſons in the ſaid Council who were beſt skilled in ſuch* "*Matters, being choſen for that purpoſe, ſhould examine thoſe Memorials,* "*and by comparing them together ſhould extract a brief Chronicle from them* "*all, which was to be preſerved in the Libraries of thoſe Monaſteries, as Au-* "*thentick* Annals *to be relied on by Poſterity, that ſo the remembrance of* "*thoſe publick Affairs of the Kingdom might not be loſt, or devoured by* "*the Ruſt of Time.*

WHICH Paſſage had Sir Thomas Craig *but carefully conſidered, he would have had no reaſon to doubt whether we had had* any Chronicles of thoſe times remaining in our Archives, *and whether* William *of* Malmesbury, *and all the reſt of our Hiſtorians, have blindly followed* Florence *of* Worceſter *into an Error,* as Cattel do their Leader that break over a Ditch. Id. p. 47.

BUT if our Saxon Annals *were not a good Foundation for ſucceeding Hiſtorians to build upon, I deſire to know what Credit the Antient* Greek *and* Roman *Authors can claim with Men of that ſcrupulous Temper, ſince they had nothing but ſuch ſhort* Annals *or Chronicles preſerved in their Archives, (beſides Traditions, and the common Fame of their Anceſtors) from whence to compoſe the particular Hiſtories of thoſe Common-Wealths they treat of; ſuch as were the* Libri Lintei *preſerved in the Capitol, from whence* Livy *drew the moſt antient Memorials for the writing his* Roman *Hiſtory.*

AND tho there is ſome difference to be found between the ſeveral Copies of theſe Annals *as to the Calculation of Years, and ſome particular Matters that are ſometimes inſerted in one, and omitted in another; yet the Ingenious Author of the Preface before it, has given the World a ſatisfactory Anſwer as to this Matter, which is,* "*That as to the general Affairs of the* "*whole Kingdom they all agree well enough, tho indeed as to foreign Tranſ-*

"*actions,*

" *actions, or some few Passages relating to their own private Monasteries,*
" *there may be some Additions that are not to be met with in the rest; as*
may be observ'd from those called the Canterbury *and* Laudean *Copies in the*
Bodleian *Library.*

SO I shall leave it upon the whole Matter to the Reader to consider, whether the Author has made good his Challenge, viz. *That the* English *were not able to produce one approved Writer of their own Country, who composed any Story or History from the Death of* Bede, *to the Time of* Henry *the* Second; *tho I suppose he meant the* First, *however it is unluckily printed twice the* Second *in one Page.*

BUT to come to this Author's second Objection against our English *Historians, the substance of which is,* " *That the Writers as well before as af-*
" *ter the Conquest were Monks, who being dead to the World, have no right*
" *of giving a Legal Evidence, it being expresly forbid by the Canon Law to*
" *concern themselves in Secular Matters; and also that by reason of their so-*
" *litary Lives, they ought very seldom to be entrusted in publick Affairs,*
" *seeing they are no competent Judges concerning them: for it was not very*
" *probable that either the Secrets of Princes, or things belonging to the State,*
" *were ever communicated to them, otherwise than by common Report,*
" *seeing they were kept at the greatest distance from all manner of Action,*
" *and do oftentimes embrace things doubtful as certain, and Fictions for*
" *Matter of Fact; and that therefore this feigned* Homage *must of neces-*
" *sity fall to the Ground, for which there is no better Evidence than that of*
" *a Monk; for it will not be admitted as a good Conclusion, that because a*
" *Monk says so, therefore it is true.*

THIS Argument may as easily be retorted upon him thus, That as a thing is not true because a Monk writes it, so neither is it false for that reason alone; for tho Monks are by the Canon Law forbid medling with Secular Affairs, and may not perhaps be admitted for good Witnesses in Civil Causes, yet is this but a meer Cavil as to the Point in Question, since that was not the intent of the Canon to forbid them the writing either of Civil or Ecclesiastical Histories; and Bede *himself (whose Credit this Author says he will not impair) was a Monk, as were also* Marianus Scotus *(whom he alloweth and would have to be taken for his own Country-Man)* Sigebertus, Hermannus Contractus, *and almost all the Famous Chronographers of those Times, who flourished in our Neighbouring Nations as well as our own; and that they were not of such retired Lives as not to have Memorials sent them of publick Actions, appears by the aforesaid Citation out of* Fordun, *concerning the manner of writing our* English Annals *in the Monasteries, which, as he tells us, were supervised afterwards by some appointed of the Great Council of the Kingdom. And that some of the Monks after the Conquest were in great Reputation for their faithful Accounts, appears by the great Credit given to* Florence *of* Worcester *and* William *of* Malmesbury *in those times; the last of whom dedicated his History to* Robert *Earl of* Gloucester *Natural Son to King* Henry *the* First: *and* Matthew Paris *was of so great Esteem, that we learn from himself, that King* Henry *the* Third *gave him particular Directions for inserting into his History several considerable Passages relating to his own Reign: so far were the Princes of that Age from being of this Author's Opinion, that Monks were no wise fit to write History, nor to be credited when they had done.*

BUT

BUT if no Credit must be given to the Memorials of Monks, I desire to know, what will become of the so much talked of Scotish Annals *that were kept in the Isle of* Iona *or* Icomhil, *and of their famous Book of the Abbey of* Paſely, *from whence* Hector Boethius *pretends to have derived the principal Matters that make up the first part of his History? Nay, what will become of their most creditable Writer* John Fordun, *who bottoms much of his History on the Legends of* S. Brendane, *and others?*

NOR is there any difference that I know of between these Books now mentioned and our Saxon Annals, *but that these are to be seen (I mean the Originals) in our Libraries, and are also published both in* Saxon *and* Latin, *and are here translated into* English *in this ensuing History, whilst theirs are not; and if* Hector Boethius *ever saw them, is more than we can be sure of, since a most Reverend Doctor (and now Bishop of our Church) hath produced very good Reasons to render it highly suspicious, that there never were any such Books at all; and if so, I wonder what will become of the Credit of all their Antient* Scotish *History, and their long Bedroll of Kings before* Fergus *the Second.*

Vid. Dr. Stillingfleet *Antiq. of the British Church.* Pref. pag. 39, 40.

AS for the rest of this Author's Objections, I shall be very short in my Answers to them.

THE third of which is, that our Authors are not to be credited, because they are English-men. *If this were of any weight, I might turn his own Cannon upon him, and tell him, no more are his Writers who deny this* Homage, *because they are* Scots-men: *and if neither are to be believed, I would fain have any Learned Gentleman of that Nation to shew me a Foreign Historian who lived near those Times, that denied there was any such thing.*

AS for his last, that they were Enemies, *it is yet more trivial; since I have here made use of no Authorities but what were written before the Conquest, when there was no War at all between the two Nations, but rather a strict Amity or League against their Common Enemy the* Danes; *or else from* Florence *of* Worcester *and* William *of* Malmesbury, *Authors that lived and wrote (as hath been already shewn) in the very Times when those Homages they mention were done; which whether they were for* Scotland *it self, or else for* Northumberland *and* Cumberland, *which they then held of the Kings of* England, *shall be further considered in my next Volume, if God shall permit me to finish it.*

BUT I desire the Reader to take notice, that finding the English-Saxon *Chronicle to be very dry in many places, it giving us only an account of the Succession of their Kings, and the Battels they fought against one another, without ever telling us what were the Grounds of their falling out; the Monks of those Times, for want of Civil Affairs, or (as we call them)* those of the Cabinet, *filling up their* Annals *only with Fighting and Devotion, I saw it necessary for me to pursue in great part the Method that* Bede *had laid down throughout the whole Work, and to insert some things relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs, to make this History more useful, as well as diverting, to all sort of Persons.*

AND therefore being sensible of the near Conjunction of the Civil with the Ecclesiastical State, which were often united into one Mycel-Synod, *or Great Council of the whole Nation, wherein were made not only Civil Laws, but also Ecclesiastical Canons or Constitutions, respecting Religion and Discipline, as well as Reformation of Manners, I have set down both*

the

the one and the other whenever I thought they contained any Matter of more than ordinary Notice: and as for thoſe Synods or Councils which were wholly Eccleſiaſtical, though I have not always expreſly given you all the Canons they made, yet I have not failed to refer the Reader for his farther Satisfaction, to that rich Treaſury of this kind of Knowledg, Sir Henry Spelman's *firſt Volume of Councils.*

TO which I have likewiſe not only added the Succeſſion of ſome Biſhops, and Abbots, as far as I have found them in the Saxon Annals, *but have inſerted from* William *of* Malmesbury *and other Writers, whatever I could find relating to them, or any other of the ſame Order, remarkable for Learning or Piety; eſpecially the Arch-biſhops of* Canterbury *and* York, *whoſe Succeſſions I have often ſupplied from other Authors, wherein the* Annals *were ſilent.*

NOR have I omitted the Foundations of the greater Monaſteries, as I met with them in the Annals, *no more than the other Foundations of the ſame kind ſet down in* Monaſticon Anglicanum, *yet ſtill confining my ſelf to ſuch of them as were valued at* 500 l. per annum *or more, at the time of their Diſſolution. And I hope no Man that is a Lover of Antiquity, or the Honour of his Nation, will look upon this as needleſs, any more than the Foundations of our two* famous Univerſities, *of which I have here given you the earlieſt Accounts I can find.*

NEITHER do I ſuppoſe it will prove tedious, if I have here likewiſe put down the Stories of ſome Miracles related by Bede *and other Monks, ſince I have done it with Moderation, and where the Contexture of this Work would have ſeem'd Lame and Imperfect without it; and I only give them you juſt as I find them, leaving every one to make what Judgment he pleaſes of them.*

I confeſs I am not ſatisfied that divers of thoſe Relations ſwallowed by Bede *and other Authors of Note, are true, they having been ſince diſcovered by Men of great Learning and Judgment, to carry evident Marks of Forgery along with them; ſuch as is that of* Joſeph *of* Arimathea *his Preaching the Goſpel in* England, *which hath been examined with great Accuracy by the Reverend and Learned Dr.* Stillingfleet, *now Lord Biſhop of* Worceſter, *in his* Origines Britannicæ; *ſo that though I have both from him, and others, ſaid ſomewhat upon that Subject, yet I muſt ſtill refer the Reader to the Book it ſelf, if he deſires farther Satisfaction either in gratifying his Curioſity, or informing his Judgment.*

Chap. 1.

BUT to the foregoing Relations, I muſt needs here add that of the Martyrdom of St. Alban, *which though the Learned Author laſt named, in his ſecond* Chapter *of his ſaid Book, hath with great Learning proved it, if not true, yet at leaſt probable; I hope he will not take it amiſs if I farther examine the Certainty of this Story: for notwithſtanding it be ſet down in the old* Roman *Martyrologies, and his Suffering here is alſo mentioned by* Conſtantius, *Presbyter, who lived above one hundred Years before* Bede, *from whom I have borrowed this; yet I muſt Ingenuouſly confeſs, I do not ſee how it can conſiſt with the Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Hiſtory of thoſe Times, in which it is ſuppoſed to have happened. For* Bede *places the Suffering of St.* Alban *during the Perſecution of* Diocleſian, *and after the Recovery of* Britain *from the Uſurpation of* Allectus.

Lib. 1. c. 6.

WHEREAS it is evident from Chronology, that Carauſius *the Uſurper, having* Anno Dom. 286. *rebelled againſt the* Roman *Emperors, held* Britain

Britain *under his Power for near ſeven Years, and then was murdered by the Uſurper* Allectus, *who alſo governed near three Years longer, till about the middle of the Reign of the Emperor* Diocleſian; *who having conſtituted* Conſtantius Chlorus, Cæſar, *ſent* Aſclepiodotus *as his Lieutenant into* Britain, *(being then part of his Share, as were all the Provinces on this ſide the* Alpes*) in the Year* 295. *and he having ſlain* Allectus *in Battel, governed here ſome ſhort Time, till* Conſtantius *himſelf coming over in Perſon, reigned as* Cæſar *or* Auguſtus *ſo long as he lived: During all which Revolutions we do not read of any Perſecution in* Britain, *as the Learned Mr.* Dodwell *in his* Diſſertationes Cyprianæ *has very well obſerved, and conſequently St.* Alban *could not ſuffer Martyrdom between the Years* 303. *and* 305. *or at any other Time where the* Roman *Martyrologies place it.*

Diſſert. Cypr. II. de paucitate Martyrum, §. 75.

AND this I think is clear from the Teſtimonies of two Authors of unqueſtionable Credit, who lived in the very Time when this (if at all) muſt have happened. The firſt of theſe is Euſebius, *who in his eighth Book of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, giving a Character of* Conſtantius *the Emperor, hath theſe words,* viz. *"He always ſhewed himſelf moſt benign and affable "towards all Men, which appeared by this, that he was no ways partaker of "the Perſecution raiſed againſt us* (i. e.) *Chriſtians: but having preſerved the Worſhippers of the true God free and unhurt from all Accuſations, and not having ſo much as deſtroyed the Buildings of our "Churches, or acted any thing againſt thoſe of our Religion, he at laſt "attained a quiet and happy End. To which we may alſo add another Paſſage in his firſt Book,* cap. 8. *but it being more tedious, and not ſo expreſs and full as the Place now cited, I therefore omit it.*

Cap. 13.

TO whom we may alſo ſubjoin Lactantius, *who in his Treatiſe* de Mortibus Perſecutorum, *differs indeed from* Euſebius *about his demoliſhing the Chriſtian Churches, yet he agrees with him in the main, that no Chriſtians ſuffered Death in* Conſtantius *his Diviſion or Share of the Empire. This Author's words I have thus tranſlated. "But "*Conſtantius, *leſt he ſhould ſeem to diſſent from the Edicts of the "greater Emperors, tho he permitted the Meeting-places of the Chriſtian Aſſemblies, that could be rebuilt, to be pulled down, yet he ſtill "preſerved the true Temple of God, which is in the Bodies of Men, ſafe "and inviolate. And this is farther confirmed by* Optatus de Schiſmate, *as alſo by* Zozomen *in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, who both reciting the Addreſs of the* Donatiſts *to the Emperor* Conſtantine, *do acknowledg that* his Father never ſhed the Blood of any Chriſtian.

Lib. 1. Lib. 2.

AND even this ſmall difference between theſe two Authors may be thus reconciled, by ſuppoſing that tho he connived at the deſtroying of the Chriſtian Churches by the vulgar Pagans, yet he no ways commanded it, much leſs approved of it when it was done. So that there could be no Perſecution in Gaul *or* Britain, *(both which were part of his Province) during the Time that he continued either as* Cæſar *or Emperor, and the Perſecution ceaſed* Anno Dom. 308. *not long before his Death.*

BUT *ſince a Learned and Ingenious French-man,* Theodorus Ruinartus, *in his Preface to a late Treatiſe, entituled,* de Actibus Martyrum, *put out with a new Edition of this Work of* Lactantius *in* Holland, *hath endeavoured to juſtify the Martyrologies againſt this Opinion of Mr.* Dodwell's, *I think it very convenient to take ſome notice of what he there alledges; and his chief Argument againſt theſe plain Authorities, is, that the Emperor* Maximian *was in* Gaul *during ſome part of this Perſecution, and that then the Power of* Conſtantius *being only as* Cæſar, *was ſuſpended by the Preſence of the Emperor himſelf; and conſequently the Perſecution was carried on in that part of the Empire, notwithſtanding* Conſtantius *his private diſlike of it, or perhaps oppoſing it as much as he durſt.*

BUT *in return to this ſeeming Argument, we ſhall firſt obſerve, that neither* Euſebius *nor* Lactantius, *mention any Perſecution in* Gaul *or* Britain *during all this Time, which it is highly probable they would have done, had it been carried on with the like Fury in theſe as it was in the other parts of the Empire. So that I do not find this Author clearly makes out, that the Emperor* Maximian *was in* Gaul *during this Perſecution, by any other Teſtimonies than thoſe Martyrologies themſelves, whoſe Credit we have juſt reaſon to queſtion.*

BUT *ſuppoſe I ſhould admit there was a Perſecution in* Gaul *at the ſame Time as he affirms, what will this concern* Britain, *where it is certain from the Authority abovementioned, that the Power of* Conſtantius *was never abrogated, or ſuſpended by any of the other Emperors? But if it appears there was no ſuch Perſecution in* Gaul *as he pretends, can one with reaſon believe that there ſhould be any at that Time in* Britain, *which lay ſo much more remote, and out of the View or Notice of thoſe perſecuting Emperors? But* Michael Alford *in his* Britiſh Annals, *being ſenſible of the great Improbability of this Perſecution between the Years* 303, *and* 305. *when upon* Conſtantius's *being declared Emperor, all Authors agree the Perſecution ceaſed all over the Empire; he therefore antedates the Time of it to the Year* 287, *when he ſuppoſes that St.* Alban, *after he had been kept ſix Months in Priſon, ſuffered Martyrdom,* viz. *in the beginning of the Reign of* Diocleſian *and* Maximian; *and for this he cites an antient Manuſcript Copy of* Bede *which he had ſeen, as alſo the Authority of* Matthew Paris *in his Hiſtory, and* Matthew Weſtminſter, *who both follow an old Martyrologiſt cited by* Capgrave, *as much antienter than* Bede.

An. 1257.
An. 794.

TO *this Opinion we reply, that in the firſt place it does not appear by any Authority, but this Writer's bare conjecture, that there was any Perſecution in* Britain *or* Gaul *at the beginning of the Emperors Reigns above mentioned, but rather the contrary, ſince* Euſebius *expreſly tells us, that* Diocleſian *was ſo far from perſecuting, that he favoured and employed the Chriſtians in all Offices both Civil and Military, till after the* Perſian *War, which was toward the latter end of his Reign. Nor indeed could this Perſecution have happened under the Uſurpations of* Carauſius *and* Allectus *here in* Britain, *ſeeing they were always engaged in defending themſelves againſt the* Roman *Emperors, and therefore could*

could not be at leiſure to perſecute Men for Religion during ſuch unſettled Times.

AND as for the Authority of theſe Martyrologies which this Author urges for the Truth of this Perſecution, viz. That they are ſome of them very Antient, the Originals of them being about 900 Years old: I doubt this will be ſo far from ſupporting their Credit, that it will rather be inſtrumental to deſtroy it, ſince it is very well known that it was about the end of the fifth, or beginning of the ſixth Century, that this trick of forging the Lives and Sufferings of Saints came firſt in Faſhion, and ſo was carried on in thoſe dark Times for near 500 Years following, as the Reverend Dr. Burnet (now Biſhop of Salisbury) has learnedly proved in his Preface to his Tranſlation of the aforeſaid Treatiſe of Lactantius.

NOR did the Monks fail of finding their Account in this Deſign, ſince nothing contributed more than this and ſuch like Legends, to the worſhipping of the Reliques of Saints, and going on Pilgrimages to their Tombs: Which Superſtition, how much it advanced the worldly Power and Grandeur of the Clergy of thoſe Times, he muſt be a great Stranger to the Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil Hiſtory of thoſe Ages, not to underſtand.

HAVING now, I hope, gone through all thoſe things I thought neceſſary to advertiſe the Reader of, I have little elſe remaining, but to ask his Pardon for not adding in the Margin ſome ſhort Notes or Contents of what is in the Body of the Work; which tho I confeſs ſeveral Hiſtorians have done, yet I thought it might very well be ſpared here: Firſt, Becauſe in my Opinion it ſpoils the Beauty of the Margin; and beſides, this Volume being written in an exact Chronological Order, it will be very eaſy for the Reader, (if he will but pleaſe to remember near the Year about which any thing he would find, happened) to ſatisfy himſelf in the Matter he would know, by turning over but two or three Pages: and further, the Years of our Lord ſtanding in Roman Figures in the Margin, do in many Places fill that Space which thoſe Contents uſually take up. But if theſe Reaſons by ſome may not be thought ſufficient, a good Friend of mine has been at the Pains, for your ſake, as well as my eaſe, to make an exact Table to the whole Work, by which I am confident you cannot miſs readily finding out any thing whatſoever you have a deſire to be ſatisfied in, that is contained in this Volume, either as to Perſons, Places or Things.

I have endeavoured to make this Hiſtory as diverting as I could by variety of Matter, as alſo by inſerting into it whatſoever Relations I met with in our old Hiſtorians, that were not utterly improbable; and therefore I hope the Reader will not be uneaſy, becauſe all the parts thereof are not kept up alike pleaſant and agreeable, ſince the dryneſs of the Matter, and the barrenneſs of thoſe few Authors I find in ſome Periods, will not always equally afford it; any more than it can be expected, that in a long Journey it ſhould be alike pleaſant Travelling through dark and narrow Lanes, as over a free and open Champaign.

THERE

THERE is one thing more I muſt needs ſtand obliged to you in for your Pardon, and that is, the many Errata's *you will find in the firſt four Books; for being out of Town when near half of it was wrought off, I could not ſupervise it my ſelf: and though I committed the Correction of thoſe Sheets to a Perſon on whom I could (as I have done before) ſafely rely for his Ability and Faithfulneſs in the diſcharge of that Truſt; yet no Man is able to judg of the Author's Senſe ſo well as himſelf, nor conſequently to mend it, if any where too Obſcure or Miſtaken; and I cannot, as I would, anſwer ſo well for the Care of my* Amanuenſis *in his Writing or Pointing: and I muſt add this alſo, that ſome Printers are not always ſo careful as they ſhould be to amend their own Faults, tho never ſo exactly Corrected by thoſe to whom their Sheets were entruſted for that Purpoſe.*

THE

THE General Introduction TO THE Whole Work.

SINCE the late Learned Doctor *Howell* and Doctor *Brady*, the former in his Second and Third Parts of his General Hiſtory of the World, and the latter in his General Preface, and Firſt Book of his Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, have given us a large Account of the Political Government and Laws in this Part of our Iſland we now call *England*, during the time of the *Roman* Emperors, as alſo of our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings, as far as the *Norman* Conqueſt; this Undertaking of Mine would look very imperfect, if I ſhould not in ſome meaſure follow their Method, and prefix before it ſomething of the like nature.

I have therefore made bold to borrow from Mr. *Selden*, and thoſe other Authors who have written on this Subject, whatſoever I thought was neceſſary to carry on the ſame Deſign; and alſo added thoſe Things that I found they have either omitted or miſtaken, and which required more largely to be treated of, in order to render this Work as uſeful as poſſible I could for a matter of ſo great Importance.

TO begin then with the Government of the *Britains* before the Arrival of *Julius Cæſar* into this Iſland: Of which we have ſcarce any Account but what can be gathered from *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, which is ſo uncertain and fabulous, that there is little reliance upon what he ſays, ſave that in the general it was governed by Kings, and often canton'd into ſeveral Kingdoms: for that it was ever under one Monarch, as he frequently affirms, I have very good reaſon to doubt; it being not only contrary to the *Genius* and Cuſtom of the *Britiſh* Nation, (where all the Male Iſſue inherited alike) to ſuffer the Eldeſt Son to go away with the whole Inheritance, but likewiſe it is directly oppoſite to *Cæſar*'s Account of this Iſland when he came firſt hither, which he ſays he found divided into ſeveral diſtinct Principalities and States.

BUT if any Part of *Geoffrey*'s Relation be true, that is moſt likely to be ſo which he gives us of the Laws of *Molmutius*, viz.

THAT the Temples of the Gods had this Privilege, That whatever guilty Perſons ſhould fly to them, they ſhould be ſecure from their Proſecutors; becauſe we find that Cuſtom very antient, not only amongſt the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but indeed all other Nations, the *Jews* not excepted.

NEXT, That the publick Ways leading to the ſaid Temples, and the Cities wherein they were, ſhould be free and ſafe. And,

LASTLY, That ſuch a Proportion of Land ſhould maintain ſo many Ploughs for the Encouragement of Husbandry; which was very natural in a Countrey, where not only the Soil, but the Lazineſs of the Inhabitants, rendred it more apt for Grazing than Tillage.

BUT I cannot forbear obſerving how little ſtreſs is to be laid on *Geoffrey*'s Account of the Laws of thoſe *Britiſh* Princes, ſince he has the Confidence to tell us of another Sett of Laws ſuppoſed to be made by Queen *Martia*, which, he ſays, being afterwards tranſlated by King *Alfred* out of the *Britiſh* Language, were by him inſerted into his Body of *Saxon* Laws, under the Title of *Mearchen-Lage*. The Falſhood of which Derivation Mr. *Camden* has very well diſcovered, by ſhewing, That this Word had not its Original from Queen *Martia*, but from the *Saxon* Word *Mearc*, ſignifying a Limit or Boundary; from whence the *Mercian* Kingdom had its Name, and was ſo called from its Situation, as being circumſcribed by the other Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*.

BUT as for the *Britiſh* Government that ſucceeded upon the *Romans* deſerting of this Iſland, we can ſay no more of it, than that it was Regal; but that it was all ſubject to one Monarch, I no where find. For tho it appears from *Gildas* and *Nennius*, that *Vortigerne* was made King not long after the *Romans* leaving it, yet does it not follow from thence, that there were no more Kings than he at the ſame time; ſince it ſeems very unlikely, that all *Britain* (properly ſo called) which in the time of the *Romans* was divided into ſo many diſtinct Provinces, each of which had their particular *Præfects* or Deputies, ſhould ſo unanimouſly agree in the Choice of this *Vortigerne*, whom *Geoffrey* prepoſterouſly relates to have been then Count of the *Gewiſes*, when indeed there were no ſuch People of that Name in Being, till the erecting of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom; thoſe People being then (and not before) ſo called from one *Gewis*, an Anceſtor of *Hengiſt*. And *Gildas*, who lived within fourſcore Years after the Reign of this *Vortigerne*, tells us of no leſs than four diſtinct Kings reigning together in this Part of the Iſland, and mentions not a Word of its ever being otherwiſe.

BUT that the Titles of thoſe Kings who reigned here during the firſt Wars between the *Britains* and the *Saxons*, were oftner by Election than Succeſſion, may appear not only from *Geoffrey* himſelf, but alſo from *Gildas* and *Nennius*, who are Authors of better Credit; and they relate *Vortimer* the eldeſt Son of *Vortigerne*, to have been elected upon his Father's Depoſition, King of the *Britains*; and after his Death, and the ſecond Deſertion of *Vortigerne*, that *Aurelius Ambroſius* was elected firſt General, and ſome time afterwards King of the *Britains*.

NOR can we believe that theſe Kings were Abſolute or Deſpotick Monarchs, ſince we find that Government unſutable to the Temper of the *Britiſh* Nation, both then, and in ſucceeding times; having not only frequently caſt off the Government of the *Roman* Emperors, but alſo of their own Kings, for their cruel Tyranny and Oppreſſion.

AND that this way of the Election of one ſupream King over the reſt, was after often uſed by the *Britains*, you will find in the Hiſtory it ſelf; not but that it muſt be confeſſed, that the ſeveral petty Kingdoms or

Principa-

Principalities which the *Britains* ſtill poſſeſſed, and that go under the Name of *North* and *South-Wales*, did commonly deſcend, and were diviſable among the ſeveral Sons of the deceaſed Prince, tho it was with great Inequality and Confuſion; which often produced frequent Civil Wars between the Contending Competitors, and became the Ruin of them all at laſt.

BUT to paſs from theſe *Britiſh* Princes, and the manner of their Government, as well before the coming in, as after the Deſertion of the *Romans*, and which (tho not in its due order of Time) I have here put together, that the Reader might have a full View of it all at once. I proceed now to the Civil and Military Adminiſtration of the *Romans* whilſt they continued Maſters of this Part of *Britain*.

JULIUS Cæſar, when he had rather view'd than conquer'd this Iſland, left it, upon the Delivery of ſome Hoſtages, and the Promiſe of ſending over more into *Gaul*, together with a certain Tribute to the Senate and People of *Rome*, neither of which the *Britains* ever perform'd; but during the Civil Wars, which not longer after enſued, they recovered their antient Liberty, which for divers Years they enjoyed, till the Emperor *Claudius*, at the Inſtigation of one *Bericus* a Fugitive, and upon a Pretence of their denying the *Romans* to trade here, ſent over firſt *Aulus Plautius* as his Lieutenant, and then following preſently afterwards himſelf in Perſon, made the *Britains* (I mean the greateſt part of them) partly by Force, and partly by Fear, ſubmit themſelves to his Empire; tho in a great meaſure under the Regiment of their own Kings, who only paid Tribute, and received *Roman* Gariſons, and ſuffered them to erect Colonies where they pleas'd: during which time the Government of the *Romans* was rather Military than Civil, the People living after their own Laws.

NOR were the *Britains* wholly ſubdued by them, till upon their Inſurrection under Queen *Boadicia* in the Time of *Nero*, when *Paulus Suetonius* being Legate or Lieutenant here, reduced them (tho with great difficulty) under the *Roman* Yoke.

BUT the Civil Wars that afterwards happened upon the Death of *Nero*, hindred their entire Conqueſt, until ſuch time as the Emperor *Veſpaſian* ſent over that famous Commander *Agricola* to be his General here; who in a few Years, having laid aſide their petty Kings, brought it into the Form of a Province under the *Roman* Governours, ſometimes ſtiled *Preſidents*, ſometimes *Conſulares*, and ſometimes *Legati* or *Procuratores*, as the Emperor's Commiſſion, or the various Appellations of the *Roman* Hiſtorians are pleaſed to entitle them.

AND then it was, I ſuppoſe, this Part of the Iſland was firſt divided into ſeveral *Præfectſhips* or Governments, tho how many they were, cannot be aſcertained; only we find from the Breviary of *Sextus Rufus*, that in the Reign of *Conſtantine* it was parcell'd into theſe four for its better Adminiſtration, *viz. Britannia prima*, which is conjectured to have been that Part of the Countrey lying from the *Gallic* Sea to the River *Thames* and the Mouth of the *Severn*; *Britannia ſecunda*, which reached from the *Severn* to the *Iriſh* Sea; *Flavia Cæſarienſis*, which was encloſed by the Rivers *Thames*, *Severn* and *Humber*; and *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, lying betwixt *Humber* and *Hadrian*'s Wall; to which was afterwards added by *Theodoſius* the Elder, the

De His Nominibus, vid. Pancirol. ad Not. Imperii Occident. & Camden. Brit.

the Province of *Valentia*, ſo called from the Emperor *Valentinian*; and which, having been taken out of *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, lay betwixt the Wall of *Hadrian*, and the Friths of *Glotta* and *Bodotria*, which now are thoſe of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*.

EACH of which Provinces were under their particular Magiſtrates, ſome whereof had the Title of *Conſulares*, and others of *Præſides*: all which, according to the *Notitia Romani Imperii*, were by *Conſtantine*'s new Conſtitutions, made ſubject to the *Vicarius* of *Britain*, as he was to the *Præfectus Prætorii* of *Gaul*, who was one of the Four *Præfecti* of *Conſtantine*'s Erection.

THIS Vicar of *Britain* had alſo ſeveral inferiour Officers under him for the Civil Adminiſtration; as firſt, he had his *Princeps* or Lieutenant out of the *Agentes in rebus*, that is, from the Chief of the Agents, Solicitors, or Attorney-Generals: he had alſo from the *Ducenarii*, or Society of the Emperors Purſuivants, a *Cornicularius*, i. e. one that wrote and publiſhed the Sentences and Decrees of the Preſidents and other Magiſtrates, and had his Name from *Cornu* a Horn, by the ſounding whereof he is ſuppoſed to command ſilence in the Court; then two *Numerarii*, i. e. Clerks Accountants, who did ſet down all the Sums of the publick Revenues; then a *Commentarienſis*, i. e. the Jailor or Keeper of the Priſon, and was ſo called from the *Commentaria*, or Kalendars which he kept of the Priſoners, and delivered to the Judges: then certain Officers called *ab Actis*, who were Publick Notaries, that wrote Teſtaments, Contracts and other Inſtruments, which were ſigned before by the Judg or Preſident, and atteſted by him, that ſo after the Death of the Party they might remain Authentick: then other Clerks or Secretaries *de Curâ*, or *de Curâ Epiſtolarum*, who wrote and ſent the Letters and Diſpatches of the Governours of Provinces to the Emperor, or to each other.

BESIDES whom, the *Vicarius* himſelf, (and, I ſuppoſe alſo, each of the Preſidents) had his *Adjutorem*, i. e. his Coadjutor, in caſe of Sickneſs, or neceſſary Abſence; as likewiſe *Subadjuvas*, Under-Aſſiſtants, or Aſſiſtants to the Adjutor: and, in ſhort, certain other Officers called *Singulares*, from the particular Civil Imployments they had, who ſeem'd to have been Proſecutors, Informers, or Serjeants; not to mention others of more inferiour Rank, as Apparitors, Summoners, or Meſſengers. This was the Civil Court of the *Vicarius*, or Deputy of *Britain*, under the *Præfectus Prætorii* of *Gaul*, who had the Power to reverſe his Judgments and Decrees.

THE Enſigns of his Government were a Draught of thoſe Five Parts of *Britain* before-mentioned, expreſſed in the Forms of ſeveral Buildings, with the Superſcription of their Names placed on the Triangular Form of the Iſland, as if they had comprehended the whole Iſland; the Book of their Inſtructions covered with Green, and the Commiſſion in a gilt Cover, with ſeveral Letters inſcribed on the Book, the Signification of which is unneceſſary to be here inſerted; but you will find this, as alſo a Draught of theſe *Inſignia* themſelves, in the above-cited *Pancirollus*.

Vid. Pancirol. in Notit. Imperii.

BESIDES theſe general Preſidents, there were likewiſe Courts in all the great Cities, *Municipia*, or Colonies of each Province, which had their ſeveral Officers and Magiſtrates according to the Model of *Rome*

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it ſelf, who heard Cauſes, and adminiſtred Juſtice to the particular Diſtricts belonging to them, much after the ſame manner as the Parliaments in *France* do at this day.

HAVING thus concluded their *Civil* Adminiſtration, we now come to the *Military*, which was executed by Three Chief Officers under the *Magiſter Militum* of the *Weſt*, and they were theſe, *viz.* the *Comes Britanniarum*, *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, and the *Dux Britanniarum*; whoſe ſeveral Charges, and the Tracts ſubjected to each of their Commands, may be beſt diſcerned by the Names of thoſe Towns where their Under-Officers and Forces are ſaid to have had their Head-quarters. The firſt of theſe, *viz.* the Count of *Britain*, is thought to have had his Command over the *Inward* or Middle Part of the Iſland, becauſe the two others are known to have had theirs over the *Northern* or Maritime Parts thereof; but the *Notitia* aſſigns not any Forces to the former, nor mentions any Places under his Command, becauſe, as *Pancirollus* writes, the whole Iſland was then almoſt overrun by Barbarians.

BUT as for the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, ſo called in the Declenſion of the *Roman* Empire, from the charge or Care he had to ſuppreſs the *Saxon* Pirates, who often landing on the *Eaſtern* Parts of *Britain*, (lying over againſt *Germany*) committed great Ravages there; he had eight *Præpoſiti*, and one *Tribune* under him, that were Leaders of divers Cohorts, conſiſting of *Gauls*, *Germans*, and other Foreign Nations, who quartered in ſeveral Towns all along the Coaſts, from *Suſſex*, as far as the remoteſt part of *Norfolk*: for the Names of whom, with the Places where they lay, I ſhall refer you to the *Notitia Imperii Occidentalis*, or (if you had rather have them in *Engliſh*) to Mr. *Selden*'s Titles of Honour, and Dr. *Howell*'s ſecond Part, and third Chapter, of his General Hiſtory.

THE like I may alſo ſay of the Forces under the *Dux Britanniarum*, or General of *Britain*, whoſe Army, had it then been really in being, was ſufficient to have ſuppreſſed both the *Picts* and *Scots*; for they conſiſted of no leſs than fourteen *Præfects* or *Præpoſiti* of Horſe and Foot, whoſe Names, and Places where they quartered (extending from *Lincolnſhire* through all the *Northern* Counties, as far as the *Pictiſh* Borders, and ſo round about by *Lancaſhire* into *North-Wales*) you may find in the Authors abovementioned.

BUT as for the ſeveral Enſigns of theſe three chief Military Officers, they being much what the ſame with thoſe of the *Vicarius Britanniæ*, *viz.* The Figures of certain Towns, with their Names ſet over them, together with their Commiſſions, contained in Books of different coloured Covers, with the Emperor's Images ſet by them on Pillars, I will leave it to thoſe who take more Pleaſure than I do in ſuch Curioſities.

ALL theſe *Comites* and *Duces* were equal in Power, and only ſubordinate to the *Vicarius Britanniæ*; the Forces under their Command were not only diſperſed through the *Municipia* or Free Colonies, which the *Romans* planted here, and were governed by their own Civil Magiſtrates in Imitation of *Rome* their Mother-City, but were alſo gariſon'd in divers Towns, Caſtles and Forts, all along the *Roman* Limits, thereby to diſcover the Motions of the Neighbouring Nations; ſeveral of which being intended only at firſt for their Military Camps,

by degrees grew up into Cities, and are known at this day by the Name of *Cheſters*; ſuch as are *Weſt-Cheſter* on the River *Dee*, *Portcheſter* in *Hampſhire* (now deſtroyed,) *Cheſter in the Street* in *Northumberland*, with ſeveral others of leſs note near the *Picts* Wall; as alſo in the Inland Parts of *England*, ending in the word *Ceſter*, as *Leiceſter*, *Cirenceſter*, &c. all which owe their Original to the Latin Name *Caſtra*.

HAVING now diſpatched the *Britiſh* and *Roman* Polity, I come to the main part of my Deſign, which is, to give a brief Account of the Civil Government that the *Engliſh Saxons* eſtabliſhed in this part of our Iſland, which they called *England*, who conſiſting of ſeveral Tribes or Nations inhabiting different Countries, yet all ſpeaking the ſame Language, came over hither at ſeveral Times under their particular Leaders; and as ſoon as they had expelled the *Britains*, they did within the ſpace of about a hundred Years, erect ſeven diſtinct Kingdoms, though not of equal Extent; the Names of which, (notwithſtanding they are ſet down in the Hiſtory it ſelf, yet having not given you the particular Catalogue of the ſeveral Counties they contained, becauſe their Dominions were not then divided into thoſe Diſtricts as they were afterwards,) I have reſerved to this place.

The Heptarchy.

1ſt. Kingdom. THE firſt Kingdom, being that of *Kent*, conſiſted only of that County and *Surrey*.

2d. Kingdom. THE ſecond, *viz.* that of the *South-Saxons*, contained *Suſſex* and *Surrey*, or at leaſt great part of it.

3d. Kingdom. THE third was the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and contained *Devonſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire* and *Berkſhire*. But as for that Countrey called *Cornwall*, I ſhall not reckon it here, becauſe it was for a long Time after governed by its own Princes, and not brought under the *Weſt-Saxon* Dominion till long after

4th. Kingdom. THE fourth was that of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, which contained *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, and part of *Hertfordſhire*.

5th. Kingdom. THE fifth was that of the *Northumbers*, which contained *Lancaſhire*, *Yorkſhire*, the Biſhoprick of *Dureſme*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, *Northumberland*, and part of *Scotland*, as far as *Edinburgh Frith*.

THIS Kingdom after the Death of *Ida*, was divided into two parts; the firſt whereof, containing all the Countries lying on this ſide the River *Tyne*, was called the Kingdom of *Deira*; and that on the other ſide of it was called *Bernicia*, and ſo continued for ſeveral Deſcents, till King *Oſwy*, about the Year 643. upon the Murder of King *Oſwin* his Couſin, again reduced them into one; and they continued thus united till ſuch time as the *Southern* Provinces were overrun by the *Danes*, as the more *Northern* were by the *Scots*, and have ever ſince remained part of that Kingdom: and hence it is that the Low-Lands of *Scotland*, (that is, all the Countrey from the River *Tyne*, to the *Friths* of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*,) antiently ſpoke the *Engliſh Saxon* Tongue, which in ſucceeding Times was changed into that *Engliſh* Dialect they call the Modern *Scotch*; and conſiſts of the old *Saxon*, with no little mixture of the *Daniſh* Language: this, I ſuppoſe, proceeded from the great Conqueſts, and ſettling ſo many of that Nation in thoſe *Northern* Parts.

THIS is in great meaſure confirmed by *John* of *Wallingford*, (publiſh'd by the Learned Dr. *Gale*) where he relates, that *Keneth* King of *Scots* received *Lothian* from King *Edgar*, under the Condition

545.

of

of a Homage from himſelf and his Succeſſors Kings of *Scotland*, to the King of *England*, as alſo that the People of that Countrey ſhould enjoy their Laws and Cuſtoms, as alſo the uſe of the *Engliſh* Tongue.

BUT as for the true and genuine *Scotiſh*, which they now call the Speech of the *Highlanders*, becauſe by them only ſpoken at this day, it is no other than the antient *Iriſh*, which the *Scots* brought over with them from thence, when they firſt came over to inhabit there, as you will find in the Beginning of *Bede*'s Hiſtory.

THE ſixth Kingdom was that of the *Eaſt-Angles*, which contained *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgſhire*, with the Iſle of *Ely*. 6th. Kingdom.

THE ſeventh was that of the *Mercians*, containing *Glouceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Rutlandſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and part of *Hertfordſhire*. 7th. Kingdom.

BUT as for the Names of the Kings who reigned in each of theſe Kingdoms, till they were all brought under that of the *Weſt-Saxons*, I ſhall refer you to the Tables at the end of the third, fourth and fifth Books of this Volume, wherein you have at one view all the Kings that ſucceeded in each of thoſe Periods, as alſo thoſe of that part of *Britain* we now call *Wales*; and for the more exact Chronology of the firſt *Britiſh* Princes, I muſt own my ſelf obliged to the exact account of the Right Reverend the preſent Lord Biſhop of *Bangor*, who I hope one day will let the World ſee ſome of his Learned Labours on that Subject.

THIS is a ſhort Scheme of the ſeveral Kingdoms, into which that Part of *Britain* we now call *England*, was divided in the *Saxon* Times.

I ſhould next proceed to the particular Laws and Forms of Government in each reſpective Kingdom; but ſince we have no Remains of thoſe left us for want of Letters, before the Preaching of Chriſtianity here, we can only ſay in the general, that without doubt each of theſe Kingdoms had its own particular Laws and Cuſtoms; and tho they might perhaps differ one from the other in ſome Points, yet they all agreed in the main, as to the moſt Material and Fundamental Conſtitutions of their Government, and long received Laws and Cuſtoms before ever they arrived in *England*, as proceeding from the ſame Common Anceſtors.

AND tho the *Engliſh-Saxons* were not immediately derived from the *Germans* but *Goths*, as you will find in the third Book of this Volume; yet ſince even the *Germans* themſelves were derived from the ſame *Gothick* Original, with all the reſt of thoſe Northern People, as the *Sweeds*, *Danes* and *Norwegians*, as appears by the Agreement of their Language, Cuſtoms and Laws; I ſhall therefore ſuppoſe that in the main likewiſe they agreed with the Antient *Germans*, as they are deſcribed by **Tacitus*, in their Laws, Manners, and Religion; and therefore I ſhall from him give you ſome of the moſt conſiderable of them, as they are collected by Mr. *Selden* in his Learned Treatiſe, called, *Jani Anglorum Facies altera.* * De moribus Germanorum.

THE firſt of which is, *In conciliis Rex vel Princeps, prout Ætas cuiq; prout Nobilitas, prout Decus Bellorum, prout Facundia eſt, audiuntur, Auctoritate ſuadendi magis quàm jubendi poteſtate. Si diſplicuit* 1.

Sententia,

Sententia, fremitu aſpernantur; ſin placuit, frameas concutiunt. Honoratiſſimum aſſenſûs Genus eſt Armis laudare. Which for the Benefit of the Common Readers, I will take upon me to tranſlate into Engliſh, *viz.*

" IN their Councils the King, or ſome principal Perſon, according to " every one's reſpective Age, Nobility, Reputation in Arms, or Elo- " quence, are heard, rather by the Authority of Perſwading, than the " Power of Commanding: if their Opinions diſpleaſed them, they " ſhewed their diſlike by their Clamour; but if they approved of what " was ſpoken, they ſtruck their Launces one againſt another. This " was thought the moſt Honourable way of giving their Aſſent to ap- " prove by Arms.

2. THE ſecond is, *Eliguntur in iiſdem Conciliis Principes, qui Jura per pagos vicoſq; reddant. Centeni ſingulis ex plebe Comites Conſilium ſimul & Auctoritas adſunt*, viz.

" IN thoſe Councils ſuch chief Men are Elected, as judge Cauſes in " Towns and Villages. A hundred Aſſeſſors choſen out of the com- " mon People are added to each of them, as well for Counſel as Au- " thority. From whence Mr. *Selden* here ſuppoſes our Hundreds had their Original; which antiently conſiſted of the Maſters of one hundred Families.

3. THE third goes on thus, *Nihil publicæ vel privatæ Rei niſi Armati agunt, ſed Arma ſumere non antè cuiquam moris, quam Civitas ſuffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipſo Concilio, vel Principum aliquis, vel pater, vel propinquus, ſcuto frameâq; Juvenem ornant: hæc apud illos Toga, hic primus juventæ honos: ante hoc Domus pars videntur, mox Reipublicæ*, viz.

" THEY tranſact nothing either of Publick or Private Concern " without their Arms: but it was not a Cuſtom for any to aſſume " thoſe Arms, before the Common-Wealth had approved of his Abi- " lity. Then in this very Council, either one of the principal Men, " or his Father, or his near Kinſman, adorned the Youth with the " Shield and Lance. This ſerved them inſtead of a Gown, and was " the firſt Honour of their Youth: before they only ſeemed as part of " the Family, but now they became a Member of the Common-Wealth. And here Mr. *Selden* diſcovers the firſt Footſteps of Knighthood.

4. THE fourth is, *Inſignis Nobilitas, aut magna patrûm merita, Principis dignationem, etiàm Adoleſcentulis aſſignant*; viz.

" EMINENT Nobility, or the ſignal Merits of their Anceſtors, do " advance even theſe young Men to the Degree and Honour of being a " chief Man.

FROM hence we may obſerve, that all Nobility among the antient *Germans* was at firſt Military, as being derived from the Noble and Valiant Acts of their Anceſtors in War; and thence proceed all the preſent Enſigns of it, *videlicet*, the Shield, on which our Coats of Arms are now depicted; as alſo the Helmet and Creſt that ſtand for an Ornament over them: for until ſome Brave and Worthy Act was performed, it was not lawful among the *Germans* for a young Warriour to paint any *Device* upon his Shield, which was only Perſonal to himſelf, and extended not to his Poſterity.

5. THE fifth is, That *Dotem non Uxor Marito, ſed Uxori Maritus offert*, viz.

" THE

" THE Husband ſettles a Dower upon the Wife, and not, *vice verſâ*,
" the Wife upon the Husband. Which ſhews the Antiquity of Dower among the *Germans* and *Engliſh-Saxons*; and as Mr. *Selden* upon this Law obſerves, it was called antiently *MORGANGHEB* among them.

THE ſixth ſhews, that *Acciſis Crinibus, nudatam adulteram coram propinquis expellit domo Maritus, ac per omnem vicum verbere agit*, viz. 6.

" FOR Adultery, the Husband turned the Wife out of his Houſe in
" the preſence of her Relations, having firſt cut off her Hair, and be-
" ing then ſtrip'd, whip'd her through the Town.

BUT the Severity of this Puniſhment, if ever it was in uſe here, was quite aboliſhed by the *Engliſh-Saxons*, as you will find from the Laws about it.

THE ſeventh is, that *Hæredes, ſucceſſoreſq; ſui cuiq; Liberi: & nullum Teſtamentum*, viz. 7.

" EVERY Man's Heirs and Succeſſors are his Children; and no
" Teſtament is allowed.

BUT in this the *Engliſh-Saxon* Law differed much from thoſe of the *Germans*; for it was lawful in *England* for Men of Quality to diſpoſe of their Land by Will (if they pleaſed) provided it were *Bocland*, (that is Free-Tenure grantable by Deed) as you may find by ſome Laws in the enſuing Volume; otherwiſe in Lands held in *Socage*, every Man's Sons inherited all alike: But this Law was changed after the Conqueſt, and no Will could be made of Lands held by Military Service, but they deſcended entirely to the eldeſt Son: which Law continued ſo low as the Reign of King *Henry* the 8*th*, when the Statute was firſt made, which gives the Tenant by Knights Service, Power to bequeath his Eſtate by Will, provided there were enough left to perform the Service. 32 Hen. VIII. Cap. 1.

THE eighth ſays, that *Suſcipere Inimicitias, ſeu patris, ſeu propinqui, quàm amicitias, neceſſe eſt*, viz. 8.

IT is abſolutely neceſſary to continue the Enmities of a Father, or near Kinſman, as well as Friendſhips.

FROM whence, as Mr. *Selden* well obſerves, aroſe thoſe Family-Quarrels, called in the North of *England*, DEADLY FEUDS, (which you will alſo find mentioned in the enſuing Collection of *Saxon* Laws) and which are continued in *Scotland* even to this Day.

BUT to proceed with *Tacitus*, he ſays, *Nec implacabiles durant: Luitur enim etiam homicidium certo Armentorum ac Pecorum numero, recipitq; ſatisfactionem univerſa Domus*, viz.

" THAT they do not remain implacable; for the Homicide is re-
" compenſed with a certain Number of great and ſmall Cattel, and
" the whole Family thereupon receives Satisfaction.

THIS Cuſtom continued long not only among the *Germans*, but alſo *Engliſh-Saxons*; the Price of Blood being to be redeemed at a certain Rate, according to each Man's Condition, which you will hereafter often find in the ſaid Laws to be mentioned under the Title of *WIRE-GILD*: and in the Laws of King *Æthelſtan* you will meet with the particular Prices of each Man's Head, from the Clown even to the King himſelf; the Eſtimation of whoſe Life is likewiſe there ſet down, thô at a much higher Rate (as it ought to be) than that of other Mens. But of this we ſhall ſpeak more anon.

9. THE ninth Law bears, that *Frumenti modum Dominus, aut pecoris, aut veſtis Colono injungit*, viz.

" THE Lord of the Soil preſcribes to the Husbandman, what " quantity of Corn, Cattel, or Clothes he ſhall pay him.

FROM whence we may take notice of the Antiquity of Rent reſerved upon Farms, which was chiefly in Proviſion, and not in Money, as it continued for a long Time after the Conqueſt here in *England*, and remains ſo in *Scotland* even to this Day.

HAVING thus done with the Laws, we ſhall next deſcend to the People who practiſed them. The antient *Saxons*, as *Adam* of *Bremen* from *Einhardus* relates, were like the *Germans*, divided into theſe four ſorts, *viz.* Noblemen, Freemen, Slaves that were Manumized, and laſtly, thoſe that continued Slaves: But * *Nithardus* ſpeaking of his Time, makes them but of three ſorts, *ſcilicet*, *Ethelings*, *Frilingues*, and *Lazzi*, that is, Noblemen, Freemen, and Slaves: and it was eſtabliſhed as a Law among them, that none of theſe ſhould tranſgreſs the Bounds of their own Condition, by matching with thoſe who were either a Degree above, or below them.

Adam. Bremenſ. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Brem. & Hamburg. cap. 5. ex Bibliothecâ Henric. Ranzovii. *Nithard. p. 4.

THIS Cuſtom was alſo long obſerved in *England* after the Conqueſt, and gave Original to thoſe Statutes of *Mag. Char.* and *Merton*, by which the Lord was to loſe the Benefit of his Wardſhip, in caſe he married the Ward to his Diſparagement, that is, *To the Daughter of a Villain, or a Tradeſman, in caſe that the Kindred complained of it.*

Vid. Mag. Charta, C. 6. & Merton. C. 7.

BUT before we come to treat of the ſeveral Degrees of People abovementioned, it is fit we ſhould ſay ſomething of the Head of the *Saxon* Common-Weal, *viz.* their King; who though he was choſen in all the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, out of the Blood-Royal of *Woden*, their firſt Leader of this *Gothick* Colony into *Europe*, as appears by their Pedigree at the end of the Book; yet were they at firſt no better than Generals in War, and in time of Peace they had little or no Power, as we may ſee in *Bede*.

Bede Eccleſ. Hiſt. Li. 5. Cap. 12.

FOR he ſpeaking of the Province of the Hither (i. e. *Eaſt*) *Frizeland*, (from whence he ſuppoſes our *Saxon* Anceſtors to have come, and to which the two *Hewalds*, the White and the Black, went to preach the Goſpel, and were there martyr'd for their Pains) he hath this remarkable Paſſage, *Non enim habent Regem iidem antiqui Saxones, ſed Satrapas plurimos ſuæ Genti præpoſitos, qui ingruente Belli Articulo mittunt æqualiter ſortes, & quemcunque ſors oſtenderit, hunc tempore Belli Ducem omnes ſequuntur, & huic obtemperant; peracto autem Bello, rurſum æqualis potentiæ omnes fiunt Satrapæ:* i. e. " For the Antient *Saxons* " (ſays he) have no King, but ſeveral Noblemen of their own Nation " ſet over them, who on the breaking out of any War, caſt Lots, and on " whomſoever the Lot happened to fall, all the People during that War, " follow and obey him as their General; but when the War was over " and at an end, all theſe Lords again became of equal Power.

AND it is likewiſe very obſervable, that neither *Bede* nor any other *German* Author, who relates the Story of the *Saxons* being invited by the *Britains* over hither, ever mention their being ſent by any of their Kings, but only by the *Saxon* Nation in general: and if it continued thus in *Bede*'s Time, it ought reaſonably to be concluded, that it was likewiſe

likewiſe ſo before their coming over, unleſs any Man can ſhew me ſome better Authority than ever I have yet met with to the contrary.

AND that this likewiſe continued ſo, not only in *Bede*'s Time, but many Years after, may appear from this Teſtimony of *Johan. Pomarius* in his Saxon Chronicle, which, tho written in Latin, yet not being able as yet to procure the ſight of it, I ſhall give you what he ſays almoſt to the ſame effect out of *Verſtegan*'s *Reſtitution of decayed Intelligence*; "As for "the General Government of the Countrey, they ordained twelve "Noble-men, choſen from among others for their Worthineſs and "Sufficiency. Theſe in the Time of Peace rode their ſeveral Circuits, "to ſee Juſtice and good Cuſtoms obſerved; and they often of Courſe, "at appointed Times, met all together, to conſult and give Order in "Publick Affairs; but ever in Time of War one of theſe twelve was "choſen to be King, and ſo to remain as long only as the War laſted; "and that being ended, his Name and Dignity of King alſo ceaſed, "and he became as before; and this Cuſtom continued among them "until the Time of their Wars with the Emperor *Charles the Great*, at "which time, *Wittekind* one of the Twelve as aforeſaid, a Nobleman "of *Angria* in *Weſtphalia*, bore over the reſt the Name and Authority "of King; and he being afterwards by the means of the ſaid Emperor "converted to the Faith of Chriſt, had by him his mutable Title of "King turned into the induring Title and Honour of Duke; and the "eleven others were in like manner by the ſaid Emperor advanced "to the honourable Titles of Earls and Lords, with Eſtabliſhment "for the continual remaining of theſe Titles and Dignities unto them "and their Heirs; of whoſe Deſcents are ſince iſſued the greateſt "Princes at this preſent in *Germany*. Verſtegan. Chap. 3. pag. 68, 69.

FROM what now I have given you, I think nothing is more evident than that the Government of the Antient *Engliſh Saxons* was rather Ariſtocratical than Monarchical: and admitting they allowed the King they had ſet over them ſomewhat more Power than thoſe Noblemen abovementioned, by whom they where governed in their own Countrey in time of Peace; yet was this Power of theirs far ſhort of that abſolute Dominion which Dr. *Howell* in his Diſcourſe of the Polity of the *Engliſh-Saxons* ſuppoſes, (tho without any juſt Ground,) that theſe Kings enjoyed, and therefore he would have it, "That the Govern-"ment was Monarchical, and that not only in reſpect of the parti-"cular Kingdoms during the *Heptarchy*, which had their peculiar Kings, "but even of the whole Body of the Nation, which was uſually "commanded by one of the Seven; of all which *Bede* takes notice in "his Time. Dr. Howell's *General Hiſtory*, *Part.* 4 *Fol.* 272.

BUT if every one of theſe Kings were no more a Monarch, than he who was ſometimes Supream or Chief above the Reſt, I doubt he will fall very ſhort of that Title, which is not found either in *Bede*, or in the *Saxon* Annals, or yet in any other Antient Writer before the Conqueſt, until the Time of King *Edred*.

BUT I have ſaid enough to confute this Notion, I hope, in the Preface.

THE Doctor's next Argument is from the Nature of the Monarchy, which he ſays, "We muſt believe at the firſt followed the Condition "of the Tenure, abſolute Conqueſts and Territories, both got and "held by the Sword alone, uſually producing abſolute Governments, Id. ibid.

"which

" which many times either by reaſon of the infirm Foundation laid by
" the Conquerors themſelves, the Humour of the People not induring
" ſuch Subjection, or other Accidents, change into more Moderate
" and leſs Arbitrary. That *Hengeſt*, *Ælla*, and the other Captains,
" where they firſt erected their Dominations, governed their Souldiers,
" whom now being Kings they called Subjects, with as great Autho-
" rity, and as full Command as formerly, we little doubt.

IN anſwer to this, and to ſhew you, that notwithſtanding what this Author hath alledged, we have ſtill great reaſon to doubt the Truth of it, as being founded on no Authority, but rather the quite contrary appears; I ſhall therefore only deſire the Reader in the firſt place to take notice, that it is no good Argument at all to ſay, that becauſe the *Saxon* Princes were Conquerors by the means of their Followers, therefore they muſt have ſubmitted themſelves abſolutely to their Dominion, when the War was over.

FOR the better Proof of which, I would farther intreat the Reader to obſerve;

FIRST, That thoſe Princes or Generals over the *Engliſh-Saxons*, (thô all of them were deſcended from *Woden* their Common Anceſtor,) knew no ſuch Power as that of Kings at Home, (according to *Bede*;) or if we believe *Pomarius*, the Title of King laſted at the moſt no longer than the War: nor could thoſe Princes be made Kings by their own Nation before they came over, ſince being only meer Souldiers of Fortune, they had as yet conquered no Dominions, from whence they could receive that Denomination: ſo that then it muſt fall out, that they could only be ſo by the *Election* of their Souldiers and Followers, that came over along with them; which may be alſo proved from the enſuing *Annals* themſelves.

FOR firſt they call *Hengeſt* and *Horſa* the two Brothers, who came over hither only *Heretogan*, i.e. Leaders or Captains of the *Jutes* that accompanied them, as you may ſee *An.* 449. of theſe *Annals*.

NOR ſecondly, do they begin the Reign of *Hengeſt* till the Death of *Horſa* his Brother, *Anno* 455. ſix Years after his coming over: ſo that it is plain he could have no other Right to his Kingdom of *Kent*, but *the free Election of the People* that came over with him, or elſe followed him not long afterwards.

THE like I might ſay of all the reſt of the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy* for the ſame Reaſon, were there no expreſs Authorities to prove it, which yet alſo are not wanting.

FOR as to the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, (which afterwards ſwallowed up all the reſt) our *Annals*, *Anno* 495. tell us " Of *Cerdic*,
" and *Cynric* his Son, their landing in *Britain* with five Ships, and having
" fought with the *Britains*, they about ſix Years after their coming over,
" upon their conquering the Countrey of the *Weſt-Saxons*, became
" their firſt Kings: which is further confirmed under *Anno* 519.
" where it is expreſly related, that *Cerdic* and *Cynric* then began their
" Reigns over the *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom. So likewiſe in *Anno* 547.
" it is there ſaid, that *Ida* began firſt to reign; from whom is derived
" the Royal Stock of the *Northumbrian* Kings.

AND yet we find from *Nennius* and *Malmesbury*, and all our other Hiſtorians who treat of this Matter, that *Octa* and *Ebuſa*, Son and Nephew to *Hengeſt*, had landed in the Northern Parts of *England* not long after

Hengeſt

Hengeſt himſelf; and having conquered thoſe Countries, they and their Deſcendants ruled there for near 190 Years, tho without the Title of Kings, but only as ſubordinate Lords or Earls under the Kings of *Kent*, till this *Ida* obtained the Kingdom; but whether by Succeſſion or Election, *William* of *Malmesbury* cannot tell us, but rather inclines to the latter: and tho it be true, that theſe *Annals* mention no other Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy* than theſe three laſt; yet it appears from very good Teſtimonies in the enſuing Hiſtory, that *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* and *Cambridgſhire*, being the Countrey of the *Eaſt-Angles*, were conquered by them under ſeveral petty Princes, that ruled there long before *Uffa*, who was made the firſt King of that whole Countrey.

THE like I may ſay for the *Mercian* Kingdom, where *Creoda*, or *Crida*, began his Reign about *Anno* 585. above 60 Years after the *Eaſt-Angles* firſt ſettled in thoſe Parts.

HAVING now, I hope, ſufficiently proved this Point againſt the Learned Dr. *Howell*, I think it will plainly follow, that all thoſe Kings above-mentioned could have no other Title to their Crowns beſides *Election*, who from Captains and Generals in time of War, became Kings in time of Peace over the Countries they had conquered.

I will here therefore leave it to the Impartial Reader, to conſider, whether what Dr. *Howell* aſſerts is at all likely to be true, *viz.* "That "the Power of theſe Kings commencing by the Sword, was as abſo-"lute in Time of Peace as in that of War: for we plainly ſee, that theſe were a free People, and it is in no ways probable that they ſhould, contrary to the Genius of ſo noble and free a Nation, ſubmit themſelves to the abſolute Dominion of one Man, who owed his delegated Power to themſelves.

BESIDES this, the original Conſtitution of all theſe ſeveral Kingdoms ſpeaks the quite contrary; for we find in the following Hiſtory, frequent mention made of great Councils of the *Wites*, i. e. the chief, or wiſe Men of the whole Kingdom, which Councils were eſtabliſhed to curb the exorbitant Power of their Kings; ſince by theſe they were *elected*, and by theſe too they were likewiſe often *depoſed*, when ever their Tyranny rendered them inſupportable; as you will ſee in ſeveral Inſtances when you peruſe the following Books in this Volume.

AND thus having traced as far as we are able the Original of the firſt *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings, we ſhall now in the next Place treat of the manner of their Succeſſion to the Crown, which ſome of our Modern Authors fancy to have been by a Lineal Succeſſion, becauſe we find the Son to have often ſucceeded the Father in moſt of theſe Kingdoms for ſeveral Deſcents. But if this ſhould be granted, yet is it no good Argument to prove a Lineal Succeſſion by Blood: for tho I am ſenſible that the *Saxon* Annals, as well as all other Hiſtorians, are very obſcure in this Point, not declaring which way thoſe Princes came to the Crown, whether by Succeſſion or Election, becauſe it was omitted in the old *Saxon Annals* out of which they wrote, and which we find very ſhort in that particular; yet this will by no means warrant thoſe Kingdoms to have been only Succeſſive, as ſome Men fondly ſuppoſe; ſeeing we may obſerve, that in the *German* Empire, (which every one knows to be Elective) the Son hath ſucceeded the Father, or a younger Brother the Elder, for above 150 Years, ever ſince the Time of the Emperor *Ferdinand* Brother to *Charles* the *Fifth*; however I hope no Body will

have the Confidence to affirm, that the Empire hath been only Succeſſive, and not Elective all this while.

THE ſame I may ſay concerning the Succeſſion of our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings, in which tho we find the Son often ſucceeded the Father, or one Brother another, yet does not this prove that the Succeſſion went by right of Inheritance, as it does at this day.

I MAY ſay the like as to *Denmark* and *Sweden*, the latter of which has been by Succeſſion but little above fourſcore Years from *Charles* the *Ninth*; and as for the former, it has become ſo even in our own Memories: and yet for many Succeſſions in both theſe Kingdoms, he that was the next Heir by Lineal Deſcent, was moſt commonly choſen King after the Death of his Father, Uncle or Brother; but before this Election he could claim no Legal Right to the Crown by the Laws of theſe Kingdoms, of which I ſhall give you divers Inſtances. And I think we may affirm this of all the Kingdoms of the *Saxon Heptarchy*; where tho the *Mycel-Gemots* commonly obliged themſelves to chooſe one of the Blood-Royal, and the next Heir rather than any other, provided he were equally fit to govern, eſpecially if he were recommended or deſigned for Succeſſor by the Will of the laſt King; however in this they took a great Latitude, as will evidently appear in the purſuit of this Diſcourſe.

BUT I muſt confeſs the manner how the *Saxon* Kings came to the Throne is but darkly expreſſed by the words *FENG to RICE* in *Saxon*, in Latin *Regnum capeſſit*, which we have commonly rendered, *ſucceeded in*, or *to the Kingdom*: yet thoſe words do not ſignify any Lineal Succeſſion, but are often promiſcuouſly uſed, when the next Succeſſor could have no Title but Election, as ſhall be farther ſhewn by and by.

NOW the beſt way to prove this, I think, will be briefly to ſurvey the Succeſſions of each Kingdom, and the ſeveral Breaches and Alterations that were made therein, upon this ſuppoſed Lineal Succeſſion.

1. Kent. And firſt, to begin with the Kingdom of *Kent*, of which we indeed have ſcarce any more than the bare Names of the Kings, with but very little of their Actions, for about four Deſcents, till *Ethelbert* the firſt Chriſtian King there began to reign, only that the Son ſtill ſucceeded the Father.

SO likewiſe from this *Ethelbert* to *Earcombert* his Grandſon, for two Deſcents more we find the like ſeeming Lineal Succeſſion; yet for all this doth it not therefore follow, that there might not have been either elder Brothers, or the Sons of them, who were excluded during that Time; ſeeing that we only meet with the next Succeſſor mentioned, without telling us whether there were not ſuch Heirs put by: for under the Year 640. we learn from our *Annals*, that *Earcombert* King of *Kent* ſucceeded *Eadbald* his Father abovementioned, who yet left an elder Son named *Ermenred*, that according to the Courſe of Lineal Deſcent ought to have ſucceeded to the Kingdom before his younger Brother *Earcombert*: but whether he was diſinherited by his Father, or rejected by the People, our *Annals* mention not, only that this *Ermenred* left two Sons, who afterwards were made away by one *Thunor*, Servant to King *Earcombert*.

Vid. Florence of Worceſter's *Genealogy of the* Kentiſh *Kings at the end of his Chronicle*, pag. 689. *and* Will. of Malmeſbury, *Lib.* 1. p. 10, 11.

AFTER him *Egbert* his Son ſucceeded, leaving a Son called *Eadric*, yet he did not ſucceed as he ought to have done (according to our Modern Opinions) by Hereditary Right, but *Lothaire* his Uncle, that kept

the

the Kingdom twelve Years from him: But whether he came in by the Teſtament of his Brother, or Election of the People, or by both, neither *Bede* nor any other Author give us an Account; tho it muſt be confeſſed, that this *Eadric* was diſcontented at his being thus put by, and therefore fled to the *South-Saxons*, and joined with them who were then in actual War againſt *Lothaire*; who happening to be worſted in the Fight where this *Eadric* commanded, and dying of the Wounds he therein received, *Eadric* ſucceeded, but whether by Right of Lineal Deſcent, or Election, is no where ſaid: Nor doth his thus making War upon his Uncle prove his Right, ſince we find that King *Edward* the *Elder* ſuffered the like Diſturbance from Prince * *Ethelwald*, the Son of King *Ethelred* his Father's elder Brother, as you will ſee in the beginning of the Reign of that King, which ended not but with the Life of the ſaid Prince *Ethelwald*, who pretended to the Crown.

* *Vide* Saxon Annals, *Anno* 901, 902.

NOR were Foreign Princes any better ſatisfied with *Eadric*'s Right; for *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, that *Ceadwalla* made War upon him, and deſtroyed his Countrey, to revenge the Death of King *Lothaire* his Predeceſſor. Ibid.

BUT after this *Eadric*, two Princes, called *Webba* and *Seward*, held the Kingdom, which muſt certainly have been by Election, becauſe it is not related, whether they were of the Royal Family or no; but they reigned not long, for *Whitred* Brother to *Eadric* ſucceeded them: after whom this Kingdom ſeems to have gone in a Lineal Succeſſion for three Deſcents, as far as to his Sons *Eadbert*, *Ethelbert*, and *Alric*; tho theſe Princes might have been alſo elected, for ought we know to the contrary, for they all reigned ſucceſſively after each other: But whether any of theſe left Sons is uncertain, for *Malmesbury* tells us, "That after them the *Kentiſh* "Royal Family decaying, any bold Aſpirer, whom Wealth or Faction "made formidable, obtained that Crown, but how?— Moſt likely by the Election of their Great Councils, for Uſurpations by Force could not well be practiſed in Kingdoms where (there being no ſtanding Army) the King in great meaſure depended on the general good Will of the People.

BUT as for the next Kingdom, *viz.* that of the *South-Saxons*, there is ſo little ſaid of them by any of our Hiſtorians, and they were ſo ſoon ſwallowed up by the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, that we can only gueſs they ſucceeded to the Crown, but it is moſt probable, that it was after the ſame manner as the Kings did in all the other Kingdoms. 2. South-Saxons.

I ſhould next treat of the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, according to the courſe of Time wherein it begun, but I intend to reſerve that to the laſt, becauſe it is from them that all our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings deſcended, till the Conqueſt.

AND therefore I will now give you a brief Succeſſion of the Kings of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, where they ſeem to have followed in a Lineal Deſcent, till *Sebert*, the firſt Chriſtian King; and he dying, as *Bede* relates, left his three Sons joint Heirs of his Kingdom, tho we can find no more than the Names of two of them, *viz.* *Sexred* and *Seward*, who being both ſlain in a Battel againſt the *Weſt-Saxons*, *Sigbert*, the Son of *Seward*, ſucceeded him. 3. Eaſt-Saxons. Bede *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 5. & Flor. Wig. *pag.* 630.

THIS I remark to ſhew you, that this Kingdom did not always go according to a Lineal Succeſſion, for all the three Brothers were Heirs alike: and that the Teſtament of the King alone had not the Power to

do this without the concurring Assent of the Great Council of the Kingdom, I shall prove when I come to discourse of the Succession of the *West-Saxon* Kings; since it is most reasonable to suppose the same General Laws or Constitutions concerning it to have been in use among them all, until any one can prove the contrary.

Ibid. Cap. 12. I have no more to say concerning these Kings of the *East-Saxons*, but that after the Death of King *Sebbi* or *Sebba*, we are informed by *Bede*, that *Siggard* and *Swithered* his two Brothers, reigned jointly after him, which I observe only the further to make good the former Instance, of more Heirs than one at a Time.

4. Northumbers. AND now I come to the Kingdom of the *Northumbers*, the Lineal Succession whereof being so often broken, and so very perplexed, it would be tiresome to give you all the particular Instances in which the next Heirs by Descent were put by, and other Princes of the Blood more remote chosen by the People in their Rooms: so that from *Ida* their first King for near three hundred Years, we shall scarce ever find that Crown settled in any one Family for above three Descents, but that it was still translated to some other Prince of the Blood Royal, which seems to have been the most general Rule they observed, as any one may see, who will please to consult their Pedigree at the end of *Florence* of *Worcester*.

Vid. *The Genealogies of the Saxon Kings at the end of* Florence *of* Worcester.

AND indeed the frequent Rebellions of this Nation against their Kings, and the Deposing of them so as they did, being not only observed, but frequently blamed by *William* of *Malmesbury* and our other Antient Historians, I shall not draw any Precedents from thence, but such as we find in the very beginning of this Kingdom, and before that People were infected with that turbulent Humour of casting off their Kings whenever they displeased them.

Lib. 1. Cap. 3. TO begin with *Ida* their first King, 'tis true *William* of *Malmesbury* will not affirm, whether he made himself King by his own Power, or else became so by Consent of the People, because he owns it to be very much in the dark; yet *Henry Huntington* is positive, *that he was chosen to this Dignity by the Consent of the Great or chief Men:* but after his Death, tho a Prince of great Merit, the Kingdom became divided, and *Adda* his Son only obtained the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, whilst *Ælla*, the Son of *Yffi*, of the same Royal Lineage, succeeded him in that of *Deira*, which how it could be unless by Election, I do not understand.

See Florence *in the Place above cited.* NOR did any of the Sons of *Adda* succeed him in that Kingdom, but three other Princes, *viz. Glappa*, *Theodulf*, and *Frethulf*, whose Relation to the *Northumbrian* Blood Royal, our Authors do not declare, nor yet how they stood in Consanguinity to each other; only they say that after them, *Thedorick* first, and then *Ethelrick*, the Sons of *Ida*, succeeded in the *Bernician* Kingdom, which how they could do otherwise than by Election I do not find.

Flor. Ibid. AND note, that these six Princes last mentioned, governed *Bernicia*, whilst *Ælla* being yet alive still reigned in *Deira*; nor did he, for all he ruled above thirty Years, long secure the Kingdom to his Son *Eadwin*; for he was soon expelled by *Ethelfrith*, the Son of King *Ethelrick*, who forced him to fly his Countrey, whilst he commanded both Nations for several Years, till being at last overcome and slain in Battel by *Redwald* King of the *East-Angles*; *Eadwin* again recovered not only his own Kingdom, but that of *Deira* also.

BUT

BUT yet he did not enjoy what he had thus obtained many Years, for he loſt his Life in a fight with *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, and then *Oſric* his Couſin-German ſucceeded him in *Deira*, whilſt *Eanfrid*, the Son of *Ethelfrith*, was made King of *Bernicia*; but he ſoon after being killed by *Cadwallo* King of the *Britains*, *Oſwald* his Brother ſucceeded him, who being alſo ſlain by the ſaid *Penda*, *Oſwin* his younger Brother was made King, whilſt *Oſwy*, the Son of *Oſric*, reigned in *Bernicia*, and having cruelly murdered *Oſwin*, made himſelf Maſter of both Kingdoms; but whether it was done by the Power of the Sword, or by Election, ſince our Authors are ſilent in this Matter, I will not determine. I have only ſet down the Succeſſion of theſe firſt Kings, to ſhew that there was not often any Hereditary Lineal Right to the Crown obſerved among them.

AS for the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, the Antient *Annals* and Hiſtories of that Countrey having been all deſtroyed by the *Danes*, we have little more than the Names and Succeſſions of their Kings left us, nor yet of thoſe higher than *Uffa*, (tho it is certain the *Eaſt-Angles* had fixed themſelves in thoſe Parts long before he began to reign) and thoſe but very lame and defective: For from *Ethelbert* who was murdered by King *Offa*, for above threeſcore Years, we have no Account of what Kings reigned in that Kingdom; and it is certain, that upon the Death of *Offa* and his Son *Egfert*, the People of the *Eaſt-Angles* freed themſelves from the *Mercian* Yoke; but about the Year 855. (as *Aſſer* in his *Annals*, and *Florence* of *Worceſter* aſſure us) *Edmund*, (after called the Martyr) being then but fifteen Years old, was Elected and Crowned King of the *Eaſt-Angles* by the general Conſent of the People of that Kingdom; but they do not inform us who was his Father; yet if we may give Credit to *John* of *Tinmouth* in his *Sanctilogium*, he makes him to be the Son of one *Alcmond* a Nobleman of the Blood Royal. 5. Eaſt-Angles.

I have given you this Inſtance, to let you ſee that they were no Strangers to Elective Kings; for if his Blood alone would have fixed in him any Title, there would have been no need at all of his Election: but this King being afterwards murdered by the *Danes*, they alſo ſeized on his Kingdom, and held it till it was reconquered by King *Edward* the Elder.

NOR have we much to remark of the manner of the Succeſſion of the *Mercian* Kings; for tho the Son very frequently ſucceeded the Father, or one Brother or Couſin to another, yet it is as certain that it muſt have been chiefly by an Elective Right, notwithſtanding the *Annals* and our Hiſtorians do not expreſly mention it: * For *Beornred* having in the Year 755. treacherouſly ſlain *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, *Offa* a young Man of the Blood Royal, raiſing Forces againſt him, and having driven him out of the Kingdom, he was, as † *Ingulph* relates, made King in his room by the General Conſent of the Nobles of *Mercia*; or as ‖ *Matthew Weſtminſter* words it, "He was by the unanimous "Conſent of the Clergy and Laiety of that Kingdom, Elected and "Crowned King; which without doubt was done in a Great Council of that Nation, for we find that to ſecure the Crown to his own Family, * *Matthew Paris* in his Life of King *Offa*, tells us, that in a Great Council aſſembled at *Calcuith*, *Anno* 787. he cauſed *Egfrid* his eldeſt Son, a comely and valiant Youth, to be crowned King, who 6. Mercians.

* Florence Wig. *p.* 691.

† Pag. 852. *printed at the end of* Script. poſt Bedam.

‖ Anno 758.

* Page 26.

jointly reigned with him as long as he lived: and that this could not be done without the Consent and Election of this Great Council, appears by the twelfth Law or Decree made therein, entituled, *De ordinatione Regum, viz.* "That at the Election or Ordination of Kings, no Man should "permit the Assent or Vote of evil Men to prevail, but Kings shall be "*lawfully Elected* by the Clergy and Elders, (*i.e.* chief Men of the King-"dom) and not begotten of Adultery or Incest, because an Adulterer, "according to the Canons, cannot arrive to the Priesthood; so neither "can he be the Lord's Anointed and Heir of his Countrey, or King of "the whole Kingdom, who is not begot of Lawful Matrimony.

Vid. Sir Henry Spelm. Concil. *Vol.* 1. Anno 787.

FROM hence the Reader may observe, that he who is appointed to be Elected, is also called *Heres Patriæ*, to let us see, that he who was to come in by an Elective Right, was also accounted the Right Heir of the Kingdom.

AFTER *Egfrid* succeeded *Kenwulfe*, who certainly came in by Election, being himself very remote from the Crown; for *William* of *Malmesbury* says, he was in the fifth Descent from *Cenwalch* the Brother of *Penda*, one of the first *Mercian* Kings; a Title too stale in that Age to give a Right without a new Election, since his Predecessor King *Offa* could not be admitted to obtain the Crown without it, tho he was in Blood almost as near to it, being in the fifth Descent from *Wibba* or *Wippa*, who was the Father of the aforesaid *Penda*.

Lib. 1.

Vid. Chronicon Saxonicum, *Anno* DCCLV. *where his Pedigree is set down.*

BUT. were there no other Proof of this, the Decree of the Council abovementioned sufficiently evinces this Kingdom to have been elective at that Time.

TO *Kenwulf* abovementioned, succeeded *Kenelme* a Child, and he is the first Example of an Infant's succeeding when there was a Male Heir of full Age alive, *viz. Ceolwulf* the Brother of the said *Kenwulf*; which I suppose proceeded from the great Love they bore to their late deceased King, and some Aversion they had to his Brother, as you will see by and by.

Vid. William Malm. Lib. p. 33.

BUT if *John* of *Tinmouth* in his *Historia Aurea*, (still in Manuscript in several Libraries) may be credited, tho he wrote long after those Times, yet out of antient Manuscripts not now extant, he says expressly, *Kenelmum ætate parvulum, sed animo & pietate magnificum, ad Regem elegerat Amor Populi sui*, i. e. the Love of the People had *elected Kenelm* to be their King, tho an Infant in Years, yet remarkable for Spirit and Piety.

BUT King *Kenelme* being murdered by his Sister *Quendride*, and she frustrated in her expectations of the Crown, our *Annals* tell us, that then *Ceolwulf* was advanced to it, (without making any mention at all of King *Kenelme*) and the next Year expelled his Kingdom by the Faction and Contrivance of *Bernulph* a potent Nobleman, but however no way related to the Blood-Royal, and so consequently could have no other Title or Pretence but Election, however unjustly he came by it.

THE like I may say of his Successors *Ludican*, *Wiglaff*, *Bertwulf*, and *Burhed*; the former of whom was only a remote Kinsman of *Bernulph's*, and the three latter were all of them of quite different Families: but as for *Ceolwulf*, who was the last that bore the Title of King of *Mercia*, he deserves not to be mentioned, being only for a Time made King by the *Danes* to serve their turns, and was quickly after deposed by them. I have but lightly run over the Succession of these Kings,

Kings, and refer you for the farther Proof to the following Hiſtory, where you will find all the Authors fairly quoted.

BUT now I come to the Succeſſion of the Kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*, from whom our *Engliſh* Monarchs derive their Pedigree to this Day: and therefore I ſhall be the more particular in my Quotations out of the Antient Authors concerning the Right which thoſe Princes had to the Crown, and the manner how they attained it. 7. Weſt-Saxons.

AS for *Cerdic*, and his Son *Cynric*, the firſt Kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*, it is certain that they had not the title of Kings before they came over, which the *Annals* place under *Anno* 495. as we have already obſerved: nor is it likely that they claimed by any other Title than the Election of their Followers, becauſe we find by the ſame *Annals*, that it was above twenty Years before they took upon them the Name of Kings; for *An.* 519. they ſay, *Hoc Anno Cerdicus & Cynricus Occidentalium Saxonum Regnum ſuſceperunt; à quo uſque die regnavit Occidentalium Saxonum proles Regia.* This Year *Cerdic* and *Cynric* began to reign over the *Weſt-Saxons*, and from that Time the Royal Race of the *Weſt-Saxons* have reigned to this day.

BUT it muſt be confeſſed, that the Crown from *Cerdic* to *Ceawlin* went lineally in three Deſcents from Father to Son; however this doth not prove but that it might alſo have been Elective for the Reaſons at firſt given.

THE ſame may likewiſe be ſaid for *Ceolric* and *Ceolwulph* the Nephews of *Ceawlin*: but that the former of theſe came in by Election is apparent; for upon *Ceawlin*'s being expelled the Kingdom, *Cwichelme* * his Brother ought to have ſucceeded him in caſe he had no Sons, as we do not read he had: and yet notwithſtanding *Ceolric* was made King, and this *Cwichelme* died in the ſame Year with his Brother, *viz.* DXCIII. as you may ſee in the *Annals*. * *Vid. Rad.* de Diceto, *Anno* 593.

AND to *Ceolwulf* ſucceeded *Cynegils*, Son of *Ceol*, Brother to the King laſt mentioned; and that he alſo came in by Election is highly probable, becauſe another *Cwichelme* who was his Brother was made Partner with him in the Kingdom, which could not have been done by his ſole Authority, his own Power at that Time not being abſolute. *Vid.* Annal. Saxon. *An.* 611.

THIS *Cwichelme* * *William* of *Malmesbury* makes to be his Brother; but *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *Matthew Weſtminſter*, call him his Son: but let him have been whether you pleaſe, it is certain here was no Monarchy, the Kingdom being divided between two who had equal Power. But *Cwichelme* dying before *Cynegils* his Brother or Son, the latter left the Kingdom to *Cenwalch* his Son; tho if *Cwichelme* was his Son, then *Cuthred* his Nephew, the Son of * *Cwichelme*, ought by right of Blood to have ſucceeded his Father. * Lib. 1. cap. 2. * *Vid.* Flor. Wig. *An.* 666. *and the Pedigree at the end of the 4th Book.*

BUT this King dying without any Iſſue, ‖ left the Kingdom to *Sexburge* his Conſort by his Teſtament. ‖ *Vid.* William Malmesb. *Lib.* 1. *pag.* 13.

AND tho this Example may ſeem to make good Dr. *Brady*'s aſſertion, *viz.* that the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings might bequeath the Crown to whom they would, yet that they could not do this without the Conſent of the Eſtates of the Great Council of the Kingdom, I hope I ſhall fully make out before I have done.

BUT this Queen *Sexburge* dying, or being depoſed, as * *Matth. Weſtminſter* relates, after ſomewhat more than a Year's Reign, *Eſcwin* a remote Kinſman ſucceeded her, tho he was ſix Degrees off from *Cerdic* the * Flor. *Hiſt.* Anno 672.

firſt

first King; and therefore he is not likely to have had any better Title than his Predeceſſors, for the Reaſon already given under the Kings of *Mercia*; and if that will not ſatisfy, then I ſay *Centwin* his Succeſſor was much nearer to the Crown than he, being younger Son to *Cynegils*, who had reigned within two Succeſſions before, as you may ſee by the Pedigree at the end of the fourth Book, where are exactly ſet down either from the *Annals*, or Antient Manuſcripts, in what manner theſe ſeveral Kings ſtood related to each other.

BUT before the Death of *Æſcwin*, it ſeems by the *Saxon Annals*, *Anno* 785. That *Ceadwalla*, a Prince of the Blood Royal, taking Arms, began to contend for the Crown of that Kingdom, tho he was very far removed from it, being deſcended from *Cutha* the younger Son of *Ceawlin*.

Vid. Annal. Saxon. *Anno* 693.

TO *Ceadwalla* ſucceeded *Ina*, to whom that King upon his going to *Rome* left the Crown, tho he was no nearer to it than his Predeceſſor, being deſcended from *Cuthwin*, the youngeſt Son of *Ceawlin* abovementioned, and could for certain have had no other Right than that of Election, becauſe *Cenred* his Father was alive at the ſame time, as you may ſee in the * Preface to this King's Laws, where he is expreſly ſo called.

*Vid. 1ſt *Vol.* of Sir Henry Spelman's Councils, as alſo the enſuing Hiſtory.

BUT as for the five next Princes, *viz.*, *Athelhard*, *Cuthred*, *Sigebyrht*, *Cynewulf*, and *Bryhtric*, it is moſt probable that they neither could have any other Title than *Election*, ſince being only Kinſmen and not Sons to each other, it is very unlikely that ſo many of them ſhould have died without leaving any Son to ſucceed them: which is alſo as good as confeſſed by *William* of *Malmesbury*, in theſe words, *Nam & ipſe* Brihtricus, *& cæteri infra* Inam *Reges, licet naturalium ſplendore gloriantes, quippe qui à* Cerdicio *originem traherent, non parum tamen à linea Regiæ ſtirpis exorbitaverant*; i. e. For tho *Brihtric* himſelf, and the reſt of the Kings ſince *Ina*, tho boaſting of their Royal Lineage, as drawing their Origine from *Cerdic*, yet did they not a little deviate from the right Royal Line, that is, they were not Lineal Heirs by Blood: and if ſo, what other Right could they have except that of Election by the People? Therefore ſince neither our *Annals*, nor any other Author that I know of, have given us their Pedigrees, I have been forced to ſet down the Names of theſe laſt five Kings by themſelves, without being able to ſhew you what Relation they had to each other.

BUT as for *Cynewulf*, that he could have no Title to the Crown but what Election gave him, it is certain; for our *Annals* inform us under *Anno* 755. "That he with the Wiſe and Noble Men of the "*Weſt-Saxons*, deprived King *Sigebert* of the whole Kingdom for his "Cruelty and Injuſtice. And certainly then the ſame Authority that Depoſed the one, muſt alſo Elect and ſet up the other; ſince he could by no means ſucceed him as his Heir, becauſe we find in the ſame *Annals*, "That *Cyneheard* the Brother of the late King *Sigebert*, con- "ſpiring againſt King *Cynewulf*, ſet upon him in a certain Woman's "Houſe at *Merton* in *Surrey*, and there ſlew him; and was at laſt "alſo killed himſelf: after whom *Bryhtric* began to reign, who was "in a Right Line deſcended from *Cerdic*.

Anno 755.

BUT we are now come out of the Dark into clearer Times; for K. *Egbert* ſucceeding *Bryhtric*, came in by Election, being, as our *Annals* likewiſe

likewiſe inform us, four Deſcents removed from *Ingilds* the Brother of King *Ina*, and that his beſt Title was Election, appears from the Teſtimonies of our moſt antient Hiſtorians, viz. *Ethelwerd*, who ſays expreſly, *Itaq; ordinatur Egberht ſuper Occidentales Saxones in Regnum*; this muſt ſignify, that he was ſet over the Kingdom. And further to confirm that, *Ordinatur* here ſignifies the ſame with *Eligitur*: ſee the Law abovementioned concerning the Election of the *Mercian* Kings; the Title of it in Sir *Henry Spelman*'s firſt Volume of Councils, is, *de Ordinatione Regum*, i. e. of the Election of Kings. Ethelwerdi *Hiſt.* Lib. 3. cap. 2. Fol. 292.

AND that by this word *Ordinatur*, cannot be meant any Lineal Succeſſion in *Ethelwerd*, will further appear from him, where he ſays, *Poſt Obitum Athulfi Regis, ordinati ſunt filii ejus in Regnum*; which muſt be underſtood either an Appointment by the Father's Will, or elſe a new Election, ſince theſe Sons of King *Æthelwulf* could never be thus appointed or ordained Kings by the Law of Lineal Succeſſion, becauſe each of theſe Brothers, except the Eldeſt, left Sons. Lib. 4. Cap. 1.

BUT *William* of *Malmesbury* does likewiſe as good as own, that King *Egbert* came in by Election, when he ſays, that upon the Death of *Brytrich*, *Egbert* at the frequent Solicitations of his Countrey-men coming over into *Britain*; *Moxq; imperare juſſus, Patriæ Deſideriis ſatisfecit*, being immediately commanded to reign, did thereupon ſatisfy the Deſires of his Countrey. Now I would fain know, if he had come in by virtue of a Lineal Deſcent, why he ſhould have needed the being commanded to reign, ſince he ought rather to have commanded their Allegiance as his Due? Lib. 2. Cap. 1.

AND either to this Time, or rather to the latter end of this King's Reign, (as you may find in the enſuing Hiſtory) I ſuppoſe may be referred what the Author of the *Mirror of Juſtices*, in the very beginning of the Book, ſays concerning the firſt Election of a King to reign over the reſt of the *Saxon* Sovereign Princes, *viz.* "That forty of them "made him to ſwear, that he would maintain the Holy Chriſtian Faith "with all his Power, and govern his People according to Right, with-"out regard to any Perſon: and that he ſhould be liable to ſuffer "Right, (*i. e.* Judgment) as well as others of his People.

THIS Paſſage, tho it be accounted by ſome of but a doubtful Authority, becauſe of the forty Princes abovementioned, whereas we never read of above ſeven or eight *Saxon* Kings to have reigned at once, and thoſe too were by this *Egbert* reduced to three beſides himſelf; *viz.* the *Eaſt-Angles*, *Mercia*, and *Northumberland*; yet if by the Princes here mentioned, we underſtand not Sovereign Princes, but Ealdormen of Counties and Great Cities, who (as Mr. *Selden* ſhews us in his *Titles of Honour*) are commonly ſtiled in the old *Saxon* Charters *Principes*, and by this Author in his *French* Original, rendred *Princes*; theſe meeting together in a Great Council, did, as the chief Magiſtrates of the Cities and Counties from whence they came, injoin the King this Oath which was taken at the General Council mentioned in the enſuing Hiſtory under *Anno* 803, or elſe 828. This Paſſage in the *Mirrour of Juſtices*, if it were taken out of ſome old *Saxon* Monument now loſt, (as I have great reaſon to believe it was, ſince the Laws which he here relates concerning King *Alfred*, are admitted by the Learned Author of the Notes upon his Life, printed at *Oxford*, to have been tranſcribed by him from ſome Antient Commentaries of that King, Selden. *Tit. Hon.* Fol. 502. *laſt Edition.* *The Diviſion of* England *into Counties was much more antient than King* Alfred. Ælfredi Magni Vita, Fol. 82.

which Laws he there a little after recites:) I say, this Passage may serve as a great Proof, not only of this King's Election to be the Chief or Supream King of all *England*, but also it gives us the Original Contract, if I may so call it, which he then entred into with this Nation, at the time of his Election and Coronation.

TO *Egbert* succeeded *Athelwulf* his Son; who, though I grant it is no where said that he was Elected, yet if his Father were so (as it is most evident he was) it is not likely that the Kingdom should become Successive in one Descent, especially if we consider the manner of all his five Sons coming to the Kingdom, either in his Life-time, or after him.

Vid. Annal. Saxon. & Flor. Wig. *An.* 636.

FOR as to *Athelstane* his eldest Son, on whom he bestowed (almost as soon as he came to the Crown) the Kingdom of *Kent*, with the *South* and *East-Saxons*, I have proved in the ensuing History from * *Matthew Westminster* and other Authors, that he was Illegitimate, and so could have no Legal Right of Succession: nor does it seem probable, he should be set over those Kingdoms by his Father without any previous Election, or Consent of those People.

* Flor. Hist. *Anno* 637.

AND as for his other four Legitimate Sons, *Ethelbald*, the Eldest of them, did by the General Consent of the King and the whole Nation, (which amounts to an Election) * divide the Kingdom with his Father, he himself enjoying that of the *West-Saxons*, whilst his Father ruled over the rest. And by the virtue of his Testament, confirmed likewise by the General Consent of the Kingdom, *Ethelbald* remained only King of the *West-Saxons*, whilst *Ethelbert* his second Brother reigned in *Kent*, as also over the *East* and *South-Saxons*, which had been his Brother *Æthelstane*'s share, who died without Issue for ought we can find.

* *Vid.* Annal. Asserii, *Anno* 855. pag. 56. edit. per Doct. *Gale*, & De Gestis *Ælfredi*, pag. 3.

BUT after King *Ethelbald*'s Death, *Ethelbert* succeeded in the whole Kingdom; and he likewise dying, *Ethelred* his Brother succeeded him, after whose Death also *Alfred* the youngest Brother came to the Throne.

THIS short Account is the Truth of the Matter of Fact; yet there requires a great deal to be said to have it well understood; since Dr. *Brady* in his true and exact History of the Succession of the Crown, *Vol.* 1. of his *Introduction*, will needs derive the whole Right which these Princes had to the Kingdom, from the Entail of it by their Father's Will abovementioned; and if the Testament of a King then Regnant could dispose of the Crown to the prejudice of the Right Heirs by Lineal Descent, I desire this Learned Antiquary to satisfy us how this could consist with his supposed Right of Lineal Succession at the same Time?

BUT the Truth is, this worthy Doctor, as well as the Author of *the great Point of Succession discussed*, here deal with us like some crafty Witnesses, who indeed speak the Truth, but not the whole Truth, if they find it will make against them. For the Doctor in the first Place conceals, and the nameless Author of the other Pamphlet, either wilfully or ignorantly, positively denies, that King *Alfred*'s three elder Brothers, who reigned before him, left any Issue Male; whereas it is most certain that two of them, if not all Three, left Sons behind them: for *Athelm* and *Æthelwold*, (to whom King *Alfred* by his Testament bequeaths divers Lands therein mentioned, under the Title of his Brother's Sons) are supposed by the Learned Author of the Notes upon his Life, to have been the Children of King *Ethelbald* his eldest Brother,

Vid. Testament. *Alfredi* Regis.

ther, tho whether they were ſo or no I will not be ſo confident as to affirm. But that they were either the Sons of *Ethelbald* or *Ethelbert* is moſt certain, and conſequently they ought to have reigned before him who was but their Uncle.

AS for King *Ethelred*, he had alſo two Sons if no more, *viz. Alfred*, ſuppoſed to be Grandfather to *Elthelwerd* the Hiſtorian, and *Oſwald*, whom Mr. *Speed*, in the Reign of this King, ſays was a Witneſs to his Father's Charter to the Abbey of *Abington*: but the Author of the Notes to King *Alfred*'s Life being convinced of this, to ſolve an Ob- Fol. 19.
jection ſo directly contrary to the received *Hypotheſis* of a Lineal Succeſſion, is feign to take refuge in a ſuppoſed Arbitrary Power the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings had of diſpoſing of their Kingdom as a *Fee-Simple*: which is ſuch a Conceit, that if he would but have been pleaſed to put down the firſt ſeven or eight Lines of King *Alfred*'s Teſtament, inſtead of that Scrap he has there given us of it, it would have ſufficiently confuted that Aſſertion. Therefore ſince he has been ſo fair as to give us this Teſtament at full length in the ſecond Appendix to the ſaid Life, I will make bold to tranſcribe ſo much as will be enough to evince the contrary, and leave the Reader to conſult the reſt at his leiſure.

Teſtamentum Alfredi Regis.

* *EGO Ælfredus Divino Munere, labore ac ſtudio Athelredi Archiepiſcopi, nec non totius* Weſt-Saxoniæ *Nobilitatis Conſenſu pariter & Aſſenſu, Occidentalium Saxonum Rex, quas in teſtimonium hæc ultimæ Voluntatis complementi, ut ſint advocati in diſponendis pro ſalute Animæ meæ, Regali Electione confirmo, tam de hereditate, quam Deus ac Principes eum ſenioribus populi miſericorditer ac benigne dederunt, quam de hæreditate, quam pater meus Æthelwulfus Rex nobis tribus fratribus delegavit, videlicet Æthelbaldo, Ætheredo, & Mihi; ita quod qui noſtrum diutius foret ſuperſtes, Ille totius Regni Dominia conquaderet.*

* *Printed alſo at the end of* Aſſer de Geſtis Alfredi.

See the Tranſlation of this Will at the end of K. Alfred's *Life.*

NOW I would gladly be ſatisfied from the Author abovementioned, in theſe three Points, if King *Æthelwulf* had full Power to bequeath the Kingdom to his Sons, and to turn it from a *Fee-Simple* into a *Fee-Tail*;

FIRST, Why K. *Alfred* in the very firſt Line of this Teſtament calls himſelf King of all *Weſt-Saxony* by the Divine Donation, and the *Aſſent* and *Conſent* of the whole *Weſt-Saxon Nobility*, if he had not been *Elected*, or at leaſt *Confirmed* by them in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, ſo bequeathed to him by his Father?

SECONDLY, When he here ſummoned them to be Witneſſes to the compleating and confirming of this his laſt Will, why he diſtinguiſhes that private Inheritance which he had given him by the Grace of God, and the Favour and Bounty of his Nobility and People, from that publick Inheritance which his Father had beſtowed on him and his two Brothers, ſo that the longeſt Liver of them ſhould enjoy the whole Kingdom? But,

THIRDLY, if his Father's Teſtament alone could have given his Brothers and him an abſolute Right to the Kingdom, how came it to paſs that he ſtiles himſelf King by the Aſſiſtance of Arch-Bp *Athelred*, with the Aſſent and Conſent of the whole *Weſt-Saxon* Nobility? and what neceſſity was there for him to ſummon them only to be Witneſſes thereof,

if

if their Confirmation were no ways neceſſary thereunto? I fear he will not be able to anſwer theſe Queries, unleſs he will grant that this laſt Will of King *Alfred* wanted as much their Confirmation, as that of his Father had done before.

AND this may be plainly proved, not only from the beginning of the Will it ſelf, but alſo from an Agreement therein recited to have been "made between the three Brothers abovementioned; by Virtue of "which they dying, the whole Inheritance of King *Ethelwolf* his Fa- "ther was *devolved* upon him by a certain Charter made in the *Mycel* "*Gemote*, or General Council of the Kingdom, at *Langdene*; which "being read before the Witneſſes, (*i. e.* all the Eſtates) of all *Weſt-* "*Saxony*, they unanimouſly declared, that they knew of none who had "a juſter Title than himſelf. And yet you muſt not forget, that both his ſaid elder Brothers had left Children behind them.

WHEREUPON the ſaid Eſtates farther declared thus, *Ecce jam habes tuam hereditatem iterum in Manibus tuis. Nunc de Bonis & Poſſeſſionibus conde Teſtamentum tuum, lega, & dona tuo proximo ſanguini vel Amicis tuis & Cognatis ſicut tibi placuerit.* To which the King replied, *Et Omnes illi firmitatem irrevocabilem mihi fecerunt, & ſubſcripſerunt, ipſos nunquam hereditatem meam alicui homini aliter pervertendo daturos, præterquam cui Egomet legabo die proximo jam inſtante.*

FROM whence it is moſt evident, that it was to the Conſent of the Eſtates of the Kingdom that King *Alfred* owed the Power of making this his laſt Will, and of bequeathing only the private Inheritance which his Father and Brothers had left him; and where, tho he diſpoſes of the ſeveral Lands therein mentioned, firſt to his eldeſt Son *Edward*, then alſo to his younger Son, whom he does not name, and his two Nephews and others; yet he pretends to make no Bequeſt of the Crown, which one would think he would by no means have omitted, had he had any ſuch unlimited Prerogative abſtracted from the Conſent of the Kingdom, to have diſpoſed of, or entailed it, as his Father had done before him, tho not without or againſt the ſaid Conſent, to which it appears every one of his Predeceſſors chiefly owed his Title.

NOW give me leave to draw two Concluſions from the whole Will, which I have almoſt tranſlated *verbatim* at the end of King *Alfred*'s Life in the following Hiſtory.

FIRST, That it was then indeed in the Power of the King to make his Will, and bequeath his Kingdom; but how? with the Conſent and Aſſent of the Eſtates; and the Perſon or Perſons to whom it was thus entailed, came in ſucceſſively by virtue of ſuch Deſignation: and therefore * *Aſſer* very well and juſtly calls King *Athelwolf*'s Will, *Hereditariam, vel Commendatoriam Epiſtolam*, i. e. a recommendatory Letter to the Eſtates of the Kingdom to elect his Sons; but if no ſuch Bequeſt was made, and ſo confirmed as aforeſaid, then the Eſtates of the Kingdom were at liberty to chooſe the Eldeſt Son, or next Brother or Kinſman, if he were of fit Age and Capacity, for their Sovereign; nay, the King's Teſtament or Adoption preceding, a meer Stranger to the Royal Blood might be capable of ſucceeding, provided he alſo had the Election or Confirmation of the Great Council of the Kingdom, as I ſuppoſe Queen *Sexburgha* the Wife of King *Cenwalch* had; and as you will further find *Harold*, the Son of Earl *Godwin*, obtained, towards the end of this Volume.

* De Geſtis Alfredi.

SECONDLY,

SECONDLY, That the Perſon ſo deſigned was called the *Heir* of the preceding King, and enjoyed the Inheritance thus acquired *Jure Hæreditario*, i. e. by Hereditary Right, tho he was not the next Heir in Blood to him that went before him, as is clearly manifeſt from this Teſtament it ſelf, wherein King *Alfred* plainly diſtinguiſhes between the Dominions which he and his Brother King *Ethered* were to conquer, and thoſe that came to him *Jure Hæreditario*, i. e. by Hereditary Right, *viz.* by Virtue of his Father King *Ethelwulf*'s Will; therefore when the Crown fell to King *Alfred* by virtue of that Entail, Abbot *Ailred* expreſly ſays, *ad Eum totum Regnum jure Hæreditario tranſiit*, &c. And yet King *Alfred* could not be Lineal Heir to his Brothers, ſince they both left Sons behind them, as hath been already obſerved. De Genealog. Regum Ang. Col. 351.

AND in the ſame Senſe King *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, in the Preface to his Charter to the Abbey of *Weſtminſter* (which you may find at large in *Monaſt. Anglican.*) having recited the Miſeries the Nation had undergone from Wars raiſed by Strangers, which were to that extremity, *Adeo ut pene periclitata ſit hæreditaria Regum Succeſſio, magnúmq; eſſet interſtitium inter fratrem meum Edmundum, qui Patri meo ſucceſſit, méq; habitum ſit; invadentibus Regnum Sweyno, & Cnuto filio ejus*, &c. where you may obſerve he calls his own Succeſſion to his Brother, *Hæreditaria Succeſſio*; and yet his Brother left a Son behind him, who was Living when he was choſen King. Thus alſo *Eadmerus* relates, that Duke *William* claimed the Crown of *England*, *Jure Hæreditario*, from King *Edward* the *Confeſſor*'s Teſtament; but certainly the Duke could have no pretence to it by Right of Blood, being no ways deſcended from the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings. 1 Vol. pag. 59. Hiſt. Eccleſ. pag. 5.

SO that it is a manifeſt Errour in ſome of our Modern Writers of the Succeſſion, who will needs underſtand theſe words, *jus Hæreditarium*, to have been uſed in the ſame Senſe in thoſe, as they have been taken in later Ages, ſince the Crown came to be claimed by a Lineal Deſcent of Blood: But indeed *Eadmerus* his Senſe of theſe words is moſt agreeable to the *Civil Law*, wherein he is called *HÆRES EX ASSE*; who comes in as Heir by Teſtament to the whole Inheritance, tho no way related to the Teſtator; for that Law deſcribes an Heir thus, *Hæredis ſignificatione, omnes ſignificari Succeſſores, etſi verbis non expreſſi*: And therefore our *Bracton* derives the word *Hæres*, *ab Hæreditamento*; for ſays he, *Inheritance is a Succeſſion to all the Right which the Predeceſſor* (he does not ſay Anceſtor) *enjoyed*: from whence you may obſerve, that in *Bracton*'s Time, this word *Hæres* was not even by our Law limited only to an Heir by Blood or Deſcent.

HAVING ſaid thus much of our *Saxon* Kings Acceſſion to the Throne, as far as King *Alfred*; I ſhall in the next Place proceed to give you the Succeſſion of all the reſt, down to the pretended Conqueſt, from the moſt Antient Authors who lived either a good while before, or elſe not long after that Time, before Men's Minds became prejudiced by thoſe Notions of Lineal Succeſſion, which began to be in Vogue about the Time of *Edward* the *Third*, when the Crown had deſcended from Father to Son for four Deſcents, tho not without ſomewhat that was tantamount to an Election in that Prince himſelf.

TO King *Alfred* ſucceeded his Son King *Edward* the *Elder*, who, not having the Crown bequeathed to him as his Father had, *viz.* by Will,

confirmed by an Act of the Great Council, was fain to be Elected, as *Ethelwerd* expresly tells us in these words, *Successor equidem Monarchiæ post filius supra memorati Regis coronatur, ipse Stemmate Regali, à Primatis ELECTUS Pentecostis in die:* that is, afterwards *Edward* the Son of the abovementioned King, being Successor of the Monarchy, was Crowned; and being descended of the Blood Royal, was *Elected* by the Chief Men of the Kingdom on the day of *Pentecost*, (i. e. *Whitsunday*).

Chron. Ethelwerdi. *Lib.* 3. Ca. 3. An. 901.

AFTER this *Edward*'s Decease, *Æthelstan* his Son succeeded him, whom most Antient Writers, as well in Print as Manuscript, relate to have been begot of a Concubine, and therefore could have no Legal Right: and tho *William* of *Malmesbury* endeavours to palliate it, yet he is almost forced to confess it at last by saying, *Sed Ipse præter hanc Notam (si tamen vera est) nihil ignobile habuit*, i. e. that he had no other Mark of ill upon him but this, if it were true.

BUT tho Dr. *Brady* will have this Prince to have succeeded wholly by virtue of his Father's Will, and cites *William* of *Malmesbury* for it, who, he says, has these words in the History of *Edward* the *Elder*, *Jussu Patris in Testamento* Æthelstanus *in Regem acclamatus est*; by the Command of his Father, in his Will, *Æthelstan* was proclaimed King; yet he might have been so fair and ingenuous as to have given us the words that are in the very beginning of this Chapter in the same Author, *viz. Itaq; magno Consensu Optimatum ibidem* Athelstanus *ELECTUS, apud Regiam Villam quæ vocatur* Kingston *Coronatus est*; i. e. That thereupon by the General Consent of the Chief Men or Estates of the Kingdom, *Athelstan* being *Elected*, was Crowned at the Royal Town of *Kingston:* but this did not agree with the Doctor's Hypothesis, and so I suppose he thought it best to leave it out.

Lib. 2. Cap. 6.

THIS Passage was borrowed by *William* of *Malmesbury* from a much Antienter Author, *viz.* the Compiler of the *Saxon Annals*, who under *Anno* 925. expresly tells us, That he was *Electus in Regem, & apud* Cingestune *Consecratus*, Elected King, and Anointed at *Kingston:* from both which it appears, that the Election and Consecration were then two different Actions.

AFTER *Athelstan*, succeeded *Edmund* his Brother, and indeed ought to have been King before him, he being Legitimate, whereas the other was only a Natural Son.

BUT he dying, and leaving two Sons behind him, *Edwy* and *Edgar*, neither of them, but *Edred*, King *Edmund*'s younger Brother, was advanced to the Throne; which how it could be done unless by Election, I confess I do not understand: and therefore this might be omitted as to this Prince, as well as the Coronation of King *Edgar*, and other of our *English-Saxon* Kings are both by our *Annals* and Antient Historians; for I must own I cannot find that the word *Electus* is used in his Advancement to the Throne: for *Ethelwerd* tells us expresly, *ejus Successor extitit* Eadred *in Regnum, suus quippe frater*; that *Eadred* his Successor obtained the Kingdom, because he was his own Brother.

Ethelwerdi *Histor.* Cap. 7.

AND in this he is followed by *Florence* of *Worcester*, who expresses it thus, Edredus *proximus hæres fratris succedens, Regnum suscepit*; *Edred* succeeding as next Heir to his Brother, enjoyed the Kingdom.

Dr. *Brady* in his above-cited Treatise, will needs solve this open Breach of a Lineal Succession, by the Nonage of King *Edmund*'s Sons, and the Nation's then being under great Difficulties. The former of these

I grant to be a good Excuſe, but as for the latter it was not at all true; ſince King *Edmund*, by ſubduing both *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, driving the *Danes* out of the one, and delivering the other to the King of *Scots*, to be enjoyed as his Vaſſal, had thereby ſufficiently ſettled the Peace of the Nation: ſo that let the Doctor take his choice, and either allow this King to have ſucceeded by Election, or elſe if by Succeſſion, it was no Lineal one, as the Doctor would maintain, becauſe theſe Hiſtorians tell us, he ſucceeded his Brother as *next Heir*, when at the ſame time they confeſs too, that he left two Sons behind him; and if the Nation's lying then under great Difficulties, will be a good Warrant to ſet by a Right Heir, I deſire he would be pleaſed to ſatisfy me, why it may not always be a juſtifiable Reaſon to make a Breach upon the Succeſſion in the like Caſes?

AS for *Edwy*, Nephew to this King, indeed I do not find any thing mentioned in the *Annals* or other printed Authors of his Election; yet the Antient Manuſcript Life of Arch-biſhop *Odo*, now in the * *Cottonian* Library, and which ſeems to have been written by ſome Monk not long after that Time, ſays expreſly, *Edwigus* Filius *Ædmundi in Regem ELECTUS eſt.* Nor indeed could he ſucceed as Heir to his Uncle, for his Lineal Right was before him: nor does the Expreſſion commonly uſed in the *Saxon Annals, viz.* FENG *to* RICE, (which is rendered in the Latin by *capeſſit Regnum*) ſignify any thing concerning the manner of this or any other King's coming to the Crown, "Theſe being, as the "Doctor himſelf acknowledges, *the uſual* Saxon *and* Latin *words, by* "*which the Succeſſion is expreſſed*, being variouſly rendered by Tranſlators, by *Regnum capeſſit, ſucceſſit*, or *Electus eſt*: and thus we likewiſe find the ſame words are uſed in the *Annals* to expreſs King *Æthelſtan*'s and *Eadred*'s, nay *Harold*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, tho it is evident none of them could claim by any Lineal Succeſſion.

* Otho. D. 12.

True and exact Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of the Crown, fo. 3, 9.

AND theſe are not the only words made uſe of in the *Saxon* Chronicle when an Election is ſignified; for *An.* 1015, we find theſe words concerning the Election of K. *Edmund Ironſide*, that the *Wites* or *Wiſe* Men who were at *London*, and the *Citizens*, *Gecuron Eadmund* to *Cynge*, i. e. choſe *Edmund* King. So likewiſe *Anno* 1036. concerning the Election of *Harold Harefoot*, that all the Thanes North of *Thames*, and the Seamen of *London*, *Gecuron Harold*, to rule over all *England*: the ſame word we alſo find *Anno* 1066. where after the words *FENG to RICE* abovementioned, theſe likewiſe follow, *and eac men Hine hæf* to *Gecuron*; i. e. all Men Elected him, *viz. Harold*, to the Crown.

AND that there may be no diſpute about the meaning of this word *Gecuron*, we find it often uſed in theſe *Annals* for the *Election* of the Pope, as, *e. g. Anno* 1054. upon the Death of Pope *Leo*, *Victor wæs gecuron to Papan*. So likewiſe *Anno* 1057. upon the Death of *Victor*, *wæs Stephanus Gecoren to Papan*; and I think the Doctor might with as much appearance of Truth have maintained, that the *Saxon* word *Gecuron* here rendred by the Latin *Electus* in theſe *Annals*, ſignified not the *Election*, but Recognition of the Pope; as to aſſert (as he does) with ſo much Confidence, that *Eligerunt* in all Hiſtorians ſignifies no more than *Recognoverunt*, when uſed concerning our *Engliſh Saxon* Kings; *i. e.* the Subjects acknowledged, owned or ſubmitted to him as their King, as he ſays concerning King *Edgar* and others.

Vid. *Exact Hiſtory of the Succeſſion*, p. 7, 9.

BUT

BUT King *Edwy* being caſt off by the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, our *Annals* inform us, that *Eadgar Ætheling (FENG to RICE,* i. e.) ſucceeded to the *Mercian* Kingdom, which yet was no otherwiſe than by Election; for an Antient Manuſcript Life of Arch-biſhop *Dunſtan*, written before the Conqueſt, and now in the * *Cottonian* Library, ſhews us plainly, that both the *Mercians* and *Northumbers* Elected him for their King: the words are theſe, *Hoc itàq; Omnium Conſpiratione relicto, eligère ſibi, Domino dictante,* Eadgarum *ejuſdem Germanum in Regem*; i. e. This King *Edwy* by the Conſent of all Men being thus deſerted, they choſe, the Lord directing them, *Eadgar* his Brother for their King.

* Cleopatra. B. 13.

AND hereupon the Kingdom becoming divided between him and the King his Brother, that Diviſion was alſo confirmed by a publick Act of the Eſtates, as the ſame Author teſtifies; *Sicq; Univerſo populo teſtante, Publica Res Regum ex Definitione Sagacium ſegregata eſt, ità ut famoſum Flumen,* Thamenſis *Regnum diſterminavit Amborum*; *tunc* Edgarus *à prædicto populo ſic ſortitus ad Regnum, &c.* i. e. So that all the People being Witneſſes, each of theſe King's ſhares were apportioned and ſet out by the Decree of the *Wites* or Wiſe Men; and the Noble River of *Thames* was the Boundary of both their Kingdoms; then *Edgar* was advanced to the Kingdom by the aforeſaid People.

BUT *Edwy* dying not long after, the ſame Author relates of this *Edgar*, that *Regnum illius velut æquus hæres ab utróq; populo ELECTUS, ſuſcepit*; that is, that upon his Death *Edgar* as Right Heir being Elected both by Clergy and Laity, ſucceeded to his Kingdom.

FROM whence we may obſerve, that the ſame Perſon who is here called the Right Heir, yet needed an Election upon his Brother's Death to confirm his Title, and gain him an Admiſſion to the Throne of the whole Kingdom; which is alſo confirmed by *Florence* of *Worceſter*, whoſe Citation the Doctor himſelf here makes uſe of thus, *Ab omni Anglorum populo Electus, Regnum ſuſcepit*; which ſhews that a new Election by all the People of *England* was neceſſary, tho he was King of part of it before.

AFTER the Death of King *Edgar*, our Hiſtorians tell us, there was a Conteſt between Prince *Edward*, and his Brother *Ethelred*, concerning their Succeſſion to the Crown; which, ſays *William* of *Malmesbury*, was ſet on foot by *Elfrida* the Wife of King *Edgar*, and Mother-in-Law to *Edward*; which divers of our Authors tell us, was becauſe thoſe of her Faction pretended that *Egelfrida*, the Mother of Prince *Edward*, was never married to King *Edgar*; for otherwiſe there could have been no Colour why the elder Son ſhould not be preferred before the Younger, eſpecially ſince he was alſo recommended by his Father's Will: and indeed it is left very much in the dark, whether the Lady laſt mentioned were ever *Edgar*'s lawful Wife or not: For the *Annals*, and more Antient Hiſtorians, are wholly ſilent in it; nor does any Writer make mention of that Lady as King *Edgar*'s Wife, till *John* of *Wallingford*, who lived in the Reign of King *Henry* the *Third*.

BUT be it as it will, whether Prince *Edward* was Legitimate or not, his Father however had left him (as *Florence* of *Worceſter* ſays) *Heir of his Kingdom, as well as of his Vertues*; yet we alſo learn from *Simeon* of *Durham*, that *Quidam Regis filium* Edwardum, *Quidam illius fratrem eligerunt*, Ethelredum; *quam ob cauſam Archipræſules* Dunſtanus & Oſwaldus *cum Co-epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Ducibuſq; quamplurimis in unum convenerunt,*

Sim. Dunelm. 975.

elevaverunt, & Edwardum, ut pater ejus præceperat, eligerunt, electum consecrarunt, & in Regem unxerunt. " Some Elected *Edward* the King's " Son *Edmund*, some his Brother *Ethelred*; wherefore the Arch-Biſhops; " *Dunſtan* and *Oſwald*, with the Biſhops, Abbots, and very many No- " blemen being gathered together, Elected *Edward*, (as his Father " had commanded) then Conſecrated and Anointed him King.

THIS ſhews it ſo plain from the Doctor's own Tranſlation of the words, that Prince *Edward* (notwithſtanding his Father's Will) was firſt Elected, and then Anointed King, that I needed not have added any further Remark to it, had he but faithfully rendred the Latin Text as he ought to have done; but he has unhappily left out one material ſmall word, and that is *Electum*, that ſo the unwary Reader might not obſerve that thoſe Kings were firſt Elected, before they could be Anointed.

BUT I have not yet done with this Prince, nor with the Doctor, for *John* of *Tinmouth* in his *Hiſtoria Aurea* (now in Manuſcript in the *Lambeth* Library) tells the Story of this Election thus:

EDGARO Rege mortuo, & Edwardo ad Regnum relicto, dum quidam principes acquieſcere nollent, Dunſtanus *arrepto Crucis Vexillo in medio conſtitit*, Edwardum *illis oſtendit, elegit, ſacravit*; that is, King *Edgar* being Dead, and *Edward* left Heir of the Kingdom, whilſt ſome of the Chief Men would not Conſent to it, Arch-Biſhop *Dunſtan* taking up the Banner of the Croſs, placed him in the midſt, and ſhewing him to them, he Elected, and then Conſecrated him.

SO that I will leave it to the impartial Reader to judg, whether theſe words *Eligerunt* and *Electum*, here ſignify no more than *recognoverunt*, " As the Doctor will have them, *i. e.* they acknowledged, owned, " ſubmitted unto him as their King, as his Father had commanded, and " by Will appointed, as the Doctor has been pleaſed to Paraphraſe it. But I would adviſe him in the next Edition of this Treatiſe, or any other he writes upon this Subject, to ſhew us an Example out of any Antient *Roman* Authors, nay, any Gloſſary of the more barbarous Ages, where the word *Electus* or *Eligerunt*, ſignifies *Recognition*.

True and exact Hiſtory of the Succeſſion, &c. Fol. 7.

FOR as to all his Inſtances out of his own Gloſſary at the end of his *Introduction*, inſtead of Preſidents, I may boldly ſay they are only meer Cavils againſt the Right and Manner by which the Kings or Biſhops he there mentions came to obtain their Thrones or Sees; for that the Monks who wrote of them, ever meant by ſuch their expreſſions that they were truly Elected, he himſelf cannot deny, which alſo proves the Falſhood of that his Aſſertion, wherein he affirms, " That the old " Monks ſaid every one was ELECTED, that had not an HEREDI- " TARY Title; and tho he was ſet up by the ART or VIOLENCE " of a Faction, or *obtained* the Crown by *Force* and *Arms* without Ti- " tle, yet according to them he was ELECTED, when as the PEOPLE " only *received* and *ſubmitted* unto them when they could not help it; " and it may be becauſe there was much Shouting, and many Accla- " mations at his Reception.

Pag. 37.

Ibid pag. 38.

BUT I hope the Preſidents I have here now given will evince the contrary, ſince of all the Kings that have been already mentioned to have been *Elected*, I deſire him to ſhew me one, concerning whom the word *Election* can mean no more than a bare *Recognition* or *Acclamation* of the People, when they firſt received and ſubmitted to them; whereas in-

deed they were then ſolemn and deliberate Acts of Choice by the whole Eſtates of the Kingdom.

BUT ſince the Inſtances that the Doctor brings for this his Opinion are all after his Conqueſt, when he fancies the Nation totally ſubdued, and their Liberties loſt; I ſhall reſerve the Conſideration of the Force of thoſe Authorities till my *Introduction* before my next Volume, if God ſhall grant me Life to finiſh it.

BUT to return from whence ſome perhaps may think this too long a Digreſſion.

KING *Edward* being murdered by the Inſtigation of his Mother, *Ethelred* his Brother ſucceeded him; and tho the Doctor again ſeems to put ſome ſtreſs on the words *FENG to RICE*, as if he had come in by Lineal Succeſſion, yet that he was alſo *Elected* as well as his Brother, I deſire he would conſult the Antient *Annals* of the Monaſtery of *Thorney* in the *Cottonian* Library, great part of which is written in *Saxon* Letters, and either ſome time before, or elſe not long after the Conqueſt, and there under *Anno* 978. he will find theſe words, *Eadwardus Rex occiditur, Atheldredus eligitur*, that King *Edward* was killed, and *Ethelred* Elected.

Bibliothec. Cotton. Nero. cap. 7.

AND for a Proof of this, there is in the ſame Library the form of the Coronation of that King and his Queen, which hath theſe words in it.

Id. ſub Effigie Claudii. A. 3.

* *SENIOREM per manus producant Duo Epiſcopi ad Eccleſiam, & Clerus hanc decantet Antiphonam, duobus Epiſcopis præcinentibus.*

* i. e. *the Ld. or Prince to be elected; whence the Spaniſh and Italian Titles of* Seignior.

FIRMETUR manus tua, ut ſupra verſic.

GLORIA Patri, &c. *perveniens Rex ad Eccleſiam proſternat ſe coram Altare, ut hymnizetur.*

TE Deum Laudamns; Te Dominum confitemur.

QUO finito tenus ymnizato, Rex erigetur de Solo, & AB EPISCOPIS ET A PLEBE ELECTUS. Hæc tria ſe ſervaturum jura promittat, & clara Voce coràm Deo omniq; Populo dicat. Hæc tria populo Chriſtiano, & mihi ſubditis in Chriſti promitto nomine,

IMPRIMIS, ut Eccleſia Dei, & omnis populus Chriſtianus veram pacem noſtro arbitrio in omni tempore ſervet.

SECUNDO, Ut Rapacitates, & omnes Iniquitates omnibus gradibus interdicam.

TERTIO, Ut in omnibus Juditiis æquitatem & miſericordiam præcipiam, ut mihi & vobis indulgeat ſuam miſericordiam clemens & miſericors Deus, qui vivit, &c. *His peractis omnes dicant*, Amen.

AND for a farther Confirmation of the Truth of this Oath, there is alſo an Antient *Saxon* Copy of it, together with a Latin Verſion which differs but little from that now cited, and is ſaid to be that Oath which Arch-Biſhop *Dunſtan* adminiſtred to this King at *Kingſton* on the Day of his Coronation; at the end of which Oath it is alſo ſpecified, *that ſo long as the King obſerves it, he will thereby obtain both Earthly Glory, and alſo God's Mercy; ſo if he breaks it, he will ſtill paſs from bad to worſe, as well in reſpect of himſelf, as People, unleſs he repent.* This you will find printed both in *Saxon* and *Latin*, in the ſecond Book of King *Alfred*'s Life, printed at *Oxford* from an Antient Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library.

Cleopatra. B. 13.

I ſhall not trouble you with a verbal Tranſlation of all this long Oath; only obſerve thus much, that hereby it appears plainly that King *Ethelred* had been before *Elected* by the Clergy and Laity, in order to be *crowned* King; which is further confirmed by that old *Saxon* imperfect Ritual of the Coronation of the *Engliſh Saxon* Kings and Queens, part of which Mr. *Selden* hath given us in his *Titles of Honour*, where in the Prayer upon the Anointing we find theſe words, *Reſpice propitius ad preces noſtræ humilitatis, & ſuper hunc famulum tuum illum quem ſupplici Devotione in Regem* ANGLORUM *vel* SAXONUM *pariter* ELIGIMUS, *Benedictionum tuarum Dona multiplica*; as alſo what follows in the ſame Chapter, in the Bleſſing after the Coronation, in giving him the Scepter. *Benedic, Domine, hunc* PRE-ELECTUM *Principem, qui Regna omnium Regum à ſæculo moderaris*. Amen. Seld. *Tit. Hon.* pag. 116. Id. pag. 140.

NOW from both theſe Places above quoted, we may ſafely conclude, that an Election did moſt commonly precede the Coronation of our *Engliſh Saxon* Kings; which I think is made ſo evident by theſe Authorities, that it needs no farther Enlargement; nor ſhould I trouble my ſelf about it were it not to expoſe the Obſtinacy of ſome Men, as well as to continue the Series of this Succeſſion (which perhaps would ſeem lame to others without it) down to the Conqueſt.

TO go on therefore where we left off, after the Death of King *Ethelred*, the *Saxon Annals* tell us, that *Omnes Proceres, qui in* Londonia *erant, & Cives, eligerunt* Eadmundum *in Regem*, i. e. All the Chief Men, (or *Witan*, as it is in the *Saxon*, i. e. Wiſe Men) that were at *London*, and the Citizens, choſe *Edmund* for their King; and yet he was his Father's eldeſt Son, tho whether Legitimate or not is uncertain: for we do not find any antient Author till after the Conqueſt, that mentions *Ethelred*'s being married to the Mother of this Prince; and if he was not, this Son of his could have no other Title but Election. This is alſo confirmed by *Ingulph*, who ſays, *Cui* (Ethelredo) *ſucceſſit in Regnum*, Londonenſium *&* Weſt-Saxonum *Electione, Filius ejus primogenitus* Edmundus, *&c.* i. e. *Edmund* his eldeſt Son ſucceeded his Father *Ethelred*, by the Election of the *Londoners* and *Weſt-Saxons*, in the Kingdom. Ingulph. fol. 507. *b. lin.* 5.

BUT tho our *Saxon Annals* are ſilent of it, yet an Antient Manuſcript Chronicle, wrote about the Time of the Conqueſt, now in the *Cottonian* Library, relates, that about the ſame Time that King *Edmund* was thus Elected, *Epiſcopi, Abbates, quiq; Nobiliores* Angliæ Canutum *in Regem eligere*, the Biſhops, Abbots, and ſeveral of the Chief Men of *England* choſe *Cnute* for their King; which is alſo confirmed by *Florence* of *Worceſter* in theſe words under this very Year. *Poſt cujus mortem maxima pars Regni tàm Clericorum quàm Laicorum in unum congregati, pari conſenſu Cnutonem in Regem eligerunt, & ad eum Suthamptoniam veniens pacem cum eo pepigerunt, & fidelitatem jurabant*; i. e. after whoſe Death (*viz.* of King *Ethelred*) the greateſt part of the Kingdom, as well of the Clergy as Laity, being met together, choſe *Cnute* for their King; and coming to *Southampton* made Peace with him, and ſwore Fidelity; but he there ſays nothing of his Coronation. Otho. D. 7.

THESE Teſtimonies concerning *Ethelred* and *Edmund* being thus plain, I confeſs Dr. *Brady* has been ſo juſt as to cite them, and fairly to tranſlate that Paſſage in *Ingulph* by the word *Election*, whereas it

ſhould

ſhould have been *Recognition*, if it had ſuited with his Hypotheſis; as he does alſo that of *Florence* of *Worceſter*, rendring the word *Eligerunt*, by *choſe* him King: if therefore it were a true Election in one caſe, then ſurely it muſt be ſo in the other, for the ſame Reaſon.

BUT the nameleſs Author of *the Great Point of Succeſſion diſcuſs'd*, tho he does wilfully conceal all the printed Authorities above mentioned, yet being hard preſs'd with this Paſſage of King *Cnute*, has no other way to evade it, but by ſaying, "That *Canutus*, by the Terror "of his Arms, having the greateſt part of the Iſland at his Devotion, "forced them to acknowledg and receive him for their King, which "they being under an apparent Force, could not refuſe to do.

Page 5.

THE falſeneſs of which Aſſertion I will not go about to prove in this Place, but refer the Reader to the enſuing Hiſtory, where he will find that the Perſons abovemention'd, were not ſo forced by the Terror of his Arms, as to acknowledg him for their King, ſince *London* (then, as ſtill) the Capital City of the Nation, with many others of the Nobility, had before Choſen King *Edmund*, who by their Aſſiſtance was ſtrong enough immediately after his Election to fight the *Danes* at the great Battel at *Aſſendune*; and therefore if voluntarily, yet it was treacherouſly done of them, to quit the Prince who ought to have been Elected, and to chooſe a Stranger and an Invader over his Head; and whether the Gentleman this Author writes againſt, had *ridiculouſly* called King *Cnute's* Acceſſion to the Throne an *Election*, as he would have it, I ſhall leave to the impartial Reader's Judgment.

AFTER the Death of King *Cnute*, our *Annals* relate, that at a *Witena-Gemot* or Great Council being held at *Oxford*, Leofricus *Comes*, *& omnes propè Thani à Boreali parte Thamiſis*, *& Nautæ de Lundonia eligerunt* Haroldum *in Regem totius Angliæ*, *dum ejus Frater Hardecnutus eſſet in Denmearcia*, i. e. *Leofric* the Earl, and almoſt all the Thanes North of the *Thames*, and the Sea-men of *London*, choſe *Harold* King of all *England*, whilſt his Brother *Hardecnute* was in *Denmark*; which is alſo confirmed by * *Ingulph*, and † *William* of *Malmesbury*, who farther report, "That the *Engliſh* had a Mind to chuſe *Edward* the Son "of *Ethelred*, or at leaſt *Hardecnute* the Son of *Cnute* by *Emme* his "Wife, the Widow of King *Ethelred*, who was then in *Denmark*.

* Fol. 509. a. Line 2.

† Lib. 2. c. 12.

BUT *Henry* of *Huntington* ſays expreſly, *Haroldus filius Cnuti in Regem Electus eſt*. But *Radulphus de Diceto* is yet more expreſs as to this Election of *Harold*, as appears by this Paſſage under *An.* 1038. *Haroldus Rex Merciorum & Northymbrorum*, *ut per totam regnaret Angliam*, *à Principibus & omni Populo Eligitur*, i. e. *Harold* King of the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, that he might reign over all *England*, is Choſen by the chief Men and all the People: whence you may obſerve, that tho he were then King of the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, yet that ſtill needed a new Election to make him King of all *England*.

NOW if this were ſo, as the Doctor himſelf has ingenuouſly cited it in his ſaid Treatiſe; I deſire he would let us know, where was then the Right of Lineal Succeſſion, when the People of *England* would fain have choſen *Edward*, who could not be Right Heir of the Crown ſo long as the Children of his Elder Brother were alive, tho then in Exile? nor could *Hardecnute* have any Right ſo long as *Harold* his Elder Brother was alive; whom alſo, as our Hiſtorians relate, his Father had appointed Succeſſor at his Death, tho whether that be true or no, is much to be doubted.

BUT

BUT the Author of the aforementioned *Great Point of Succession, &c.* (to evade this Proof of *Harold*'s Election) will have all this Point in Controverſy to have been, who had the moſt Right, and beſt Title to the Crown of thoſe two, *Harold* or *Hardecnute*, and that Earl *Godwin* objected *Harold*'s Illegitimacy, and the Will of the deceaſed King; of all which there is not one word mentioned in any of our moſt Antient Hiſtorians, only he cites a Scrap in the Margin, as he thinks, out of *Brompton*, (but it ſhould be *Simeon* of *Durham*, for no ſuch thing is to be found in the former Author) *viz.* That *Harold* — *quaſi juſtus hæres cæpit regnare, nec tamen it à potenter ut Canutus, quia juſtior hæres expectabatur* Hardicanutus, *i. e.* as juſt Heir, but yet not ſo abſolutely as *Canute*, becauſe the juſter Heir (*Scil. Hardecanute*) I was expected, which he is pleaſed to call him, becauſe he falſly ſuppoſes that none could have a Right to the Crown but one of Queen *Emma*'s Children. But this Writer cunningly leaves out the preceding Words with a daſh, becauſe they make againſt him, which I ſhall here add, *non conſentientibus quamplurimis MAJORIBUS natu Angliæ, quaſi juſtus hæres*, &c. So that it ſeems his Right to reign, proceeded from the Conſent of the Eſtates of the Kingdom. Page 5.

SO that granting, as this Author ſuppoſes, That *Hardecnute* had been left Heir by his Father King *Cnute*'s Teſtament, yet you ſee this could only give him a Precedency of being firſt Propoſed, and Elected.

HAROLD dying after a few Years Reign, *Hardecnute* was ſent for out of *Flanders* to ſucceed him; yet this could not be as his Heir, being but of the half Blood, and his ſuppoſed Brother only by his Father's ſide: and therefore *Henry* of *Huntington* ſays expreſly, that *Poſt Mortem Haroldi Hardecnute filius Regis Cnuti illicò ſuſceptus eſt, & ELECTUS in Regem ab Anglis, & DACIS*, i. e. After the Death of *Harold*, *Hardecnute* the Son of King *Cnute* was preſently received, and *Elected* King by the *Engliſh* and *Danes*. Lib. 6. p. 365.

HARDECNUTE dying ſuddenly after, about two Years Reign, the abovecited Antient Chronicle in the *Cottonian* Library, proceeds to tell us, that *Mortuo* Hardecanuto, Eadwardus *Annitentibus maximè Comite* Godwino & Wigornenſi Livingo, *levatur* Londoniæ *in Regem*, i. e. that *Hardecnute* being dead, *Edward* by the Aſſiſtance chiefly of Earl *Godwin*, and *Living* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, was advanced to the Throne at *London*. Otho D. 7.

WILLIAM of *Malmesbury* words it thus, ſpeaking of Earl *Godwin*, *Nec morâ, congregato concilio* Londoniæ, *rationibus ſuis explicitis, Regem effecit.* From whence it appears, that by *Godwin*'s means he was made King at a Common-Council of the Kingdom. Lib. 2. cap. 13.

BUT *Ingulph* is yet more expreſs, who ſays, *Poſt ejus* (*Scil.* Hardecanuti) *obitum, Omnium Electione in* Edwardum *concordatur, maximè cohortante* Godwino *Comite*. i. e. that after the Death of *Hardecnute*, it was unanimouſly agreed upon to Elect Prince *Edward*; Earl *Godwin* chiefly adviſing it. Pag. 895.

AND *Henry Huntington* goes yet a ſtep higher, and writes thus, Edwardus *cum paucis venit in* Angliam, *& Electus eſt in Regem ab omni populo.* Prince *Edward* coming into *England* with but a few Men, was Elected King by all the People: which is alſo confirmed by an Antient Manuſcript Chronicle of *Thomas* of *Cheſterton* Canon of *Lichfield*, in the *Cottonian* Library, who under *Anno* 1042. ſays thus, Edwar- Lib. 6. p. 365. Cleopatra. C. 3.

dus *filius Athelredi Regis, ab omni Populo in Regem Electus, & Conſecratus eſt.*

BUT the Doctor very cunningly conceals all this concerning his E-
Lib. 6. cap. 9. lection, and only gives us a ſhred out of *Guilielmus Gemeticenſis* in theſe words, Hardecanutus Edwardum *totius Regni reliquit hæredem*; that is, left *Edward* Heir of the whole Kingdom: but ſo far indeed the Doctor
Page 8. is in the Right, "That he could be no other than a Teſtamentary Heir, "there being other Heirs of the Right Line, both of *Saxon* and *Daniſh* "Blood before him. But it may well be doubted, whether the Author laſt mentioned, being a Foreigner, may not be miſtaken, if he means the words *hæredem reliquit*, for a Bequeſt by Will, ſince no *Engliſh* Hiſtorian that I know of mentions any ſuch thing: and indeed it is highly improbable that this Prince made any Will at all, ſince all Writers agree that he died ſuddenly at a Drunken Feaſt, in the very Flower of his Age; and as it is not likely he made any Will before, ſo it was impoſſible he could do it at his Death.

BUT this Election of King *Edward* farther appears, from the mean and abject Carriage which this Prince ſhewed, (as you will find in *William* of *Malmesbury*) towards Earl *Godwin*, when he was ſo far from claiming the Crown, that he only deſired he would ſave his Life, till the Earl encouraging him, put him in hopes of obtaining the Kingdom upon Promiſe of marrying his Daughter; which he would never have done, had he had ſo fair a Pretence as the laſt Will of his Brother *Hardecnute* to recommend him to the favour of the Eſtates of the Kingdom; and if that alone would have done, to what purpoſe ſhould he need afterwards to be Elected?

THIS is in part acknowledged by the Doctor; but to palliate it, he "will have *Godwin*, (a Council being immediately called) by his Reaſon "and Rhetorick to make him King; (it ſeems then he was to be made ſo) but he dares not ſay one word of his *Election*, for fear it would be-"tray the Cauſe which he has ſo ſtrenuouſly laboured to advance.

AND therefore he thinks he has now nothing more to do, but to expoſe and ridicule the Legend of the Abbot of *Rievalle* in making *Edward* the *Confeſſor* to be elected King in his Mother's Womb: which tho I grant to be as abſurd as to drink a Prince of *Wales* his Health before he is born, yet the Abbot had certainly no ground for this Story, unleſs he had been ſufficiently convinced that this was an Elective Kingdom in the Time of King *Ethelred* his Father.

BUT if the Reader deſires further Satisfaction concerning the Circumſtances of this King's Election, I ſhall refer him to the Antient *Annals* of the Church of *Wincheſter*, which I have faithfully tranſcribed out of the firſt Volume of *Monaſticon Anglicanum*, and inſerted into this Volume under *Anno* 1041. where he will find the whole Hiſtory of this Prince's Election and Coronation, written by a Monk of that Church not long after the Conqueſt; theſe *Annals* are alſo in Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library, to which I muſt likewiſe by the Favour of its honourable Poſſeſſor, own my ſelf highly obliged for ſeveral conſiderable Remarks in this Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of our *Saxon* Kings.

BUT to draw to a Concluſion upon this Subject; King *Edward* (as appears by our *Annals*) in the Year 957, ſent over for his Couſin Prince
Col. 189. n. 20. *Edward*, ſirnamed the *Out-Law*, Son of King *Edmund*, out of *Hungary*, as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates, *Illum ſe Regni hæredem conſtituere*, that he

he might appoint him Heir of the Kingdom: which had been a very idle Thing had the Kingdom been Hereditary, and that it had been his undoubted Right by Proximity of Blood.

THIS Prince dying ſoon after his coming over, we no where find, that King *Edward* ever offered to do the like for his Couſin *Edgar Atheling*; but on the contrary forgetting his own Family, *Ingulph* tells us, that the Year before his Death, he ſent *Robert* Arch-Bp of *Canterbury* his Ambaſſadour, to let *William* Duke of *Normandy* know, *Illum deſignatum eſſe ſui Regni ſucceſſorem*, that he had appointed him Heir of his Kingdom: which relation tho I have proved to be falſe as to Arch-biſhop *Robert*, towards the end of this enſuing Hiſtory; yet might it be true in the main, and ſome other Biſhop might have gone over to Duke *William* on that Meſſage; but however, for all this, King *Edward* afterwards adopted Earl *Harold* upon his Death-bed, for which we have very good Authority, ſince our *Saxon Annals* teſtify it in theſe words, *Tunc* Haroldus *Comes capeſſit Regnum, ſicut Rex ei conceſſerat, Omnéſq; ad id Eum eligebant, & conſecratus eſt in Regem in Feſto Epiphaniæ*, which was the ſame day that King *Edward* was Buried. Fo. 512. n. 40. Page 172.

THIS is alſo confirmed by the Hiſtory of the Abby of *Ely*, written not long after the Conqueſt, and lately publiſhed by the Learned Dr. *Gale*, *Quo (Scil. Edwardo) tumulato, ſubregulus Haraldus Godwini Ducis Filius, quem Rex antè ſuam Deceſſionem Regni Succeſſorem eligerat, à totius Angliæ Primatibus ad Regale Culmen ELECTUS eſt, Die eodem ab Aldredo Eboracenſi Archiepiſcopo in Regem honorificè conſecratur*; which alſo agrees with *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *Simeon* of *Durham* under *Anno* 1066. almoſt in the very ſame words, and by *Eadmerus* (who lived not long after the Conqueſt) in theſe words, *Juxtà quod Edwardus ante mortem ſtatuerat, ſucceſſit HARALDUS.* Lib. 2. cap. 43. fol. 515. Page 5.

FROM all which remarkable Teſtimonies I ſhall draw theſe two Concluſions.

FIRST, That this Teſtamentary Deſignation of *Harold* by King *Edward* for his Heir, was not ſufficient alone to make him King, but it alſo required a ſubſequent Election of the Eſtates of the Kingdom.

SECONDLY, That there is an apparent Diſtinction here made between his Election and Conſecration.

AND I think this enough, had I no more to ſay, to ſettle this Point; but to let the Reader know the utmoſt that may be objected againſt theſe Authorities, I muſt freely confeſs, that divers Writers of good Credit and Reputation, who lived after the Conqueſt, viz. *Ingulph* of *Croyland*, *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Ailred* Abbot of *Rievalle*, and *Henry* of *Huntington*, look upon this Donation of King *Edward* as a meer Pretence, invented by the *Engliſh* in Prejudice of the *Norman* Duke.

BUT how they will be able to anſwer thoſe plain and full Authorities I have before cited, I know not: for *William* of *Malmesbury* himſelf was alſo forced to confeſs, that King *Harold* claimed not only by virtue of *Edward*'s Deſignation, but by the Election of the Great Council of the Kingdom, as appears by this Memorable Paſſage, viz. *Ille (ſcilicet Haraldus)* in his Anſwer to *William* then Duke of *Normandy*, *de puellæ nuptiis referens, de Regno (addebat) præſumptuoſum fuiſſe, quod abſq; generali Senatûs & Populi Conventu & Edicto, alienam illi hæreditatem juraverit*, i. e. "That *Harold*, ſpeaking of the Mar- WILL. Malmesbur. de Geſtis Anglorum *Lib.* 2. Fol. 55.

" riage

" riage of the Duke's Sister, further added, that it was a very pre-
" sumptuous thing to swear away another's Inheritance to him, with-
" out the General Act and Appointment of the Senate and People, that
" is, the Nobility and Commons.

THIS shews, that it would have been a most notorious Falshood for *Harold* thus to have gone about to impose upon Duke *William*, had there never been any such thing as a Real and Solemn Election, which our abovementioned Authors have related.

Dr. Brady's Answer to Argum. Anti-norman. fol. 238.

NOR is Dr. *Brady's* Objection against this at all material, in saying, that those who thus set him up, were only a *Court Faction*, for the *People* all *England* over could never have *notice* to *come* to, or *send* their *Representatives* to such a *Solemnity*, as to *elect* and *crown* him *King* in four and twenty Hour's Time; and therefore should his *Election* be *granted*, he could not be *chosen* by the *People*, who had neither *Notice* nor *Knowledg* of it, but only received and submitted to him as their King.

NOW in answer to this I need only say, that if the Doctor would have been so fair as to have consulted Sir *Henry Spelman's* first Volume of Councils, or the first Volume of *Monasticon Anglicanum*, he would have found in both of them, (in the Charters of the Foundation of the Abby of *Westminster*, and the History of that Church printed in the Latter) that it was not (as he says) *never to have been imagined*, for it was really true, that the Estates of the Kingdom did meet a little before Christmass, (*secundum Morem*, according to Custom) and not only so, but were expresly summoned to be present at the Great Solemnity of the Consecration of that Abbey, which was, as our *Annals* inform us, on St. *Innocent's* day, and the King dying on the Twelfth-day following, this Great Council (which certainly was a full one) was so far from being then Dissolved, that it chose *Harold* for their succeeding King, as the said *Annals* relate: The nicety of the Dissolution of a Parliament upon the King's Decease not being at that time known.

I think this is sufficient to answer all that the Doctor has, or I suppose can say upon this Head; therefore I will now leave it to the Reader to consider, how far any of his Assertions are true.

True and exact History of the Succession, Fol. 7.

AS first, " Whether the sure Rule of Succession was either Right of
" Blood?

OR Secondly, " Whether the bare Nomination or Appointment of
" the preceding King, was then thought and allowed as Cause suffici-
" ent for the Father to prefer his Brother's Son before his own, or a
" Bastard before his Lawful Issue, or that the Instances which he hath
" produced will be able to make it out; or else whether those very In-
" stances, which I have here set in their true Light, do not directly evince
" the contrary?

Id. Fol. 9.

THIRDLY, Whether from this foregoing History of the Succession, it appears also to be true what he asserts, *viz.* " That from *Egbert* the
" first *Saxon* Monarch, to *Ethelred* the last by Right of Blood, we do
" not read of many Elections for the space of two hundred and sixteen
" Years; and that those we meet with are bound and limited by Proxi-
" mity of Blood, or Nomination of the Successor by the Predeces-
" sor, and that where the word *Election* or any thing in that Sense is
" used, it signifies only a Recognition and Submission? And I will now leave it to the Reader's Judgment, if I have not given sufficient Instances to the contrary in every one of these Particulars, there being

not

not above two Kings in all this long Series of more than two hundred and ſixty Years, concerning whom I have not brought expreſs Teſtimonies from Authors of undoubted Credit both in Print and Manuſcript, of their *Election* by the Eſtates of the Kingdom. Or,

FOURTHLY, Whether his laſt Aſſertion be any truer than the former, *viz.* "That the *Daniſh* Kings, after *Sweyn* had conquered the "Kingdom, (whoſe beſt Title was the Sword) either brought hither "the Cuſtom of the Predeceſſor, naming or giving the Kingdom to "the Succeſſor, as probably it might have been practiſed in their own "Kingdoms, or uſed it as they found it here practiſed by the *Saxon* "Kings? Or whether the Authorities I have already cited do not expreſly prove, that every one of the three *Daniſh* Kings came in by *Election*, and that *Harold Harefoot* was the only Prince of thoſe Three, who could make any pretence to it by Teſtament? Id. ibid.

AND as for the *Saxon* Kings that reigned before them, how far they by their laſt Wills alone could diſpoſe of, or entail the Crown, without the concurrent Aſſent and Conſent of the Great Council of the Kingdom, I refer the Reader to that part of King *Alfred*'s Will, I have here made uſe of for his farther Satisfaction, if he have ſtill any doubt left about it.

I have now diſpatched this exact and faithful Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of our *Engliſh Saxon* Kings, in which I am not conſcious to my ſelf that I have either added or diminiſhed any thing material to, or from the Authors which I have made uſe of; I deſire to be believed that I have not wrote this to prove, that the Succeſſion to the Crown ought at this day to be Elective in the ſame manner as it was before the Conqueſt, but only to obviate and remove the falſe Opinions or Prejudices of ſome Men, who by the plauſible Repreſentations of the Doctor and others, have been ſo far prepoſſeſſed as to believe, that an Hereditary *Succeſſion* to the Crown hath been as Antient as the Monarchy it ſelf; whereas we find that *Sweden* and *Denmark* have from Elective become Hereditary Kingdoms in a much leſs ſpace of Time: And I ſuppoſe no Man of thoſe Countries would aſperſe any Writer there, of being an Enemy to Monarchy for aſſerting ſo evident a Truth; and therefore I hope I may find the ſame fair Quarter at Home, notwithſtanding the Doctor's Inſinuations before his abovecited Hiſtory of the *Succeſſion of the Crown, That none but Papiſts, Fanaticks, or Common-Wealth's Men*, (a Liſt of whoſe Works he there gives us) would dare to write for, or maintain this Opinion. But if *Parſons* the Jeſuit has happened in his Diſcourſe of the *Succeſſion*, to write ſome Truths concerning it, I am no more to be thought Jeſuitical for following (not him, but) the Authors from whom he took them; than I ſhould be if I had wrote a Mathematical Diſſertation founded upon Demonſtrations from *Euclid*, which had been before made uſe of by *Tacquet*, or any other Learned Jeſuit, that has wrote upon that Subject.

AFTER the Election, I ſhall ſay ſomewhat of the Coronation of our *Engliſh Saxon* Kings, which ſometimes was performed on the ſame Day on which they were Elected, and ſometimes ſeveral Days, nay, Months after, as appears by the Coronation of King *Edward* the *Confeſſor*; who tho he were Choſen King in *June* not long after his Brother *Hardecnut*'s Deceaſe, yet was he not Crowned till the *Eaſter* following,

following, as you will find in the *Saxon Annals* under the Years 1041, 1042. But *Harold* his Succeſſor (to make the Crown the ſurer) was Elected and Crowned the ſame Day. This Solemnity of the Coronation, was moſt commonly performed by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, yet was it not at firſt done in the Church, but in the open Air; thus the Kings *Athelſtan*, *Edmund*, and *Edred*, are expreſly mentioned by our Hiſtorians to have been Crowned in the Market Place of *Kingſton* upon *Thames*: and I ſuppoſe the like had been uſed in the Coronation of former Kings, ſince it is not taken notice of as an Innovation.

BUT to ſay ſomewhat of the forms of thoſe Crowns which our Kings then wore, it appears from their Coins that they were at firſt no other than Diadems like thoſe of the Greek Emperors in that Age, and from whom they were borrowed: thus *Offa* King of the *Mercians* is Graven on his Coin with a Diadem of Pearls about his Head; but our great King *Alfred* has no more than a bare Head-band, or Circle, which ſeems to have been tied behind, as you may ſee in his Coins. And tho I confeſs there is alſo a Coin of one K. *Egbert* with a Coronet of Rayes upon his Head; yet that this was not of our K. *Egbert*, but rather of him that was King of *Northumberland*, who began to reign *An.* 867, I rather incline to believe. As for King *Edward* the *Elder*, he has in his Coins only a kind of Diadem upon his Helmet, King *Athelſtan*, *Edmund* and *Eadred* his Brothers being the firſt of our *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, who wore Crowns with three Rayes, or Points higher than the reſt; and therefore I look upon it as a Fiction in them who will needs have it, that K. *Alfred* was Crowned with a Crown wrought with Flower de Lices; becauſe ſuch a Crown was kept among the *Regalia* at *Weſtminſter* before our late Civil Wars, in a Box, upon whoſe Cover was this Inſcription, *Hæc eſt Principalior Corona cum qua Coronabantur Reges, Ælfredus, Edwardus*, &c. Which having been the Crown of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, it was very eaſy for the Monks of that Church who kept thoſe *Regalia* in after times, to inſcribe what they pleaſed upon this Box, ſince it added ſo much to the Antiquity and Reputation of this Crown: and I am the more inclined to this Opinion, becauſe I find King *Cnute*, and *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, to be the firſt Kings who wore Diadems adorned with Flower-de-Lices, as appears by their Coins.

Vid. Ante Vitam Ælfred. R. Tab. 4. & ante Camden. Britan. Tab.

Vid. Vitam Ælfredi. pag. 158.

I ſhall in the next Place ſay ſomewhat of the Titles by which our *Weſt-Saxon* Kings ſtiled themſelves in their Laws and Charters; and to begin with King *Egbert*, (however Supreme he were over all the reſt of the Kings then reigning in *England*, yet we cannot find that he ſtiled himſelf more than, *Rex Weſt-Saxonum* in any of his Charters; for as for Laws we have none of his left us. The like I may ſay for his Succeſſors *Ethelwolf*, and his Sons and Grandſons, as far as King *Athelſtan*, who for ought I can find was the firſt Prince that upon his Victories over the *Danes* and *Scots*, changed his Title of *Rex Weſt-Saxonum*, or *Anglorum* alone, which was uſed by his Predeceſſors, to this that follows, *Ego* Æthelſtanus Rex *Anglorum, per omnipotentis Dextram totius Britanniæ Regno ſublimatus*, as you will find it in his Charter in *William* of *Malmesbury*, *de Geſtis Pontif.* as alſo in the ſame Place you will find this King's Title to have ſomewhat varied; for on a rich Box, or Shrine, given by this King to keep the Relicts of the Saints in, was engraven this Inſcription, *Ego Æthelſtanus totius Britanniæ & multarum nationum in circuitu poſitarum*

Lib. 4. pag. 363, 364. *publiſh'd by* Dr. Gale.

poſitarum Imperator, &c. which Title was alſo made uſe of by his Brother King *Edmund*, only inſtead of *Imperator*, he ſtiles himſelf *Gubernator & Rector*, as appears by his Charter to the Church of *Glaſtonbury*, ſet down by the ſame Author above-mentioned, in his * Antiquity of the Church of *Glaſtonbury*, which was alſo uſed by King *Edgar*, tho with ſome difference, who inſtead of *Rector & Rex*, ſtiled himſelf *totius Albionis Baſileus* in divers Charters; but this proceeded from the corrupt Stile of that Time, or elſe the particular Fancy of the Clerk or Monk who drew the Charter: And tho inſtead of this word *Baſileus*, King *Ethelred* his Son again made uſe of *Rex*, yet the reſt of the Title remained the ſame, and was alſo continued by King *Knut*; however he ſometimes ſtiled himſelf *Rex totius Albionis Inſulæ, & aliarum Nationum plurimarum*. What Titles his Sons had I do not find, becauſe I have not ſeen any of their Charters; only we may here obſerve, that ſeveral Kings before *Cnute*, ſtiled themſelves Kings not only of *Albion*, or *Britain*, but of ſeveral other Nations round about, by which could only be meant that Superiority they aſſumed at that time over the Kings of *Scotland*, *Wales* and *Northumberland*, before that Country was reduced into the form of a Province, and was governed by Earls.

* Pag. 318. publiſhed in the ſame Vol. by Dr. Gale.

I now come, in the next place, to give you an Account of the chief Powers and Prerogatives of our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings; ſome of which I find ſet down in our *Saxon Annals* at the end of the Year 693, at the Council of *Becanceld*, where the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* thus defines them in his Decree at the Concluſion of that Council. *Regum eſt*, ſays he, *conſtituere Comites, Duces, Vice-Comites, & Judices*; it is the Office of Kings to conſtitute Earls, Ealdormen, Sheriffs and Judges.

TO which we may alſo add the Power of Coining Money, which being then the Prerogative of the Crown, was granted by Charter to the Arch-biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, as likewiſe to the Abbots of *Medeſhamſted* or *Peterborough*, and to ſeveral other Abbies; as may be ſeen in *Monaſticon Anglicanum*, as well as in the *Annals* themſelves. Some Inſtances of which I have given you in the enſuing Hiſtory, not omitting ſome of the Coins which are ſtill preſerved in Cabinets, ſome of whoſe Figures are to be found in the Collection of *Saxon* Coins before King *Alfred*'s Life, as alſo before the new Edition of *Camden*'s *Britannia*.

BUT that any of thoſe Kings had Power by their own Royal Prerogative, to enhance or debaſe the intrinſick Value of the Money, coined either in their own or other Mints, I can no ways believe, ſince ſuch a Prerogative would have highly tended to the Loſs and Defrauding of the Subject, for which that Power was never deſigned; nor do I find our Kings ever aſſumed this Prerogative to themſelves, till later Ages. And in Confirmation of this the † Mirror of Juſtices recites it as an old Law of the *Saxon* Times, that no King of this Realm could change, embaſe, or enhance his Money, or make other Coin than of Silver, *ſan's l'aſſent de touts ſes Counties*, i. e. without the Aſſent of Parliament; as Sir *Edward Coke* in his ſecond Inſtitutes, hath on very good grounds interpreted this Expreſſion, in that Author *Andrew Horne*, who lived in the Reign of King *Edward* I.

† Sect. 3.

Artic. ſuper Chartas, *cap.* 20. *p.* 576.

TO theſe we may further add, that of pardoning Offendors their Lives in ſeveral Caſes, ſuch as ſtriking in the King's Palace, *&c.* which he might alſo take in Caſe of *Homicides*; but ſtill reſerving the *Wiregilds*,

or

or Compenſations that were to be made to the Friends or Relations of the Parties ſlain, which it was not in his Power to releaſe, as appears by ſeveral Paſſages in our *Saxon* Laws, ſome of which I have inſerted in this Volume; whence, I ſuppoſe, are derived the Appeals of the Wife, Son, or Brother, in Caſes of Murder at this day.

BUT as for the Power of making War or Peace, ſince I find little ſaid of it in our Hiſtories, I ſhall not be poſitive in aſſerting any thing concerning it: only ſhall obſerve, that in every Peace made by the King upon Payment of Money, the Conſent of the Eſtates of the Kingdom was required; for Taxes could not be raiſed without it, as you will find in our *Annals* under the Years 994, 1002, 1006, 1011, when that extraordinary Tax of *Danegelt* was raiſed to be paid to the *Danes* for purchaſing a Peace of them. And as for the Power of making Foreign War, that could alſo ſignify little, ſince thoſe Kings had not the Prerogative of raiſing Money without the Conſent of their People, any more than our Kings have at this day: nor were their Revenues ſo much in Money, as in Proviſions for their Houſhold.

NOR can I omit here taking notice, that the *Engliſh Saxon* Kings wanted one great Prerogative, which ours exerciſe at this day, *viz.* the power of granting away the *Demeſnes* of the Crown, even to pious Uſes, without the Conſent of the great Council of their Kingdoms: and of this we find a remarkable Inſtance in Sir *H. Spelman*'s firſt Vol. of Councils, where *Baldred* King of *Kent* had given the Mannor of *Mallings* to *Chriſt-Church* in *Canterbury*; but becauſe the chief Men of his Kingdom (*i. e.* the Great Council), had not conſented to it, it was revoked until K. *Egbert* afterwards by the Conſent of his *WITTENA GEMOT* made a new Grant thereof: and this was alſo the reaſon why the Foundations and Infeodations of Abbies were always confirmed and atteſted by all the Eſtates as well Spiritual as Temporal, as you will find by moſt of their Charters in *Monaſt. Anglican.* of which I have inſerted ſome Examples in the Hiſtory it ſelf; ſo that I ſhall leave it to the Reader's Conſideration, whether thoſe Princes that could not diſpoſe of their Crown-Lands without the Conſent of the Great Council of the Kingdom, could without the like Conſent diſpoſe of the Crown it ſelf as they pleaſed, as Dr. *Brady* in his *, Hiſtory of the Succeſſion, *&c.* aſſerts, tho without any juſt Grounds, as hath been already proved.

Pag. 340.

* Pag. 7, 8.

BUT thoſe Kings great Prerogative chiefly conſiſted in giving their Sanction to all Laws that were made, as well relating to Civil as Eccleſiaſtical Matters, that did not concern Doctrines of Faith: but this is ſtill to be ſo underſtood, that this Prerogative could never be exerted without the Advice and Conſent of the *Mycel-Gemot*, or Great Council of the Realm; at which, tho they were often firſt drawn up into Form, and then propoſed by the King, yet was their Authority alſo neceſſary for the enacting of thoſe Laws, without which they could no ways oblige the Subject, as ſhall be further ſhewn towards the end of this Diſcourſe.

BUT ſince I have given you ſo large an Account how our Kings then obtained the Crown, it may perhaps be expected I ſhonld ſay ſomewhat now concerning the manner of their loſing it, ſometimes by other ways than Death.

IN order to this I deſire the Reader would obſerve, that not only in *England*, but in all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, that were raiſed upon the

Ruins

Ruins of the *Roman* Empire after the *Gothic* Model, the ſame mix'd manner of Succeſſion, partly by Teſtament, partly by Election, did in thoſe days chiefly prevail: Of which Monſieur *Mezeray* himſelf is ſo ſenſible, that in his Abridgment of the * Hiſtory of *France*, he freely owns, "That during the Kings of the firſt Race, they were ſtill choſen "out of the Royal Family; but that there were three Conditions re- "quired to it. (1.) Birth, (thô whether they were legitimate or no it "matter'd not). (2.) The laſt Will of the Father. (3.) The Con- "ſent of the Great Men, or Eſtates of the Kingdom; and the laſt of "theſe (ſays he) almoſt ever followed the two former. Moreover, that in all thoſe Kingdoms, where this way of Election was in uſe, their Kings were ſo far from being abſolute Monarchs, that they were accountable for their Tyranny, or Male-Adminiſtration, to the Eſtates of the Kingdom, and were by them liable to be depoſed for the ſame: Of which (were it to my preſent purpoſe) I could give you frequent Examples, not only in *Denmark* and *Sweden*, in both which Kingdoms that Law was in force till within this laſt Century, when they became ſucceſſive in a Lineal Deſcent, by an Act of all the Eſtates; but alſo in *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, and even in that of *France* it ſelf (as much as ſhe takes upon her to be Abſolute at this day): and for the Proof of this I ſhall refer you to any *French* Hiſtory. Thoſe famous Examples of the laſt *Childerick*'s being Depoſed by the great Council, or Aſſembly of the Eſtates of *France*, who elected *Pepin* King in his room; and alſo their ſetting aſide *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, tho the undoubted Heir of the Crown by Blood, only for his ſuppoſed Enmity to the *French* Nation, and their chooſing *Hugh Capet* for their King, from whom all the Kings of *France* from that time have been (ſo far as we know) lineally deſcended, renders this a Truth too notorious to be denied.

* *At the end of the Reign of* K. Clotair II. tit. Moeurs & Couſtumes.

THIS I have here mentioned, that ſo you may not wonder if in the enſuing Hiſtory you meet with divers Examples of the *Engliſh Saxons* depoſing their Kings; ſince the ſame Cuſtom did in thoſe Ages prevail in all thoſe Kingdoms, as a part of their Original Conſtitution:

AND for farther Proof of this, tho I could bring ſeveral Inſtances from the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, yet becauſe the latter were look'd upon as of a Rebellious Diſpoſition againſt their Princes; and for the former it may be ſaid, that thoſe they expelled were Uſurpers, and not lawful Kings; I ſhall therefore content my ſelf with mentioning but two Examples concerning our *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, which you will find hereafter more at large: The firſt is that of *Sigebert*, who (as the *Saxon Annals* inform us *Anno* 752.) for his *unryhtum Dædum, i.e.* illegal Practices, or (as *Hen. Huntington* paraphraſes it) *for his Oppreſſion, and wreſting the Laws to his own Advantage*, was by all the *Wites*, or Wiſe and Great Men of *Weſt-Saxony*, deprived of his Kingdom, and *Cenwolf* his Kinſman was by them elected in his room. † The next is that of King *Edwy*, who for his looſe and irregular Life (tho chiefly for perſecuting the Monks) being caſt off or depoſed by the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, his Brother *Edgar* was choſen to ſucceed him; but yet the Kingdom was divided, and *Edwy* had only *Weſt-Saxony* for his ſhare. And both this Depoſition and Diviſion were confirmed by an Act of the Eſtates of the whole Kingdom, as I have already ſhewn.

† *Vid.* Hoveden, pars prior, f. 424.

BUT whether this was lawfully and rightfully done for any real Breach of their *Original Contract*, it is none of my Buſineſs here to decide;

it is ſufficient to ſhew, that the Eſtates of thoſe Countries then judged ſo; not that I maintain the Law is, or ought to be ſo at this day; but that it was ſo before the Conqueſt, pray conſider this Law, which tho found among thoſe that go under the Title of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, yet was certainly much more Antient, as containing not only the Office of an *Engliſh* King, but what he was to ſuffer in caſe he omitted that Duty: I ſhall give it you from the Latin Original in * *Hoveden* and † *Lambard*, in theſe words, *Rex qui eſt vicarius ſummi Regis, ad hæc eſt conſtitutus, ut Regnum terrenum, & Populum Domini, & ſuper omnia ſanctam veneretur ejus Eccleſiam, & regat, & ab injurioſis defendat, & maleficos ab ea evellat, & deſtruat, & penitùs diſperdat; Quod niſi fecerit, nec* Regis Nomen *in eo conſtabit, i.e.* not ſo much as the Name of a King ſhall remain to him. Here you ſee not only the Subſtance of this *Original Contract*, but alſo the Penalty annex'd to it, if it were broken.

* Pag. 345.
† Pag. 138.

AND that there was ſuch a thing as an *Original Compact* or *Contract* between the People of *England* and the Anceſtors of thoſe Kings, according to which they were to govern, and upon the non-performance of which, they were liable to forfeit or loſe their Crowns, I think may farther be proved, tho what the particular Heads of it were we cannot now exactly tell, unleſs they were thoſe mentioned in the Oath, recited in the *Mirror* at the Election of the firſt *Saxon* Sovereign, (whether he were *Egbert*, or any other) which indeed amounts to a Contract; but there was alſo a Compact of the like Nature in the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons* before King *Egbert*'s Time as well as after; for how elſe could the Great Council of the Kingdom proceed againſt King *Sigebert* or *Edwy*, if there had not been *then* ſome known Laws or Conſtitutions, upon the Violation of which they were judged uncapable to govern any longer? And tho the chief Heads of that Contract may have been comprized in King *Ethelred*'s Coronation-Oath, which I have already given you; [the firſt Article of which is, to preſerve the Holy Church, and all Chriſtian People in true Peace at all Times; the ſecond, To reſtrain all Violence and Injuſtice in all ſorts of People, (which comprehends any raiſing of Taxes by the King's Officers contrary to Law); and the third, To obſerve Equity and Mercy in all his Judgments, by which the King is withheld from taking away any of his Subjects Lives arbitrarily, as alſo from pardoning notorious Offenders againſt the State at his meer Pleaſure; ſo that the Religion, Eſtates and Lives of his People were by this Oath well ſecured:] I ſay, tho theſe are the chief Heads of this Contract, yet that this was much more Antient than the Ceremony of a Coronation, may appear from hence.

THAT Kingly Government in this Iſland was never Abſolute nor Deſpotical, but always limited by Laws; and if limited, then thoſe Laws muſt have been the Bounds or Conditions of that Limitation; and if there was from the beginning, or firſt Inſtitution of the Government, a conſtant certain great Council ordained, whoſe Buſineſs it was to obſerve, that the King did not tranſgreſs the due Bounds of his Power; that Council (ſo long as the Kingdom continued Elective) had likewiſe Authority to call him to Account for his Male-Adminiſtration.

BUT ſince the Preaching of Chriſtianity did no ways alter the Original Conſtitution of Government in all thoſe ſeven Kingdoms abovementioned, it follows, that there muſt have been an *Original Contract* precedent

precedent to the entrance of that Religion: And it did not commence from the Coronation of our Kings, as ſome have imagined, and conſequently from their taking an Oath at that Time to obſerve the Laws of the Kingdom; becauſe both the one and the other was much later than the Preaching of the Goſpel it ſelf: for this Ceremony of a Coronation, as Mr. *Selden* learnedly proves, began no earlier in the *Weſt* than with *Charles* the *Great*, his receiving his Imperial Crown from the Hands of the Pope; and this Ceremony he alſo ſhews us, was borrowed from the *Greek* Emperors, who about *Juſtinian*, or his Succeſſor *Juſtin*'s Time, firſt introduced their Unction and Coronation by the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, as he there makes out from a Paſſage of the Learned *Onuphrius* in theſe words, *Conſtantinopoli vel ſub* Juſtiniano, *vel poſt ejus ſtatim Obitum, Electioni Imperatoris additum, ut quam primùm Imperator renuntiatus eſſet, à Patriarchâ Conſtantinopolitano in magna Bizantii Baſilica* Oleo Unctus, *Diademate Aureo redimeretur.*

Seld. Tit. Hon. c. 8. fo. 131.

Ibid. fol. 110.

De Comitiis Imperatoriis, c. 2.

AND therefore what we find in our *Saxon* Chronicles, or any other Hiſtorians, concerning the Coronation of our *Engliſh Saxon* Kings, muſt all of them have commenced ſince that Time.

NOW the Emperor *Charles*'s Coronation above mentioned, falling out in the Year 800, it is plain that the Coronation of our Kings could not be antienter than that Time, which was near 450 Years after the Arrival of the *Saxons* in *England*, and ſettling Kingly Government here, and above 200 Years after the Preaching of Chriſtianity; ſo that this Coronation Oath ſeems to have been only a conſtant Renovation or Confirmation of this *Original Contract*, at every new King's firſt Acceſſion to the Throne, and muſt have had (if at all) its Original long before that Time.

AND this alſo appears from the Inſtance of King *Sigebert* abovementioned, who was deprived of his Kingdom for the Breach of this Contract, above forty Years before there was either any Emperor or King formally Crowned in theſe *Weſtern* parts of *Europe*.

TO all which we may farther add, that if our *Annals* and Hiſtorians may be credited, it does not appear that ſeveral of our *Daniſh* Kings, tho they were ſolemnly Elected, were ever Crowned at all: For as for King *Cnute*, whoſe Election is mentioned in *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and other Authors, to have been by many of the Biſhops and Nobility at *Southampton, Anno Dom.* 1015. yet are they all (except Abbot *Brompton*'s Chronicle, which relates, that he was Crowned by *Living* A.Bp of *Canterbury*) ſilent as to his Coronation, only that upon their ſwearing Fealty to him, it is ſaid he likewiſe ſwore to them, *Quod ſecundùm Deum & ſeculum, fidelis eſſet eis Dominus*, i. e. that according to the Laws of God and Man, he would be a faithful Lord to them. So likewiſe after the Death of *Edmund Ironſide*, the Author of *Encomium Emmæ*, ſays expreſly, that he was Elected King by the whole *Engliſh* Nation; but that he was not admitted without a *new Compact*, both *Florence* and *Roger Hoveden* inform us in theſe words, *viz.* That when they had again accepted of him for their King, and had ſworn Fealty to him; he likewiſe again pledged his Faith to them in this Form, *Accepto pignore de manu ſua nuda, cum juramentis à Principibus Danorum*, i. e. they received a Pledg or Promiſe from his bare or naked Hand, together with the Oaths given by the chief Men of the *Danes*; who it ſeems ſwore on the King's behalf, that he would obſerve the Conditions he had made before with them.

BUT

BUT as for the Coronation of his Son *Harold Harefoot*, that is expreſly denied by the ſaid Author of *Encomium Emmæ*; for he ſays that *Elnoth* (or *Agelnoth*) Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* flatly refuſed to crown him, becauſe he ſaid he had taken an Oath not to anoint him King ſo long as the Children of Queen *Emma* were alive; and that laying down the Crown and Scepter upon the High Altar, he ſtraitly forbad all the Biſhops to crown *Harold*, which ſo incenſed him, that he thenceforth deſpiſed his Epiſcopal Benediction.

BUT whether this Author (who yet lived in that very Time) might not write this out of Hatred to *Harold*'s Memory, as well as out of Love to Queen *Emma* and her Children, I will not take upon me to determine, ſince no Hiſtorian beſides himſelf makes any mention of it; for the antient Hiſtory of *Ramſey* Abby, written ſome time after the Conqueſt, and now lately publiſh'd by Dr. *Gale*, ſays expreſly in the Title to Chapt. 94. That *Harold* was Conſecrated (*i.e.* Anointed) King.

BUT that the *Engliſh* Nation before the Conqueſt, believed that their Kings were obliged to govern them by Law, (*i.e.* according to the *original Compact*) and that their *Allegiance* to them was then looked upon as wholly due on that Account, our *Annals* ſeem to juſtify, *Anno Dom.* 1014, when the *Engliſh Wites*, or *Wiſe Men*, both of the Clergy and Laity, after the Death of *Sweyn* King of *Denmark*, ſent over a Meſſage to King *Ethelred*, being then retired into *Normandy*, whereby they aſſured him, "That no Prince was dearer to them than their own natural "Lord; always provided, *Gif He hi rihtlicor healdan wolde thonne He "ær dyde*, (as it is in the *Saxon*) *i.e.* if he would govern them more "rightly (*i.e.* according to Law) for the future than he had done be-"fore: whereupon he promiſed to be a faithful Lord to them, (*i.e.* a "Prince keeping his Oath and Promiſe) and redreſs all their Grievances, "if on their parts they would return to their Allegiance. And thus "by giving mutual Aſſurances, he came Home and contracted a new "Friendſhip or League with his People.

HAVING now got over theſe great Points of the manner of Succeſſion, and Deprivation of our *Saxon* Kings; I ſhall next as briefly as I can run through all thoſe Orders and Degrees of Men that did conſtitute this Common-Weal.

Ætheling. THE firſt Degree of Men beneath that of Kings, was that of *Æthe-ling*, or Prince of the Blood Royal, being derived from the *Saxon* word *Æthel*, which ſignifies Noble, and *Ing*, which being added to it, ſignifies one derived from Royal Blood, as appears by the Terminations of Names in the *Saxon* Genealogies, ſet down in our *Annals* under *Anno* 449. and in ſeveral other Places, and was common not only to the King's Eldeſt Son, but to all others nearly related to the Blood Royal; and was a meer honorary Title, without any Power or Juriſdiction annexed to it that I know of, unleſs the King was at any time pleaſed to beſtow it. Nor can I here omit giving you the Names of two other principal Offices or Dignities of the Kingdom, the one of which was Military, the other Civil, the former in *Saxon* was called *CYNINGS HOLD*, in Latin *Princeps Militiæ*, i. e. General of all the King's Forces in times of War: and thus we find King *Alfred* in his Will bequeaths a Legacy to Earl *Ethelred* his Son-in-Law, whom he denotes by this Title, *Ethelredo Principi meæ Militiæ.*

General of the King's Forces.

THE

THE other, *viz.* the Great Civil Officer, was that of *Chancellour*, ſo called from the barbarous Latin word *Cancellare*, from his cancelling or ſtriking out what he pleaſed in Men's Grants and Petitions. And as for his Power, we find it thus expreſſed in *Ingulf*, (upon K. *Edward* the *Elder*'s having made his Couſin *Turketule* Chancellor) *Quæcúnq; negotia temporalia, vel ſpiritualia Regis Judicium expectabant, illius conſilio* (tam ſanctæ fidei, & tam profundi ingenii tenebatur) *omnia tractarentur, & tractata irrefragabilem ſententiam ſortirentur:* from whence we may obſerve, that the King did not only in that Age determine Civil, but Spiritual Cauſes too in his own Perſon, and had his Chancellor for his Aſſiſtant in his Judgments; which being ſo given, *irrefragabilem ſententiam ſortirentur*, i. e. they obtained an uncontroulable Sentence, beyond which there then lay no Appeal: and this I ſuppoſe was done in that great Court we now call the King's Bench; for as for the Court of Chancery in Cauſes relating to Equity, Sir *Edward Coke* tells us in his 4*th* Inſtitutes, that there are no Precedents of it before the Reign of King *Henry* VI. *Chancellor.* *Hiſt.* Ingulph. *Fol.* 36. *Edit.* Oxon. *Page* 82.

BUT that it was the buſineſs of the Chancellor to draw up the King's Charters, and alſo to ſign them, before the Conqueſt, you will find at the end of the laſt Charter of King *Edward* the *Confeſſor* to the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, in the firſt Volume of Sir *H. Spelman*'s Councils, where *Ælfgeat* a Notary ſigns it, *vice Reynbaldi Regis Edwardi Cancellarii.*

THE next Degree was that of *Ealdorman*, which was not only Titular as to the Perſon, but an Office, and ſignified, as you will find all along in our *Annals*, thoſe great Magiſtrates under the King, who being called in Latin *Subreguli, Principes & Conſules*, in ſome of our Antient Charters; and ſometimes in *Saxon*, *Cynings*, i. e. petty Kings, had the ſubordinate Government of Cities, Counties, and often too of whole Provinces, in all Affairs both Civil and Military, and were of much greater Power before King *Alfred*'s Reign than afterwards; for whereas before his Time they had the chief Authority in all Places belonging to their Juriſdiction, they ſeem after the word *Eorle* came in uſe with the *Danes*, to have loſt much of their Power, tho they ſtill retained the Title. And it is obſerved by Sir *Henry Spelman* in his Gloſſary, that he who was called the *Ealdorman* of the County, ſignified in the Laws of King *Athelſtane* ſomething between the Earl and the Sheriff, and therefore ſeems to have been him who under the Earl governed the County or Province, and was his Deputy or Judg in the County Court in his Abſence. For in thoſe Laws the Value of an Arch-biſhop and Earl's Head, is ſet at fifteen thouſand *Thrimſaes*; whereas the Biſhop's and Ealdorman's was but at eight thouſand. *Ealdorman.* *Gloſſ. tit.* Aldermannus, *Fol.* 25.

YET notwithſtanding this Title did not ceaſe to be eſteemed very honourable many Years after that Time; for we find in *Camden*'s *Britannia*, that the Tomb of *Ailwin*, founder of the Abby of *Ramſey*, was inſcribed with the Title of Ealdorman of all *England*; which, as Mr. *Selden* ſays, could only mean, that he was ſomewhat like the Antient Chief Juſticiary of *England*, or Chief Director of the Affairs of the whole Kingdom, or Viceroy, *Regiæ dignitatis conſors & nominis*, or half *Cyning*, as the * Book of *Ramſey* has it. *Huntingtonſhire.* *Titles of Honour*, Chap. 5. *Fol.* 505.

NOT but that this word was alſo of a much more inferior Signification, ſeeing we find frequent mention in the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, as well as in thoſe Kings immediately after the Conqueſt, of *Aldermannus Hundredi, ſeu Wapentachii*, as alſo of *Aldermannus* * *Vit.* Lib. de Ramſey *publiſh'd by* Dr. Gale. Spelm. *Gloſſ. Tit.* Aldermannus.

mannus Civitatis, vel Burgi, whence the Title of our preſent Aldermen of Cities and great Towns are derived, (tho of a far different Signification, as well as a much later Inſtitution:) and this I ſuppoſe happened by reaſon of the Paucity of words in the *Saxon* Tongue, which called Grave Men, diſtinguiſhed by any Office or Dignity, by the Title of *Ealdormen*, becauſe they were at firſt beſtowed on Men of elder Years; tho afterwards, as the *Auctuary* to King *Edward*'s Laws informs us, they were not ſo ſtiled *propter ſenectutem, cum quidam Adoleſcentes eſſent; ſed propter ſapientiam.* Therefore I cannot forbear taking notice, that whereas *Bede* ſpeaking of K. *Oſwald*'s ſending (*ad Majores natu Scotorum*) to the Elders of the *Scots* for Biſhops, King *Alfred* in his Tranſlation of *Bede*, calls them, the *Ealdormen* of the *Scots*, that is, the Great or Chief Men of that Nation. I muſt here beg the Reader's Pardon, for a Miſtake I have committed in the rendring of that Paſſage into *Engliſh* in the enſuing Hiſtory; for not having the *Saxon* Verſion by me, but only a *Latin* Copy, when I wrote it, nor having then conſulted Mr. *Selden*, to whom I confeſs my ſelf much beholden for this Criticiſm; I have there tranſlated the words *Majores Natu*, *Scotiſh* Biſhops, becauſe I thought it moſt proper for them to be ſent to about an Affair concerning Religion.

Cap. 35. tit. Geref.

Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 3. Cap 3. & Vid. Lib. 1. Cap. 13.

I have no more to ſay on this Head, only that I have left this word *Ealdorman*, ſo often uſed in our *Annals*, untranſlated: for tho I grant he is frequently ſtiled *Dux*, or *Comes*, in Latin, yet it would not bear being rendred Duke or Earl in *Engliſh*, becauſe that thoſe Titles are not only very different, but were unknown in our *Saxon* Tongue, till many Years after that Government was ſetled in *England*.

Eorle. I come now to the Title *Earl*, or *Eorle*, which being altogether *Daniſh*, was not commonly uſed here till the Reign of King *Cnute*, tho we now and then find it mentioned in our *Annals* before his Time; but as for its Power and Authority, it being much what the ſame with that of *Ealdorman* abovementioned, I think I need ſay no more of it, only that neither of them were then Hereditary, nor deſcended to Sons or Brothers, tho they often continued in the ſame Family, when the King was pleaſed ſo to confer it: And both the Title and the Office were liable to be forfeited upon any great Male-Adminiſtration, as you will find in divers Inſtances in this Book.

Heretoch. THE next Title and Office I ſhall mention, is, that of *Heretoch*, which was wholly Military; and, as Sir *Henry Spelman* in his *Gloſſary* ſuppoſes, was the ſame with that of the *Holde*, or Commander in War, mentioned in the Laws of King *Athelſtan*; becauſe his *Wiregild* is made equal to that of a *High-Gerife, viz.* four thouſand *Thrymſa's*.

Tit. Holde.

THIS *Heretoch* ſeems to have been ſomewhat like our Lord-Lieutenant of a County at this Day; and was choſen for ſome extraordinary Occaſion, as upon a ſudden Invaſion or Expedition againſt the *Scots* or *Welſhmen*: Which being over, their Commiſſion alſo ceaſed, but they themſelves were ſtill had in high Eſteem and Honour, if they had prudently and couragiouſly diſcharged that great Truſt. And as the ſame Author obſerves, in ſome Antient Charters, (I ſuppoſe whilſt the *Ealdorman* exerciſed the whole Power of the County, as well Civil as Military) the ſame Title of *Ealdorman* ſignified the latter Dignity; of which he gives us this Inſtance, from a Charter out of the Antient Book

of

of the Church of *Worceſter*, where Earl *Ælfhere* is ſtiled *Mercna Heretogan.*

BUT in the Time of *Edward the Confeſſor* (and I ſuppoſe alſo before) they were certainly diſtinguiſhed, as appears by the Thirty fifth Auctuary of that King's Laws; where after the Offices of the *Ealdormen*, and *Greve*, the Duty of *Heretochs* is thus deſcribed, which I will give you here in Engliſh. Tit. de Heretochiis. " And there were other Powers and Dig-
" nities conſtituted through all the Provinces and Counties of the whole
" Kingdom, which were by the Engliſh called *Heretochs*, to wit, No-
" ble, Wiſe, Faithful, and Stout Barons. Theſe ſate our Armies in
" Battel Array, and raiſed others as they thought fit for the Honour of
" the Crown, and Service of the Kingdom. They were elected by
" the Common-Council for the publick Benefit of the Realm in all
" Provinces and Counties at a full *Folk-mote*, as the *Sheriffs* of the ſame
" alſo were, and ought to be: And in every County there was always
" one *Heretoch* thus elected, to conduct the *Militia* of his County, ac-
" cording to the King's Orders, for the Honour and Profit of the Crown
" of the ſaid Kingdom, whenever there was Occaſion.

FROM whence we may obſerve, That before, as well as ſometime after the Conqueſt, when this Auctuary was made, the King had not the Nomination either of the *Heretoch* or *Sheriff*, which were then the two Great Officers of the County, the one Military, the other Civil.

HAVING thus diſpatched the Military, I proceed to the Civil Magiſtrate, *viz.* the *Sheriff*; in Saxon, *Scire-Gereſa*, (or more contractedly *Greve* in the Laws of King *Edward*) who is called by *Ethelwerd*, *Exactor Regius*, (*i. e.* the King's Receiver). This Officer, as *Aſſer* ſhews us in his Life of *Alfred*, before that King made his new Reformation of the Kingdom, was appointed by the *Ealdorman*, and therefore called *Vice-Dominus*, and was much what the ſame with our *Vice-Comes*, or *Sheriff*, at this Day: But whether he had the Title of Sheriff before, as well as after that Alteration by King *Alfred*, I will not determine. *Sheriff.* Lib. 3. An. 787.

BUT it appears by both theſe Latin Titles, that he was the Officer, who inſtead of the *Ealdorman*, or Earl, ſat as Judge in thoſe we now call the County-Court, and Sheriff's Tourn. But theſe being ſo well known at this Day, I ſhall not further enlarge, only that this Officer was alſo to anſwer to the King's *Exchequer* for all Fines, Amerciaments, and other Duties ariſing out of the County; the third Penny of which the Earl had granted him by the King, *pro ſuſtentatione Dignitatis.*

AND now I come at laſt to that great extenſive Dignity of a *Thane*, called in Saxon *Thegne*, being derived from the old word *Theowian*, to ſerve; becauſe they that had this Honour conferred on them, were at firſt the King's Officers or Servants, and in our Antient Latin Charters, ſubſcribed by the Name of *Miniſtri Regis*, and are called in the Verſion of our *Saxon Annals*, as alſo in *Florence* of *Worceſter*, *Miniſtri Regii*; not that they were really always the King's Domeſtick Servants, tho they were ſo originally; on whom he likewiſe beſtowed ſeveral Lands in lieu of thoſe Services, (Wages in Money being not then in uſe) which Lands deſcended to their Heirs, if the King pleaſed. *Thane.*

THIS Title of *Thane* was of two ſorts, the one Spiritual, the other Temporal; the former were called in *Saxon*, *Meſſe-Thegnes*, i. e. *Maſs-Thanes*, Prieſts, or Parſons of Churches, and other dignified Clergy-

Clergy-Men; of whom I shall now say nothing, but that they were then of so great Note, that in our *Saxon* Laws they are ranged before the *Werold-Thegnes*, i. e. Temporal *Thanes*, and their *Weregilds* rated at the same Value with them, *viz.* two thousand *Thrymsa*'s.

" AND tho the word denoted a Servant or Minister in general, (and " so divers had the Title as it were meerly Officiary and Personal) yet
Tit. of Honours, Fol. 507, 508. " as Mr. *Selden* informs us, those that were the King's immediate Te- " nants of fair Possessions, which they held by personal Service, as of " his Person, (or as we say by *Grand-Serjeanty*, or Knight's Service in " chief) were, I conceive, the *Thanes* that had the Honorary Dignity, " and were part of the greater Nobility of that Time; howsoever " those Officiary Dignities of *Holde* and *Highgereue*, had then precedence " of them: that is, they were all the King's Feudal *Thanes*, and the
* *Vid.* Notas ad Eadmerum pag. 170. " Land held so was called *Tainland* or * *Thaneland*, as afterwards the " Lands held that made a Baron were called a *Barony*, as also they are " called to this day. This Title continued all the *Saxon* times until " the coming in of the *Normans*, and it was in some use also after that " Time, and then was succeeded by that of *Barons*. This Title being of *Norman* Extraction, we rarely meet with it before the Conquest.

THERE were also besides these Chief *Thanes*, others who were called middle or under *Thanes*, being the same with the less sort of *Barons*, or Lords of Mannors, who holding of other great Lords, and not of the King, were those that after the Conquest were called *Vavasors*; inferior to whom there were likewise a third Sort, who seemed to have been made up of the least or meanest Degree of Gentry or Freeholders, which were then all one; none but the Gentry or less Nobility then enjoying Lands by Freehold Tenure. And in this sense is to be understood that Law of King *Cnute*, whereby it is appointed, " That if the
Cap. 52. " Master of a Family (who by that Law was to have all his Houshold " under his Pledg) were accused of suffering any of them by his Pri- " vity to escape, being guilty of any Crime, he was then to wage Law " with five other *Thanes*, (*i. e.* in Latin *Nobilibus*) himself making the " sixth. Now it was impossible that there should be so many Chief *Thanes*, who held immediately of the King in any one Hundred or Tything, out of which those *Thanes*, or Gentlemen that were to make this Purgation, were to be taken.

BUT of all these *Thanes*, or less Nobility, I shall speak more at large by and by, when I come to consider the Members that composed the *Mycel-Gemot*, or Common-Council of the Kingdom, of which these made up the great and principal Part.

AND next to them I find another Title, tho not commonly used, yet as antient as the Laws of King *Ina*, as also mentioned in several other King's Laws, *viz.* a *Sithcund Man*, who if he refused his Service in the Army, or a Military Expedition, he forfeited his Land.

Sithcund-Man.

THIS Name Mr. *Somner* in his *Glossary* derives from *Sith*, or *Giseth*, *Comes*, *vel Socius*, a Ruler or Governour, and *Cund*, *Kind*, as it signifies the Condition and Quality of any one; and *Mon*, *Man*, that is, a sort of *Comes*, *Governour*, *Judg*, or *Præfect*: he was esteemed equal to a *Thane*, by the valuation of his Life in *Æthelstan*'s Laws.

THIS *Comes* is not to be taken in that Sense, as if he was a Count or Lord, (as now understood) being only a *Comes*, or Companion in respect of those of his own Rank or Degree, and interpreted by Mr. *Lambard*

Lambard by *Cuſtos-paganus*, and ſo ſeems to have been the chief Man or Captain in a Town or Village, and was to head all thoſe he brought with him from thence into the Field; and therefore the Penalty was the more ſevere on him if he ran away, leſt he ſhould infect others by his bad Example. Lamb. *Explic. Verb.* pag. 5.

SINCE I have been ſo large in this *Introduction*, I have choſen but ſlightly to mention theſe Dignities and Offices; for they having been ſo learnedly and fully handled by Mr. *Selden* in his *Titles of Honour*, as alſo by Dr. *Brady* in his firſt Part of the *Saxon Hiſtory*, and by Dr. *Howel* in his Diſcourſe of the Polity of the *Engliſh Saxons*, I ſhall refer the Reader to them for his farther Satisfaction, and will only ſpeak of two Degrees of Men more, of whom it ſeems (being below their Notice) they give us but a ſhort Account. Cap. 5. Part 4. Ch. 2.

THE firſt is that of *Ceorle*, or Country-man, (from whence our word *Carle* or *Churle* is derived); indeed he could not be poſſeſſed of what was called *Bockland*, or Free-land conveyable by Deed; but however he was as free as to his Perſon and Property as the greateſt *Thane* of them all. And therefore we find in the Laws of King *Alfred*, divers pecuniary Penalties enacted againſt thoſe who ſhould commit Adultery with a Country-man's Wife, or ſhould endeavour to vitiate the Chaſtity of his Servant or Slave; or ſhould break the Peace by fighting, either in his Houſe or Yard. And as for his Perſon, by the laſt of thoſe Laws it is appointed, what Satisfaction in Money ſhall be paid by any who wound or maim him, even to the Nail of his little Finger. And this Law as equally extended to him, as to thoſe of the greateſt Quality. And becauſe the Nobility or Gentry were too apt to abuſe theſe poor Countrymen who were their Tenants and Vaſſals, the thirty firſt Law of King *Alfred* ordains, what Satisfaction a Man was to make for any ways injuring and miſuſing a *Ceorle*'s Man, by binding him, beating him, or cutting off his Hair; Frolicks, I ſuppoſe, too often then in faſhion among ſome ill-natured domineering Gentlemen; which made this merciful and good King provide ſuch a neceſſary Law for their future Security. *Ceorle.*

AND further to prove their Freedom, it is likewiſe enacted in the Laws of King *Ina*, that if a *Ceorleſman* ſhould refuſe going out to War, he was to forfeit thirty Shillings; which ſhews, that he was ſuch a Man as was to have Weapons of his own for the Defence of himſelf and Service of his Country: Which is alſo required by the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, in Title *Greve*. And therefore Dr. *Brady* is very much out, in limiting the Title of *Freemen*, mentioned in King *Edward*'s * Laws, only to ſuch as were *Tenants* by *Military Service*; for that Law ſays no ſuch thing, but only that all the Freemen in the whole Kingdom, according to their ſeveral reſpective Eſtates, Goods, and Poſſeſſions, and to their Fees and Tenements, ought to have Arms, and keep them ready for the Defence of the Kingdom, *&c.* Where you may obſerve, that all Eſtates, Goods and Poſſeſſions, of what kind ſoever, do hereby capacitate Men to keep Arms, and conſequently give them the Title of *Freemen*; and therefore are not limited to *Tenants* by *Knights Service* alone. As alſo appears from the Aſſize of Arms appointed by King *Henry* the Second. *Compleat Hiſtory*, pag. 69. *LL. Edwardi Cap. 35. *Vid.* Hoveden.

THE

THE higheſt Degree of theſe *Ceorles*, were thoſe called *Liberi Socmanni*, i. e. *Free Socmen*, ſo called from *Soc*, which in the *Saxon* Tongue ſignifies a *Plow*. Of theſe we find no mention till the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, where the *Manbote* (*i. e.* Satisfaction for a Servant ſlain) is by *Danelage* (*i. e.* the Daniſh Law) due from a Villane or Villager, and a Socman twelve *Ores*; from a Freeman three Marks: Not that this *Socman* here, put as diſtinct from Freeman, was really a Slave, but only as Freemen were then taken properly for *Gentlemen* or *Freeholders*; for that theſe *Sockmen* were free as to their Perſons, tho not Lands, appears by the old *Natura Brevium*, where it defines a *Socman* to be ſuch a Tenant, who holds of the King, or any other Lord, Lands and Tenements by *Villain or baſe Services*; and was privileged in this manner, that none could eject him from thoſe Lands and Tenements, ſo long as he could do the Services belonging to the ſame.

Socmen.

Cap. 12.

Cap. de Brev. de Recto.

THIS I have taken notice of, becauſe Dr. *Brady*, in his Preface before his *Norman* Hiſtory, as alſo in divers other Places of his Works, has laboured all he can to make the Condition of the common People of this Kingdom (before the Conqueſt, as well as after) to have been little better than that of Slavery, and ſeems to repine very often that it is not ſo ſtill, as I could eaſily ſhew if I would go about it.

BUT certainly thoſe could not be Slaves who had Slaves under them, and were entruſted with the higheſt Badg of Freedom, not being forced or preſſed thereunto, *viz.* a voluntary Service in War, which the greateſt were alike ſubject to with theſe for the Defence and Safety of the Kingdom, and which was part of the old Oath of Fidelity that was taken, as well before as after his pretended Conqueſt.

Vid. LL. Edwardi Confeſſ. Cap. 35.

BUT before I diſmiſs this Subject, I cannot omit taking notice, that the Laws or Rules of Gentility were not ſo ſtrictly obſerved under the *Engliſh Saxon*, as afterwards they were under the *Norman* Kings; for Mr. *Selden* hath given us a Law of King *Athelſtane*, which he took from an Antient Manuſcript in the Library at St. *James*'s, in theſe words, *Si Villanus excreviſſet, ut haberet plenarie* V. *Hidas terræ ſuæ propriæ, Eccleſiam & Coquinam, Timpanarium, & Januam & Sedem & Sundernotam in Aula Regis, deinceps Taini Lege dignus ſit.* Which is alſo confirmed by Mr. *Lambard*, in his *Itinerary* of *Kent*, concerning the ſame Law, and is there ſet down in *Saxon*, which I ſhall here tranſlate thus; That "if a *Ceorl* or a Country-man ſo thrived, that he had fully five "Hides of his own Land, a Church, a Kitchin, a Bell-houſe, a Borough-gate with a Seat, and any diſtinct Office in the King's Court, "then was he thenceforth of equal Honour or Dignity with a *Thane*. Where by the Church, the Kitchin, the Bell-houſe, the Borough-gate, with a Seat, *&c.* Mr. *Selden* underſtands, "The State or Faſhion of a "Lord of that Time, in having a Church for his Family and Tenants, "in keeping a Court for them, (which may well be meant in the *Burh-gate ſetl*, or *Town-gate with a Seat*) and in keeping a Houſe or Entertainment competent to that Dignity, which may be underſtood in "the *Cycenan* and *Belhuis*, i. e. *Kitchin* and *Bell-houſe*. The Bell-houſe "may denote the Hall, which was the place of ordinary Diet and Entertainment in the Houſes of Lords. It may well ſo ſignify, if the "*Saxons* uſed the like Reaſon in impoſing the Name on the Lord's "Hall, as ſome ſay the *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, and *French* have done, in calling it *Tinello*, *Tinello*, and *Tinel*; which in our Laws alſo is re-

"tained

Vit. Honour, Ch. 5. Fo. 515.

Apud Lambard in Itinerar. Cantii, pag. 552, 553.

" tained in *Tinel le Roy*, for the King's Hall. They would have it " therefore ſo named, becauſe the *Tin*, or tinkling of a Bell at the " Times of Dinner and Supper were ſignified by it.

BUT *Sunderneta*, mentioned in the Latin Copy of this Law, ſeems to denote the diſtinct Office which he was to hold in the King's Court to make him equal to a *Thane*. And it is alſo obſervable, that by the ſame Laws of King *Athelſtane* abovementioned, ſuch a *Ceorlſman* ſo advanced, and having five Hides of Land, *(ad Utwarum Regis)* that is, as Mr. *Selden* in the ſame place interprets, held by Knights Service, *Si occidatur, reddentur 2 Millia Thrymſarum*; ſo that his *Wiregyld* ſhews him to have been every way equal to a *Thane*.

BUT the moſt conſiderable Obſervation that may be made from this Law, is, that V. Hides of Land were at that time reckoned a ſufficient Eſtate to conſtitute a *Thane*. But as to the Quantity of Land that then went to make a Hide, it was ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs, according to the Goodneſs or Quality of the Soil; but was certainly no more than what one Plow could well manure, together with Paſture, Meadow, and Wood, competent for the Maintenance of that Plow, and the Servants of the Family. So that the Eſtate of ſuch a *Thane* could not be much more than what an ordinary Gentleman has at this day.

NOR can I here pretermit what follows in the ſame Law above recited, where after having ſhewn us by what means an Under *Theyn* might come to be a Chief *Thane*, and from thence attain to the Dignity of an *Earl*, it thus proceeds. " And if a Merchant ſo thrived, that " he had paſſed thrice over the wide (or broad) Sea, by his own Cun" ning, (or Craft as it is in the *Saxon*) he was thenceforth a *Thane*'s " Right-worthy, *i. e.* was every way equal to him. Where you may obſerve that Wealth and Induſtry conferred Nobility in the *Saxon* Times as well as at this Day.

I come now to the loweſt Rank of Men, *viz.* that of *Slaves*, who were called in Latin *Servi*, and in Saxon *Freortorlings*; and there were two ſorts of them, *viz.* ſuch as were *Perſonal*, poſſeſſing no Eſtates, but all that they earn'd was their Lords, by whom therefore they were maintained. The others were *Prædial*, ſuch as were of Servile Condition and Original, but poſſeſſed their ſmall Holdings and Goods at the Will of their Lord, doing all thoſe Servile Countrey Works that were ſet them; and from thence in the more modern *Norman* Dialect were called *Villains*, from thoſe Villages where they lived and wrought: But before as well as after the Conqueſt, that the Latin word *Villanus* did not ſignify a Villain or Servant, I could prove from many Inſtances, both out of Records and Hiſtories, if I thought it would not be too tedious in this Place. *Slaves.* *Vid.* Ælfric. Gloſſ. Saxonic

AS for the Original of theſe Slaves among the *Saxons*, there is ſome doubt about them; ſome ſuppoſing them to have been derived from the remainder of thoſe meaner ſort of *Britains*, who were either taken Priſoners, or elſe never forſook the Land, and ſo their Lives being ſaved, they were made ſervile by their Conquerors; or elſe ſuch as were deſcended from thoſe who came over in the nature of Slaves to the *Engliſh Saxons* that firſt landed here: but it is not much material how they began, ſince they might proceed from both, or either of theſe Originals;

nals; nor had their Lords Power of Life or Death over them, for if they killed any of them, they were to pay the Value of their Heads to the King.

THESE Slaves, if they were set free at any time by their Masters, were what the *Romans* called *Liberti*, and in Saxon *Freolætan*; but being then resolved into the Body of *Ceorles*, or Countrey-men, they did not, as among the *Romans*, constitute any new Order of Men.

HAVING now gone through all the Sorts and Degrees of Men, who either lived in, or were maintained out of the Countrey; I shall in the next Place say somewhat of another distinct Body of Men, called in Saxon *Burh-witan*, or *Burh-wara*, that is, Citizens or Townsmen, who had Privileges peculiar to themselves, and living in Cities or great Towns, were governed by their own particular Magistrates called *Ealdormen*, or *Portgerefan*, i. e. *Port-Reeves*, assisted by the Chief Men of the Place, called in Saxon, *Yldist-Burh-wara*, who were much the same with what we now call *Aldermen* or *Common-Council* Men; for as for the Title of *Mayor*, it came not in use here till long after the Conquest.

Burh witan, i.e. *Citizens and Townsmen.*

Vid. Ælfric. Gloss. Saxonic

BUT as for these Magistrates and Members of Cities and Towns, I shall speak more by and by, when I come to treat of the constituent Parts of the Great Council of the Kingdom.

FROM the different Orders of Men, we shall now descend to speak of the different Courts where these Persons abovementioned, (all except the Villains) were bound to appear, and there either to do or receive Justice; for which it will be necessary to look back to the Reign of King *Alfred*, who after the first Invasion of the *Danes*, when he began to resettle the Kingdom, found his Subjects so far corrupted by a long and hazardous War, that all Places being full of Robberies and Murders, there was an absolute necessity for the making of more severe Laws to restrain them; so that (omitting the Division of Counties or Shires, which I shall speak to hereafter) he Canton'd his Kingdom, 1*st*. into *Trihings* or *Lathes*, as they are still called in *Kent* and other Places, consisting of three or four Hundreds; in which the Freeholders being Judges, such Causes were brought as could not be determined in the Hundred Court: concerning the Proceedings in which Court of the *Trihing* or *Lathes*, you may see divers Precedents in Sir *William Dugdale*'s * *Origines Juridiciales*.

Different Courts.

1. *The Court of* Trihings *or* Lathes.

Lambard. de priscis Anglor. Legibus. Fol. 135.

* Chap. 12. Fol. 26.

2. *The Hundred Court.*

NEXT to which there was also the *Hundred-Court*, in Saxon *Hundred-Gemot*, and in Latin *Centuriata*, "Because it originally consisted "of an hundred Hides of Land, *as an* Hide *usually of an hundred* "*Acres*, or else because *super decem Decanos, & centum Friburgos judi-* "*cabat*, that is, it had Jurisdiction over ten Decennaries, or an hundred "Friboroughs.

THIS Court before the Conquest was held twelve times a Year, and afterwards was increased by *Henry* I. to once a Fortnight, and then by *Henry* the *Third* reduced to once in three Weeks.

Dugdale's Origin. Juridic. Cap. 11.

"IN this Court antiently, *Unus de melioribus qui vocatur Alderman-* "*nus*, one of the principal Inhabitants, called the *Alderman*, together "with the Barons of the Hundred *(id est*, the Freeholders) was Judg, "as may seem by the ‖ Register of *Ely*, which saith, that *Ægelwynnus* "*Aldermannus venit ad* Ely, *& infrà Cimeterium ad Aquilonalem portam*

‖ Ex Regist. de *Ely*, in Bibl. *Cotton.* sub Effigie Titi. A. 1. F. 6. b.

Monasterii,

" *Monaſterii, tenuit placitum cum toto Hundredo:* And the Witneſs of Contracts and Purchaſes, then were *Teſtimonio Hundredi.* Here, not only Temporal Cauſes, but Eccleſiaſtical were handled; the *Alderman*, or principal Judg, being ſuch a one as *Dei Leges & hominum jura ſtudebat promovere, who ſtudied to promote the Laws of God and Man*, the Biſhop or Arch-Deacon ſitting therein, with the ſaid *Alderman:* Which Juriſdiction ſo continued until the beginning of *William* the Conqueror's Reign, that he by a ſpecial Precept did inhibit, * *Quod nec Epiſcopus, nec Archidiaconus de Legibus Epiſcopalibus amplius in Hundredo placitum teneat.* Ibid. Fol. 5. b. & Fol. 7. a. & Fol. 13. b. * Cart 2. R. 2. m. 12. n. 5. per inſpex.

BUT the loweſt of theſe Inferior Courts, was that of the *Decennary*, or *Tything*, which yet was the greateſt Bridle upon the Inferiour ſort of People; "For by virtue of this Law of King *Alfred*, every *Engliſh* Freeman, as *Ingulph* tells us, ought to be in ſome Hundred or Tything, (I mean, whoſoever was of full twelve Years of Age); and if any one ſhould be ſuſpected of Larceny or Theft, he might in his own Hundred or Ward, being either condemned, or giving Security, (in ſome Manuſcripts it is being acquitted) either incur or avoid the deſerved Penalty. *William* of *Malmesbury* adds to this, "That he that could not find Security, was afraid of the Severity of the Laws; and if any guilty Perſon, either before his giving Security or after, ſhould make his Eſcape, all of that Hundred and Tything ſhould incur the King's Fine. *The Decennary, or Tything Court.* *Vid.* Leg. Canut. cap. 19.

HERE we have the Original of *Decennaries*, or *Fribourgs*, in which every Man was to be bound for others as well as himſelf, *viz.* Maſters for their Servants, Husbands for their Wives, and Children, before they had attained the Age of Fourteen; as alſo the Houſholder for his Gueſts. All which ten Perſons being thus bound one for another, were united under one Head, called a *Tythingman*, and in ſome places a *Borſholder*; for *BORGH* ſignifies a *Surety* or *Pledg*, and *FRI* is all one as *Free*. From whence comes our word *NEIGHBOURS*, that is, thoſe that are *Near-Pledges*. Vid. Leges Edwardi. cap. 27.

BUT that this Law concerning the *Decennaries* or Tythings, was not only made for the meer Vulgar or ordinary ſort of People, but that the Chiefeſt of the Nobility, and even the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops themſelves were alike ſubject to it, will appear by that Law of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, confirmed by King *William* I. whereby all Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Earls and Barons, and all thoſe that had Courts of *Sac*, *Soc*. and *Theam*, *&c.* ſwore to keep their Knights, and all other Servants there mentioned in their *Frithborg*, (*i. e. Franc-pledg*) for whom theſe Lords or Maſters themſelves were to be Sureties: ſo that if any of them offended, their Lords were obliged to do right in their Courts. And by the Laws of *Canute*, every Thane or Gentleman of Eſtate, was to have his Family under his own Pledg; and if any of them were accuſed, he was to anſwer for him in the Hundred Court, *i. e.* was to compel him to appear. And the Lord was alſo to be anſwerable for him, if he eſcaped; ſo that all the Privilege that Noblemen and Gentlemen had above the common Men, was, that they were not bound one for another, ſo as to be part of any Decennary or Tithing; but each of them was Head of his own *Friburgh*, and his Family was as it were a diſtinct *Tithing* of it ſelf. Vid. Lambard. LL. Edward, Cap. 16. Cap. 50.

I obſerve this, to let the Reader underſtand, that how ſevere ſoever this Law was, it was no Badg of Slavery or Subjection upon the common People, for even the beſt Men in the Kingdom were alike ſubject to it: Neither was it brought in, or increaſed, in Rigour by the *Norman* Conqueſt, as ſome, with greater Prejudice than Truth, have maintained; ſince the *Normans* as well as the *Engliſh*, were all under one and the ſame Law as to this Point.

THE Laws of this Court of the *Tithing*, were theſe;

FIRST, That if any one offended, and failed to appear, the other Sureties were bound to have him forth-coming to Juſtice.

SECONDLY, But if the guilty Party fled, he ſhould not be any where received without a Teſtimonial from the *Tithing* from whence he came: So that a Man being out of any *Tithing*, if he were received in any Town, the whole Town was in the King's Mercy. But by the Laws of King *Edward*, the *Decennary* was allowed one and thirty Days to bring the Offender to Juſtice, that ſo he might make Satisfaction, either by his Goods or Body.

Cap. 20.

THE third was, that if he could not be found, then the *Tithingman* or *Borſholder*, taking with him two of the beſt of his own *FRIBURGH*, and of the three neighbouring *FRIBURGHS* nine, (to wit, of each the chief *Tithingman*, and two others of the beſt Note) and there before the King's Juſtice (if he could) he was to purge himſelf by Oath of the Offence and Flight of the Criminal: But if he could not, he with his own *FRIBURGH* was to reſtore the Loſs out of the Goods of the Party, if they were ſufficient, or otherwiſe out of his own, and thoſe of his *FRIBURGH*.

LASTLY, If the Neighbouring *FRIBOURGS* would not be their Compurgators, then they were to ſwear for themſelves, that they were therein no ways Guilty; and that ſo ſoon as ever they could find him, they would bring the Offender to Juſtice, or elſe diſcover where he was.

THERE were many other particulars concerning this Matter which I paſs over, that I may not be thought too prolix; but theſe are the moſt material.

The Riſe of Court-Barons.

BUT beſides this Caution concerning *Pledges*, they were alſo the firſt Foundation of *Court-Barons*, who were under the *Thane*, or *Baron*, (i.e.) the Lord of the Mannor, (as their Head) and he was to undertake for every one of his Tenants, and to ſatisfy for the Offences of each Man.

Vid. Leges Edw. Conf. apud Lamb. F. 132. a.

BY theſe *Friburghs* or *Pledges*, together with their *Borſholders*, were all Civil Actions, as of Debt, Treſpaſs, Detinue, or the like, (which aroſe betwixt any of their Townſhip) determined; but when there was a Cauſe that concerned Men reſiding in ſeveral Seigniories, then it was tranſmitted to the next ſuperior Juriſdiction, *viz.* the *Hundred-Court*, (in ſome Places called the *Wapentake*.)

The Sciremote, or Sheriff's Tourn.

THERE ſtill remain behind two very conſiderable Courts, both held by the Sheriff; "The former of which was antiently called *Sciremote*, "(i.e. the meeting of the Inhabitants of the Shire) and was held "twice in the Year, long before the *Norman* Conqueſt, as appeareth "from ſundry Teſtimonies*; but ſince that, the *Shireeve*'s *Turn*, from "the *French* word *Tour*, in Latin *Vice*, and in Engliſh *Turn*. Herein "ſate together the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, and the *Earl* or *Eolderman*, "in

Vid. Dugd. Juridical. Orig. c. 13. fol. 28.

* Leges Edgari (penes Lamb.) cap. 5. fol. 80.

" in Shires that had Eoldermen; and the Biſhop and Shireeves in ſuch " Counties as were committed to Shireeves, for many Ages in the *Saxons* Times, as from theſe Laws from King *Edgar* to *Canutus*, cited " in the Margin, doth appear, to the end they might determine as well " of what concerned Eccleſiaſtical as Civil Matters: the words of this " laſt King's Law run thus; *Ex † omni Comitatu, bis quotannis conventus agitor, cui quidem illius Diœceſis Epiſcopus & Senator interſunto: quorum Alter Jura Divina, humana alter populum edoceto.*

Leges Canuti (ibid) c. 17. Fol. 198. a. Selden's *Tit. of Honour*, part 2. cap. 5. *and* Sect. 5. Fol. 628, 130. † Vid. Jani Angl. &c.

" *IN every County let there be twice a Tear an Aſſembly of the People, whereat the Biſhop of the Dioceſs and the Earl ſhall be preſent, the one to direct in Divine, the other in humane Matters.*

" WHICH ſo continued (the Biſhop and Earl ſitting therein together) until King *William* the *Conqueror* in a full Convention of his " Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots and Temporal Lords, commanded, " that † Eccleſiaſtical Matters ſhould thenceforth be handled by the " Biſhops in Courts of their own, and not any more be diſcuſt amongſt " Secular Affairs.

† Cart. 2. R. 2. per Inſpex. m. 12.

IN this Court (as well as in that of the County) according to the Laws of King *Henry* I. theſe Perſons following were to be preſent, as may appear by this Clauſe, *Interſint autèm Epiſcopi, Comites, Vicedomini, Vicarii, Centenarii, Aldermanni, Præfecti, Præpoſiti, Barones, Vavaſſores, Tungrevii, & cateri terrarum Domini diligenter intendentes, nè malorum Impunitas, aut Gravionum pravitas, vel Judicum ſubverſio ſolitâ miſeros laceratione conſiniant.*

LL. Henry I. cap. 7.

AGANTUR itâq; primò debita veræ Chriſtianitatis Jura; ſecundò, Regis placita; poſtremò Cauſæ ſingulorum dignis, ſatisfactionis expleantur. Scil. Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes and Pleas of the Crown in the Turn; but Private Cauſes in the County Court, *Vid.* Coke's *4th. Inſtit.* 259, 260. where you will find that,

THE *Tourn* is a Court of Record holden before the Sheriff, the Antient Inſtitution thereof was before *Magna Charta* to hear and determine all Felonies (Death of Man excepted) and Common Nuſances: See the Stat. *Mag. Chart. c.* 17. and the Expoſition of the ſame in the *2d. Inſtit.* Page 260.

THE Stile of this Court is, *Curia Viſus Franc. Domini Regis apud B. coram Vicecomite in Turno ſuo*, &c. *ibid.*

THE reaſon of which is, becauſe in this Court the *Pledges* or Sureties of every *Decennary* or *Tithing* were entred before the Court-*Leets* were taken out of it, and granted to particular Lords of Mannors, which Sir *H. Spelman* in his Gloſſary ſuppoſes to have been done in the Reign of King *Alfred*; but ſince I find nothing concerning theſe Court-*Leets* till after the Conqueſt, I ſhall defer the farther treating of them to that Time. Verb. Læta.

I have no more to ſay of this Court, but that it was alſo called the *Folcmote*, and in which, by *Edward* the *Confeſſor's* Laws, all Freemen were to take the *Oath* of *Allegiance* or Fidelity to the King, as appears by the Law it ſelf; *Omnes Proceres Regni, milites & Liberi Homines totius Regni BRITANNIÆ facere debent Fidelitatem Domino Regi in Pleno FOLCMOTO coràm Epiſcopis Regni*, &c. Vid. LL. *Edwardi*, c. 35.

YOU will likewiſe find in the ſame Law (juſt preceding this) an extraordinary Aſſembly of this *Folcmote* upon any ſudden Danger, which met on ringing of the Bells, called in Engliſh *Motbel*; and there they were to conſult how to prevent the Danger.

THE

The County Court. Vid. Dugdale ut Supra. ibid. * Leges Edwardi Senioris apud Lamb. c. xi. Fol. 51. a. Videſis etiam Leges Canuti cap. 17. apud Lamb. Fol. 108. a. Cap. 39. apud Brompt. Col. 924. & apud Lamb. Fol. 108. a. n. 18. Vid. Spelm. Gloſſ. vocab. Comitatus Curia.

" THE ſecond of theſe Courts was called the *County-Court*, and was alſo very Antient, and to be held once every Month by the Shireeve, as from K. *Edward* the Elder's * Laws appeareth——*Præpoſitus quiſq; ad quartam circitèr quamq; ſeptimanam, frequentem populi concionem celebrato: cuiq; jus dicito æquabile, Liteſq; ſingulas (cum dies conditi advenerint) dirimito.*

" *EVERY Shireeve ſhall convene the People once a Month, and do equal Right to all, putting an end to Controverſies at Times appointed.*

" TO this Court were antienly Appeals made from the *Hundred-Court*, as appears by the Laws of *Canutus*——*Et nemo namium capiat in Comitatu vel extra Comitatum, priuſquam ter in Hundredo ſuo rectum ſibi perquiſierit: ſi tertia vice rectum non habeat, eat quarta vice ad Conventum totius Comitatus quod Anglicè dicitur* Scyremot, &c. *No Man by a Diſtreſs ſhall compel another to the* County-Court, *unleſs he have thrice complained in the* Hundred-Court; *But if he have not Right the third Time, he may then ſue in the* County-Court, *which is called the* Scyregemot.

* Vid. Lib. rub. in Scacc. Fol. 26. inter Leges *Hen.* 1.

" AND beſides (ſays Sir *William Dugdale*) * *Regis placita & Cauſa ſingulorum debita; veræ Chriſtianitatis jura*, were firſt determined here; where *intereſſe debent Commiſſarii, Epiſcopi, Comites, & Eccleſiæ poteſtates*, (and the *Presbyter Eccleſiæ*, as well as *quatuor de Melioribus villæ*, were obliged to attendance) *qui Dei Leges*, as well as *Seculi negotia, juſtâ conſideratione definirent.*

AND a little after he further proceeds thus, " Now let us ſee of what things the Sheriff here antienly held *Plea*: ——*Ad Vicecomites pertinent iſta* (ſaith *Glanvile*) *Placitum de Recto, de liberis Tenementis, per Breve Domini Regis, ubi Curia Dominorum probatur de Recto defeciſſe; Placitum de Nativis, ſed per Breve Domini Regis.* Glanvil. Lib. 1. Cap. 4.

" ID eſt, *It belongeth to the Shireeve to hold Plea in this Court upon a* Writ of Right *concerning Freehold, in Caſes where the Lord of the Mannor* (wherein the Land lieth) *hath not done Juſtice; as alſo to hold Plea concerning Bondmen, but by the King's Writ.*

I ſhall ſay no more of this Court, but refer the Reader to the ſaid Book (from whence I have taken moſt of thoſe things I have here given you concerning all theſe Courts); wherein he may find at large how great the Power of this Court was, not only before but after the Conqueſt: And I have alſo reſerved the treating of theſe two Courts by themſelves, becauſe tho the 3 former are ſuppoſed by ſome to be of K. *Alfred*'s Erection upon his new Reformation of the Kingdom, but theſe two were not ſo; for notwithſtanding *Ingulf* tells us, that this King *Alfred* firſt divided the Provinces of *England* into Counties, yet we find Mr. *Selden* Learnedly makes it out, " That *Alfred* was not the firſt that divided the Kingdom into *Shires* or *Counties*; for (ſaith he) before *Alfred*'s Time, thoſe Provinces had their *Ealdormen* in them: Thus we read of *Ethelwolfus Barocenſis Pagæ Comes*, and *Ceorle Domnaniæ Comes*, and *Eanulf Somerſetenſis Pagæ Comes*; for the Earldoms of *Barkſhire*, *Devonſhire* and *Somerſetſhire* under King *Ethelwolf*, Father to King *Alfred*, are remembred in *Aſſerius Menevenſis*, that lived in King *Alfred*'s Time. Two of them are alſo in * *Ethelwerd*, a Writer of the *Saxon* Times, beſides *Oſric Dorſetum Dux*, for Eolderman of *Dorſet*; *Ealchere* or *Alchere* was at the ſame Time Ealdorman of *Kent*, and *Auda* or *Wuda* of *Surrey*, as we have it in *Hoveden*, " *Huntingdon*,

Vid. Dugdale Origin. Jurid.

Selden's *Tit. of Honours*, chap. 5. Fol. 509, 510.

* Lib. 3. cap. 3.

" *Huntingdon*, and in that *Aſſerius* alſo. And *Ingulphus* hath the Char-
" ter of King *Ethelbald*'s Foundation of *Crowland*, whereunto the
" *Comites* of *Leiceſter* and of *Lincoln* both ſubſcribe.

TO which I may alſo add divers Examples that you will meet with of the ſame kind in the following Hiſtory, out of the *Saxon* Annals.

HAVING thus diſpatched theſe inferior Courts, I come now to the chiefeſt, (next to that of the Great Council of the Kingdom) *viz.* that which was called *Curia Domini Regis*, " Becauſe oftentimes (as Sir *Curia Do-*
" *Wil. Dugdale* informs us) the King himſelf ſate here in Perſon, having *mini Regis.*
" ſeveral Juſtices, *à latere ſuo reſidentes*, as * *Bracton* expreſſeth it; and in Dugdal. Ori-
" his Abſence, the *Ealdorman*, or Chief *Juſticiary* of all *England*, ſup- gin. Juridical.
" plied his Place. Cap. 17. F. 38.
*Lib. 3. C. 10.

CONCERNING this Court, tho we have not many Memorials left of it before the Conqueſt, yet it was certainly at that Time in Being, ſince it ſeems to have been then the Great Court of all Appeals, as well Criminal as Civil, long after the Conqueſt, before the Court of *Common-Pleas* was taken out of it: for here it was that K. *Alfred* is ſuppoſed to have re-heard and examined the falſe Judgments of his inferior Judges in the *Hundred*, and *County-Courts*; and here it was alſo that he condemned above *forty* of them to be executed in one Year, for their erroneous Sentences in Matters of Life and Death, as you will find in Cap. 5. the *Mirror of Juſtices*.

I need ſay no more of this Great Court, whoſe Power now reſides in that of the *King's-Bench* and *Common-Pleas*, neither the *Chancery* nor *Exchequer* having then any Being; the former of which commenc'd long after the Conqueſt, and the latter was erected by King *William* the *Firſt*.

I have but two Obſervations to make concerning our Antient *Engliſh Saxon* Courts of Juſtice; the *FIRST* of which is, that ſtrict Union there then was as well in the *Folk-mote* and *County-Court*, as in the *Hundred-Court*, between the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil State; in both which the Biſhop and the Sheriff ſitting together, all Cauſes both Spiritual and Secular were equally, and at one time, diſpatched to the great Eaſe and Satisfaction of the Subject, who were taught by the Biſhop in the *Folk-mote* what was their Duty towards God and the Church, as they were by the Ealdorman or Sheriff what Common Laws they were bound to obſerve, in order to their Honeſt and Peaceable Living one among another: a Cuſtom, which when reading of Books was not generally in uſe among the Laiety, was abſolutely neceſſary for the acquainting them with their Duty; in imitation of which I ſuppoſe our Common Charges at *Aſſizes* and *Seſſions* are continued to this Day.

THE *SECOND* is, the great Eaſe the Subject muſt needs find in having Juſtice adminiſtred to him in ſmaller Actions, in the Court of *Decenary* or *Tything*, even at their own Doors; or elſe in Appeals and greater Actions at the Court of the *Trihing* or *Lathe*; from whence they might remove it to the *County-Court*; and if they thought themſelves aggrieved there, then they might bring it before the King himſelf, or his chief Juſticiary, in the Great Court abovementioned. An Admirable and an Excellent Conſtitution this! whilſt the Laws of *England* were few, eaſy and plain, before the Partiality and Corruption of Countrey Juries came in, and the bandying and Factions of Rich and Powerful Men in

the Countrey againſt each other, together with the vaſt varieties of Determinations of Caſes in Law, had rendered thoſe inferior Courts not only perplexed, but unſafe and vexatious to the Subject.

The Great Council, or Parliament.

I come now to the Supream Court of the whole Kingdom, called in *Saxon* the *Wittena-Gemot*, or *Mycel-Synoth*; in Latin *Magnum*, or *Commune Concilium Regni*, the Great or Common-Council of the Kingdom, conſiſting of the King and the three Eſtates, which we now call our *Parliament*; which Court the Author of the *Mirror of Juſtices* expreſly tells us, "That King *Alfred* ordained for a perpetual Cuſtom, that twice "in the Year, or oftner, in Time of Peace, if Buſineſs ſo required, they "ſhould aſſemble at *London* to treat of the good Government of God's "People, and how Folks ſhould be reſtrained from Offending, and live "in Quiet, and ſhould receive *Right* by certain Antient Uſages and "Judgments, *&c.* From whence you may obſerve, that in this Author's Time, (*viz.* that of *Edward* I.) it was held for Law, "That the great "Council of the Kingdom antiently met of Courſe twice in the Year, "without any expreſs Summons from the King; and this it ſeems was "afterwards altered to thrice in the Year, *viz.* at the three great "Feaſts of *Chriſtmaſs*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſontide*, when the King met "his Eſtates with great Solemnity, wearing his Crown upon all "ſolemn Days of Entertainment; and when the Feaſting was over, "they fell to diſpatch the publick Affairs, as Sir *H. Spelman* well obſerves.

Vid. Vol. 1. Council. An. 851. Fol. 347.

THESE ſtated Councils which were then held *ex More* (as our Hiſtorians term it) *i. e.* according to antient Cuſtom, continued long after the Conqueſt, as ſhall be farther ſhewn hereafter: but if this Council happened to meet at any other extraordinary Time, then the King's ſpecial Summons was requiſite, as you may find in *Ingulf* under *Anno Dom.* 948. where he tells us, King *Edred* ſummoned the Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and all the *Proceres*, and *Optimates* (*i. e.* Chief Men of the Kingdom) to meet him at *London* at the Purification of the *Virgin Mary*. Whence we may obſerve, that this Summons was thus iſſued, becauſe this Council was extraordinary, as not being held *ex more*, at any of the uſual great Feaſts abovementioned.

Pag. 116, 117, 118. *Vid.* Introduct. and Fol. 127, 128.

CONCERNING the Original of this great Aſſembly, ſince Sir *Robert Filmer* in all his Works, and particularly in his *Patriarcha*; and Dr. *Johnſton* in his *Excellency of Monarchical Government*, "Would have "this (as well as all our other Liberties and Privileges) to have been "only Royal Abatements of Power, and gracious Indulgences and "Condeſcenſions of our Kings for the Benefit and Security of the Sub-"ject; who were pleaſed to condeſcend to call ſome Perſons of each of "the three Eſtates (it being left to their Diſcretion whom to ſummon, and "whom not); and tho many of our Kings have made uſe of ſuch great "Aſſemblies to conſult about important Affairs of State, and by their "Conſent and Approbation, to make Laws as well as (at their Prayers "and Petitions) to redreſs their juſt Grievances, yet they owed their "being to our firſt Monarchs, ſince till about the time of the Conqueſt "there could be no General Aſſembly of the Eſtates of the whole King-"dom, becauſe till thoſe Times we cannot learn it was entirely united "into one; but it was either divided into ſeveral Kingdoms, or go-"verned by ſeveral Laws.

I confeſs this looks at firſt like a ſpecious Hypotheſis, and may ſerve perhaps to prevail upon ſome ignorant and unwary Readers, who will not,

or

or cannot give themſelves the trouble of ſearching to the Bottom, to find out the Truth of things. But I deſire the Favour of thoſe who believe and maintain this Opinion, to anſwer me theſe few Queries.

FIRST, How it came to paſs that in all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, erected out of the Ruines of the *Roman* Empire, (as well as thoſe that were not, but yet had been conſtituted according to the ſame *Gothick* Model) the like General or Great Council of Eſtates, conſiſting of the ſame Degrees and Orders of Men, were to be found in every one of thoſe Kingdoms? To begin with *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and then go on to the Kingdom of *Germany*, now called the *Empire*, and ſo into *France*, and from thence into *Spain*, among all the petty Kingdoms that then compoſed that Monarchy (taking *Portugal*, if you pleaſe, into the Account); you will find that the Eſtates of all thoſe Kingdoms (as repreſenting the whole Body of the ſame) conſiſted of the Clergy, Nobility, and Deputies of Cities and great Towns; which is briefly comprized by this ſingle Verſe of *Gonterus*, an old *German* Poet, concerning the Eſtate of the Empire in his Time,

Prælati, Proceres, miſſiſq; potentibus Urbes.

SECONDLY, How it happened, that in all the Kingdoms of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Heptarchy, the firſt Founders of which came out of *Frizeland*, *Weſtphalia*, *Holſtein* and *Jatland*, the like Great Councils, conſiſting of the King, the Clergy and Nobility, came to be inſtituted in each of them? For as to the Repreſentatives of Cities and Towns in *England*, ſince the Framers of the abovementioned Hypotheſis deny their appearance here, I ſhall ſay nothing as yet.

THIRDLY, Whether it be probable, that without a General Agreement of Laws and Manners with thoſe People of *Germany*, from whence theſe *Engliſh-Saxons* came, they ſhould by a ſort of Natural and Unaccountable Sympathy, fall of themſelves into the very ſame Political Form and Conſtitution?

FOURTHLY, Whether Princes were above a thouſand Years ago, ſo much more Ignorant of the Arts of Government, and ſo little Ambitious of Riches and Power, that they ſhould all agree within a Century of Years, to ſet up one uniform Model of Government, and admit the People into a ſhare of their Power, eſpecially into that Grand Prerogative of laying Taxes; which moſt Princes now do all they can to perform by their own abſolute Will?

FOR as to that of underſtanding their Subjects Grievances, they might either not take notice of them at all, or elſe, if they would, might have found out a more eaſy Method to come to the Knowledg of them, than by Summoning the Clergy, Nobility, and People of a whole Kingdom at once, to acquaint them therewith.

FIFTHLY, How it came to paſs, that in all thoſe Countries (ſo long as they continued *Elective*) the States exerciſed the ſame Power of *Depoſing* their Kings for Tyranny or Male-Adminiſtration? Does this look like a precarious and dependent Power? And,

LASTLY, Whence happen'd it, that in *France* and *England* (and I believe I could ſhew the ſame in other Countries too) the Eſtates of the Kingdom met twice in the Year, according to Cuſtom, at a certain Time and Place, without any Summons from the King?

NOW

NOW when the Gentlemen who maintain the Hypotheſis abovementioned, ſhall return a fair and ſatisfactory Anſwer to theſe Queries, I ſhall not only willingly ſubmit to their Judgments, but give them my Thanks for their better Information; but till then I think it is much more agreeable to good Senſe, as well as Matter of Fact, to maintain, that thoſe Orders and Degrees of Men that did conſtitute the Great Councils, were more Antient than Kingly Government, nay Chriſtianity it ſelf among them, as appears by thoſe Teſtimonies I have produced out of *Bede* and other Authors; from all whom it plainly appears, that the firſt Princes in all thoſe Governments were originally Elected, of which I hope I have given undeniable Inſtances, out of our own as well as Foreign Hiſtories: and certainly that which gives Being to a Thing, muſt be prior in Nature to that which is produced from it.

HAVING now done with the Original, I ſhall next proceed to the Conſtituent Parts of this *Mycel-Synoth*, or *Wittena-Gemot*; the laſt of which words is derived from the *Saxon* word *Wites*, or *Witen*, i.e. *Sapientes*, or Wiſe-Men; and tho Dr. *Brady* in his Gloſſary will have this word moſtly to ſignify Noblemen, or Great Lawyers, yet I do not find he brings any good Authority for his ſo doing: For granting it is true, *Wite* ſignifies a *Wiſe-Man*, however it no ways proves that all Wiſemen muſt be Lawyers, much leſs that thoſe Lawyers were Noblemen; and ſince he himſelf does not extend this *Wiſdom* only to *Knowledg* in the Laws, I need not ſay any more to it.

Gloſſary, Fol. 66.

AS for the reſt of his Authorities in this Page, whereby he would prove that divers things were done by the Decrees of theſe Wiſemen or Lawyers, they ſufficiently anſwer themſelves; ſince it appears even by his own ſhewing, that theſe *Sapientes* were the Biſhops, Abbots, Aldermen and *Thanes*; and when he makes it out that every one of theſe Orders of Men were Noblemen, or Lawyers, I ſhall come over to his Opinion.

AS for what he ſays in the next Page, where he gives us the Interpretation of thoſe words of *Bede*, *Principibus, & Conſiliariis*, by *Ealdormannum* and *Witum*; they are yet leſs to the purpoſe, ſince a Man might be a very good Counſellor, and yet at the ſame Time no great Lawyer.

BUT the Author's ſeeming ſtabbing Proof is out of *Aſſer*, in his Life of King *Alfred*, "Who admiring the Ignorance of his Earls and "Præfects, commanded them either forthwith to lay down their *Pla-* "*ces* of *Judicature*, or elſe to apply themſelves *SAPIENTIÆ Studiis*, "to the *Study* of *Knowledg*, or of the Law. Here we ſee again (ſays "he) *who* had the *Title* of *SAPIENTES*, namely the *Judges*, that is, "the *COMITES, PRÆPOSITI, & MINISTRI*, or *Thegnes*; for theſe "laſt were the *Seminary* of *Nobility*, or *Great Officers*, *Civil*, *Military*, "and *Eccleſiaſtick* amongſt the *Saxons*.

Id. Fol. 67.

NOW I deſire the Reader to obſerve, that admitting we ſhould take the word *Studia SAPIENTIÆ* here, for the *Knowledg* of the *Law*, does it therefore follow, that all that ſtudied it muſt be *Lawyers* by Profeſſion? when it is very certain that the *Study* of the *Law* was not *then*, nor long after, a *Trade*, as it is *now*; ſince all the *Freeholders* or *Thegnes*, afterwards called *Barons*, were (as well as *Ealdormen*) required to have a "competent Knowledg of the Laws of their Country; or elſe how could "they either plead their own, or try each others Cauſes in the Hundred

" and

" and County-Courts (as they are in the * Laws of K. *Henry* 1. recited to have done) before the Profeſſion of Counſellors came up? Or how could they ſit, and judg Cauſes in the *County-Court*, or *Folc-mote*, when every *Thegne*, or Gentleman in the County, was capable of being choſen *Sheriff*, and of ſitting Judg in thoſe Courts, many Ages before the Office of an *Under-Sheriff* was heard of? * Cap. 1.

AND as for the *Auctuary* to the 35*th* Law of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, wherein the HERETOCHS are called *BARONES, NOBILES, & inſignes SAPIENTES*, there can be nothing urged leſs to purpoſe; for then (according to the Doctor) they muſt have had all great Titles, and have been choſen Generals in War, and Leaders of Armies; and Pray why? becauſe they were *SAPIENTES*, i. e. *Great Lawyers*. But the Doctor had the good luck to find once in his Life, that *Studia Sapientiæ*, for want of a better Expreſſion, ſignified the *Study* of the *Law*, and therefore the word *SAPIENTES* and *WITES*, where-ever he meets with them in our *Saxon Laws*, or Great Councils, muſt (forſooth) ſignify Lawyers or Judges: And his Deſign in it is evident, that he might thereby confound the *Law-makers* with the ordinary Counſellors or Adviſers, whom thoſe *Law-makers* might often imploy in the drawing of the Laws; but he is indeed at laſt ſo modeſt as to tell us, " That at " this day the Judges, and King's Counſel, and other great Lawyers " that ſit in the Lord's Houſe, are aſſiſtant to the Parliament when there " is occaſion. But that he would here as well as elſewhere inſinuate, that no body elſe had any more right to appear there than they; you may ſee more plainly in his Notes to his * *Compleat Hiſtory* of *England*, where upon the words *Sapientes* or *Witen* made uſe of in the *Saxon* Laws, he ſays, " That if they only ſignified Men skilled in the " Laws, then were none of the Temporal Nobility preſent at the ma- " king of thoſe Laws, unleſs perhaps they were the Lawyers meant " by that word, as being many of them *Judges* and *Juſticiaries* at that " time. But yet he is at laſt forced (with Juſtice) in the ſame place to acknowledg, upon the words, " that *Witan*, *Sapientes*, or wiſe Men, " muſt be taken for, or meant of the Biſhops and Nobility, or elſe they " were not preſent at the making of theſe Laws; which no Man can " believe, that conſiders how many Eccleſiaſtical Laws there are a- " mongſt them, and Laws relating to the Worſhip of God, and a " holy Life, that were never made without at leaſt the Advice of the " Biſhops. Id. ibid. Lamb. fol. 147. * Fol. 85.

IT is well my Lords the Biſhops were concern'd here, or elſe ſure he would never have been ſo free as to make the word *Witan* ſignify not only great Lawyers, but Divines too: and thus by the ſame liberty of paraphraſing, *ſtudia Sapientiæ* may ſignify the Study of Divinity.

BUT enough of theſe Trifles; for the Author himſelf hath ſome Lines above in the ſame Notes, granted as much as I can deſire, becauſe he confeſſes, " That in our *Saxon* Laws, the *Sapientes* or *Witan* were " divers times taken for the whole Baronage, or Nobility, as I may " ſo ſay: And in this ſenſe it is uſed in the 49*th* Chapter of the Preface " to *Alured*'s Laws. And I deſire the Doctor to ſhew me any Inſtance out of the *Saxon* Laws or Annals, if he can, where the words *Witan*, or *Witena-Gemot* are uſed in any other ſenſe. But what was the true meaning of that word *Baronage* we ſhall reſerve to another place; it ſuffices at preſent to let you ſee he owns they were ſomewhat more than

great Lawyers; and that it comprehended others beſides Noble-men by Birth, I ſhall prove by and by.

Witena Gemot. IN the mean time I ſhall ſhew, by what Words and Phraſes the *Witena Gemot*, conſiſting of theſe *Wites*, is called in the Latin Verſion of our Annals, as alſo of our Hiſtorians who have wrote in the ſame Language.

Concilium Procerum, vel Primatum. IN the firſt of theſe it is rendered *Concilium PROCERUM*, how truly, I have ſaid ſomewhat in the Preface: by *Florence* of *Worceſter* in his Verſion of the ſame *Annals*, it is commonly render'd *Concilium PRIMATUM*, and ſometimes, but more rarely, *PROCERUM*. But when this Author would diſtinguiſh the Laity from the Clergy at theſe Aſſemblies, he words it thus, *ARCHIEPISCOPOS, EPISCOPOS, ABBATES, & Angliæ OPTIMATES*; ſometimes thus, *EPISCOPOS, & DUCES, nec non & PRINCIPES, & OPTIMATES Gentis Angliæ.* *Laity and Clergy.*

AS for the Signification of all theſe Words, I ſhall give it you anon; only thus much may be agreed upon, that beſides the Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and Abbots, the chief or beſt Men of *England* were preſent and aſſiſted at theſe Councils, and who, as appears by the Subſcriptions to ſeveral *Saxon* Councils and Charters, were either the *Ealdormen*, who writ themſelves in Latin, ſometimes *Sub-Reguli*, but more often *Duces*, or *Comites*, of whom we have already ſpoken enough: But this I would have remembred, that the Office of *Ealdormen* not being then hereditary, it was beſtowed for Merit; and Nobility by Blood was no neceſſary Condition to it, ſince their Places in this great Aſſembly were only *ratione Officii*, and not by Right of Inheritance as at this day.

Thanes. THE next Order, whoſe Subſcriptions we find at the Concluſion of ſuch Councils and Charters, are the *Thanes*; the higheſt Degree of which was called *Thanus Regius*, the King's *Thane*, becauſe he held immediately of him; and tho I grant it anſwered the Title or Dignity of the greater Barons after the *Norman* Conqueſt, yet however neither Mr. *Selden*, nor any other Learned Antiquary that I know of, does any where exclude the two other Degrees of *Thanes*, *viz.* the *Middle* and *Leſſer*, from appearing, and having places in thoſe great and general Councils, as well as the chief *Thanes* themſelves.

Milites. AND beſides theſe, we find at the end of ſeveral Charters, others who write themſelves *Milites*, who, I ſuppoſe, ought to be rendered Knights; but whether they were *Thanes* that held by any *Military Tenure*, or ſuch as held their Lands *in Allodio*, that is, freely, under no Services, I will not here take upon me to determine.

THESE are the only Degrees mentioned at the end of thoſe Councils and Charters above-mentioned.

BUT perhaps it will now be told me, that according to my own ſhewing, there were no *Commons* ſummoned to theſe Aſſemblies; ſince neither in the Titles before thoſe Councils, nor at the Concluſions of them is there any mention made of this Order of Men now called *Commons*, diſtinct from that of the Biſhops and great Noble Men; and therefore from hence Dr. *Brady* in his Anſwer to Mr. *Petyt*, will have none but Biſhops and great Noble-men to have had any thing to do there: and to make this ſeem the more plauſible, he renders that great Council, where *Plegmund* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, together with King *Edward* the *Elder* preſided, *viz.* *CONCILIUM MAGNUM EPISCOPORUM*,

Dr. Brady's *Introduct.* fol. 6, & 7.

Vid. Antiquit. Britan. Matth. Parkeri Archiep. Cant.

PORUM, ABBATUM, FIDELIUM, PROCERUM, POPULORUM IN PROVINCIA GEWISORM, &c. in theſe words, A great *Council* of the *Biſhops*, *Abbots*, *Tenants* in *Capite* or *Military Service*, *Noble-men*, and *People* in the Province of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

AND here, before I go any further, I would deſire the Doctor to anſwer theſe two Queſtions.

FIRST, By what Authority he here tranſlates the word *Fideles*, Tenants in *Capite*, or Military Service? ſince I am ſure he is not able to prove from any Hiſtory or Record, that this *Tenure* had any being in *England* at that time.

SECONDLY, How he can make it out, that the word *Proceres* always ſignifies great Noble-men by Birth? without which Suppoſition all he is able to ſay on this Subject will fall to the Ground.

BUT the Doctor thinks he has a great Advantage from what Archbiſhop *Parker* ſays in the ſame Page; *EDWARDUS REX SYNODUM PRÆDICTAM NOBILIUM ANGLORUM CONGREGAVIT, CUI PRESIDEBAT PLEGMUNDUS, i. e.* King *Edward* called the foreſaid *Synod* of the *Engliſh Nobility*, wherein *Plegmund* preſided. Here he thinks he hath a ſtrong hold, and therefore ſays, "That "this Author tells us the meaning of the long Title of this Synod, "which juſt before he had mentioned, *viz.* that the *Biſhops*, *Abbots*, "*FIDELES*, *Proceres*, *&* *POPULUS*, were all *NOBILES*, *NOBLE-MEN*, that is, the *Eccleſiaſticks* and *Laicks*, or the *Biſhops*, and *Lay-Nobility*, and not the *Vulgus*, *Commons*, or ordinary ſort of People. Dr. Brady, ut ſup.

SO then, according to the Doctor's Conſtruction, all the fore-going Relation of the Members of this Council was a jumbled heap of Tautologies, of *Noble Tenants* in *Capite*, *Noble-men*, and *Noble People*.

BUT I muſt needs acknowledg that he is ſo far in the right, that by theſe words *Nobilium Anglorum*, are not meant the *vulgar*, mean or ordinary ſort of People, or the *Mob*, (as they are now contemptuouſly term'd) for certainly they had never any thing to do in thoſe Auguſt Aſſemblies: Nor does Mr. *Petyt*, or my ſelf maintain any ſuch thing; and yet for all this I think we may affirm, that all the Members that appeared there, were not Noble-men, or Great Lords only, in the ſenſe they are now taken.

FOR to begin with the word *Nobilis*, which the Doctor ſo much inſiſts on, it is his own too narrow Conception of that Title which has been, I think, one main Cauſe of the greateſt part of the Quarrel between Mr. *Petyt* and him; for in all the Counties of *Europe*, except *England*, it is very well known, that the word *Nobilis* includes not only Noble-men of Title, ſuch as Dukes, Marqueſſes, *&c.* but alſo all Gentlemen of Families who are well born, and do not exerciſe Mechanick Trades. Thus *Nobilezza* in Italian, and *Nobleſſe* in French, comprehends the leſs as well as the greater Nobility. So likewiſe the word *Ædelmen*, among the *Germans*, comprehends all ſorts of Noble-men, as well thoſe of Title as others, which is owned by Sir *H. Spelman* in his *Gloſſary* in theſe words, *Anglorum Legibus Adelingos dici pro Nobilibus in genere, qui omnes nobiles* Ædelmen *vocant, à Saxonico* Ædel, *nobilis*. And ſo it was here in *England* long after the Conqueſt, as well as before, when Knights and Gentlemen were reckoned *inter Nobiles minores*, before the Title of Noble-men began to be appropriated to the higher Nobility or Peers only; which is alſo owned by Dr. *Brady* in his Preface *Nobilis.* Tit. Adelingi, p. 10.

to

" to his *Compleat Hiſtory*, where he tells us of Lands held by Knights " Service, as well in the Hands of the lower ſort of *Nobleſſe*, as of the " greater Noble-men.

AND this being ſo, I ſhall eaſily prove, that all the reſt of the words inſiſted upon by the Doctor, do not ſignify *only* great Lords and Noble-

Proceres. men by Birth: To go on therefore to the next word *Proceres*, that neither this does ſignify *only* Men Noble by Birth. *Iſidore* (an antient

Lib. 9. cap. 4. *Spaniſh* Author) in his *Origines*, ſays thus, *Proceres ſunt Principes Civium*, that is, the chiefeſt of Subjects or Citizens. And the Learned *Du-*

Page 420. *Freſne* alſo tells us in his Gloſſary, *Proceres appellabantur, qui in Civitatibus præcipuos Magiſtratus gerebant*; that thoſe were called *Proceres*, who were the chief Magiſtrates or Rulers in Cities; and certainly theſe could ſcarce ever be Noble-men by Birth.

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" to his *Compleat Hiſtory*, where he tells us of Lands held by Knights " Service, as well in the Hands of the lower ſort of *Nobleſſe*, as of the " greater Noble-men.

AND this being ſo, I ſhall eaſily prove, that all the reſt of the words inſiſted upon by the Doctor, do not ſignify *only* great Lords and Noble-

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HOC Nomine, ſcilicet, Barones Comitatus (ſaith he) *contineri videtur Antiquis paginis, omnis* Baronum *feodalium ſpecies, in uno quovis Comitatu degentium: Proceres nempè & Maneriorum Domini, nec non liberè quiq; Tenentes, hoc eſt, fundorum proprietarii, Anglicè* FREEHOLDERS. —*Notandum autèm eſt*, liberè *hos* Tenentes, *nec tàm exiles olìm fuiſſe, nec tàm Vulgares ut hodiè deprehenduntur: nam Villas & Dominia, in minutas hæreditates nondùm diſtrahebant Nobiles; ſed (ut vidimus in Hibernià) penès ſe retinentes, agros per precarios excolebant & adſcriptitios. Vid. LL. Edw. Confeſſ. cap.* 15. Quod per Hundredum colligerentur (46 Marcæ) & Sigillo alicujus Baronum Comitatus ſigillarentur, & ad Theſaurum Regis deportarentur. *In Domeſd. habiti ſunt* Barones Comitatus; *Magnates & Nobiles, qui in Curiis præſunt Comitatuum, hoc eſt, ipſarum Curiarum Judices, quos Hen.* 1. *LL. ſuarum, cap.* 30. *eſſe* liberè Tenentes Comitatûs *demonſtrat*. Regis (*inquit*) Judices ſunt Barones Comitatus, qui liberas in eis terras habent, per quos debent cauſæ ſingulorum alternâ proſecutione tractari. Which I ſhall give you thus in Engliſh. "Under this Title of *Barones Comitatus*, ſeems to be "contained in our antient Writers all ſorts of Feudal Barons dwelling "in any one County, *viz.* the chief Men and Lords of Mannors, as "alſo all free Tenants, that is, Proprietors of Lands, in Engliſh, "FREE-HOLDERS. And it is alſo to be conſidered, that theſe free "Tenants were not antiently ſo mean and pitiful, as they are accounted "at this day: For Gentlemen had not as yet parcell'd out their Town-"ſhips and Lordſhips into ſmall Eſtates, but (as we ſee in *Ireland*) "keeping them themſelves, by their hired Servants and Villains, huſ-"banded their own Lands. In the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, "*cap.* 15. it is appointed, that 46 *Marks* ſhould be collected out of "the Hundred, and ſealed up with the Seal of one of the Barons "of the County, and be lodged in the King's Treaſury. In *Doomſ-"day* Book, thoſe Noblemen and Gentlemen are called Barons of the "County, who preſided in County-Courts, that is, who were Judges "of thoſe Courts, whom *Hen.* 1. in the 30*th* Chapter of his Laws, "ſhews to be the free Tenants of the County. The King's Judges, "*ſays he*, are the Barons of the County, who have Freehold Lands in "them, by whom the Cauſes of each of them ought to be tried and "adjudged in their reſpective turns.

AND there alſo immediately follows in the ſame Law of *Henry* the *Firſt*, another Clauſe, "whereby Villains, and all ſuch mean and beg-"garly Fellows, called there *Cocſetti* or *Perdingi*, are not to be reckoned "amongſt the Judges of the Laws; for they neither in the Hundred, "nor in the County, forfeit their own Money, nor that of their Maſters.

THIS, I think, is ſufficient to prove, that all ſuch baſe and indigent People, ſuch as Dr. *Brady* calls *Tag*, *Rag* and *Bobtaile*, were excluded from having any thing to do in theſe inferior Courts; and if ſo, then much more to be ſure were they ſhut out of the moſt Auguſt Aſſembly of the Kingdom, the *Wittena-Gemot*, *Mycel-Synoth*, or what we now call the *Parliament*.

AND this I have brought to ſhew, that I do as much diſown the Thoughts of introducing any Degrees or Orders of Men, (leſs than thoſe of Quality or Eſtates) into the Great Councils of thoſe Times, as the Doctor himſelf does.

BUT

BUT in the first part of his *Compleat History* he asserts, that not only the King's *Thanes*, but also all the Middle and Lesser *Thanes* were both after, as well as before the Conquest, Military Men, who held their Lands by Military or Knight's Service, which he would prove from the *Heregeat*, or *Heriots*, that by the Laws of King *Cnute*, were to be paid to their Lords by their Heirs, in Horses and Money, and certain Arms. Well, let this for once be admitted, but I would then have the Doctor never to urge Military or Knight-Service, as a Badg of the *Norman* Conquest any more; and in the next Treatise which he shall please to publish, I would desire him to make it out, that none but the King's *Thanes*, (who were all one with his *Tenants* in *Capite*, after the Conquest) had any Place in the Great Council of the Kingdom, for without this, he does nothing: yet thus much I must say for him, that in the beginning of his Answer to Mr. *Petyt*, he seems to be somewhat more good-natured, making the *Saxon Wittena Gemotes* more large and diffusive; for in them he owns, "were *Arch-Bishops*, *Bishops*, *Masse-* "*Thegnes*, or *Dignified* and *Great Clergy-Men*, *Aldermen*, or *Comites*, "*King's Gereves* or *Præpositi*, *King's Thegnes*, *Thanes*, or *Ministers*, "his *Counsellors*, *Judges* or *Magistrates*. Where tho he confounds the King's Judges and Counsellors, (whose Presence there was not absolutely necessary, as not being any constituent Parts or Members thereof) with the Bishops, Aldermen, and *Thanes*, without whose Consent no Laws could be made; yet he grants us enough in reckoning other *Thanes* and Magistrates to have had Places there, besides the King's, and who I conceive had a Right to appear there without any particular Summons to each of them; and sure all these were not *Tenants* in *Capite*.

Compleat Hist. Fol. 69, 70.

Answer to Mr. Petyt's *Rights of the Commons* in Folio. p. 10.

NOW having laid down, and I hope established a true Notion what sort of Men then constituted the greater part of the *Wittena-Gemotes* of those Times; I come to the next Degree or Order of Men, who then most properly represented the Commons of *England*, *viz.* the Deputies of Cities and Great Towns: and tho I confess these are not ordinarily mentioned in any of the Antient *Saxon* Laws or Charters, yet that they were comprehended sometimes under the Title of *Procuratores*, I am very well satisfied, as appears from the *Annals* || of *Winchelcomb*, wherein there is a Charter of *Kenwulf* King of the *Mercians*, bearing date *Anno Dom.* 811. where all the Orders of Men summoned to be present at that Assembly, are thus particularly recited by that King, viz. *Merciorum Optimates*, *Episcopos*, *Principes*, *Comites*, PROCURATORES, *meósq*; *propinquos*, *nec non* Cuthredum *Regem* Cantuariorum, *átq*; Suthredum *Regem* Oriental. Saxon. *cum omnibus qui Testes nostris Synodalubus conciliabulis aderant.*

Deputies of Cities and Great Towns.

Procuratores.

|| In Bibl. Cotton. Tiber. C. 4.

NOW I would be gladly informed by any Man, well conversant in Antiquity, what the word *Procuratores* could here signify after *Comites*, unless it were the Deputies or Representatives of the Cities and Towns of *Mercia?*

THE like word is also found in a Charter of King *Athelstan*'s, dated *Anno* 931. of certain Lands granted to the Abbey of *Abington*; which Charter is entred in the great Register that belonged to that Abbey, and is now in the *Cottonian* Library, and concludes thus, *Hæc Charta in Villa Regali quæ* Ætwelope *nuncupatur*, *Episcopis*, *Abbatibus*, *Ducibus*, *patriæ Procuratoribus*, *Regiâ dapsilitate ovantibus perscripta est.*

Claudius. B. 9. Cap. 50.

BY

BY which *Patriæ Procuratoribus* abovementioned, I know not what elſe can be underſtood, but the Deputies or Repreſentatives of the Cities and Chief Towns, who then ſent Members to thoſe General Councils.

THO of what ſort of Men theſe *Procuratores* or Deputies of Cities and Towns then conſiſted, I confeſs it is hard at this diſtance of Time to determine; when the Original Records of thoſe Councils wherein they appeared are loſt, and that we have ſo obſcure a mention made of them in the *Saxon* Laws and Charters. But if I may take the Liberty to gueſs, there were not ſo many Citizens choſen for each City as at this Day; but only their Chief Magiſtrates, Rulers, or Aldermen, (which were ſingle Perſons, and not many, for there was then but one Alderman in a Town) or elſe ſuch as were called *Port-Gerefas*, (now *Port-Reves* in divers Places) who might appear for them of Courſe, or be conſtantly Choſen on purpoſe: but if the Charter of King *Athelſtan* abovecited be true, (as I ſee no reaſon to queſtion its Authority) it appears, that the ordinary Boroughs were then repreſented by two Burgeſſes in Parliament, as at this Day.

BUT that theſe, as well as the Magiſtrates and moſt conſiderable Citizens might then all paſs, and be included under the General Name of *Witan*, or *Wites*, called in Latin *Sapientes*, I have the Authority of the Learned *Du Freſne*, who in his Gloſſary aſſures us, that antiently among the *Lombards*, *Sapientes in Italia appellabantur Civitatum Primarii, quorum conſilio Reſpublicæ gerebantur, i. e.* that among the *Lombards* in *Italy*, the Chief Citizens were called *Wiſe-Men*, by whoſe Counſel publick Affairs were tranſacted: and for this he cites *Hieron. Rubeus*, who in his Hiſtory of *Ravenna* under *Anno* 1297. hath this remarkable Paſſage concerning theſe *Sapientes*; (ſays he) *Sed longè anteà, illud nomen obtinuit in aliis Longabardarum civitatibus, ut colligere licet ex Ottone, & Acerbo Morena in Hiſtoria Rerum Lundevetium*; which Authority tho fetch'd as far as *Italy*, is very pertinent to prove the ſame Title to have been in uſe among the *Engliſh Saxons* of the ſame Age with the *Lombards*, ſince (as *Grotius* hath learnedly proved in his Preface to his *Gothic* Hiſtory) the *Lombards* were but one Stirp or Tribe of thoſe Antient *Gothes*, from whom (as I have already proved in the beginning of the third Book of this Volume) the *Engliſh Saxons* were alſo derived.

Tome 3. pag. 700.

BUT that theſe Citizens of Cities, in thoſe Times, might deſerve the Name of *Wites* or *Sapientes*, as well for their Prudence as Riches, appears from the Charter of K. *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, in the great Chartulary of the Abby of *Weſtminſter*, now to be ſeen in the *Cottonian* Library, which begins thus, *Edward Cing gret Willem and Leodtan, & Ælfy Porte-Reven*, and *alle mine Burh-Thanes on LUNDEN Frindlic*; this tho *Saxon*, yet being ſo near the *Engliſh* of our own Times, I need not tranſlate, only I deſire the Reader to take notice, that the Citizens of *London* were then ſo conſiderable, as in this Charter to have had the Title of *Thanes*, as they were often called *Barones de London* in our Antient Hiſtorians after the Conqueſt.

Fauſtina. A. 3. Fol. 97.

AND as for the City of *Canterbury* in thoſe Times, it had not only a Chief Magiſtrate, called in Latin *Præpoſitus*, in *Saxon Port-Gerefa*, as Mr. *Somner* in his Antiquities of *Canterbury* informs us; but alſo in the ſame Place he has given us a *Saxon* Deed, written ſome Years before the Conqueſt, and containing an Exchange of certain Lands and Houſes in

Pag. 64, 65.

that

that City, made between the Family, (*i. e.* Monks of the Cathedral Church) and the *Crihtan* of that City, being Merchants or Chapmen; and you have already ſeen, that a Merchant having thrice paſſed the Seas, was accounted equal to a *Thane*: and can any one then reaſonably doubt, that Perſons of that Wealth and Dignity were not capable of being choſen Repreſentatives of their Cities, in the *Saxon* Great Councils?

NOR can I forbear citing, before I cloſe up this Subject, that remarkable Authority out of * *Sulcardus*'s Manuſcript Chartulary of the Abby of *Weſtminſter*, where there is entred a Charter of King *William* the *Firſt*, bearing date *An. Dom.* 1071. And after the King had ſubſcribed his own Name to it with the Sign of the Croſs, there are added many of the Biſhops, Abbots, and Temporal Nobility; and then inſtead of *cum multis aliis*, this Clauſe is ſubjoined, viz. * *Multis præterea illuſtriſſimis Virorum perſonis, & Regni Principibus diverſi Ordinis omiſſis, qui huic Confirmationi piiſſimo affectu Teſtes & Fautores fuerunt: Hii autem illo tempore à Regiâ poteſtate è diverſis Provinciis & Urbibus, ad Univerſalem Synodum pro cauſis cujuſlibet Chriſtianæ Eccleſiæ audiendis & tractandis, ad præſcriptum Celeberrimum Cœnobium, quod* Weſtmonaſterium *dicitur, convocati.* i. e. " Beſides many other very Eminent Perſons and Chief Men of " the Kingdom of divers Orders being omitted, who with moſt pious " Affection, were Witneſſes and Approvers to this Confirmation; and " theſe were ſummoned at that Time by the Royal Authority, from " divers Provinces and Cities, to the General Synod held at the Famous " Abby of *Weſtminſter*, for the hearing and determining of the Cauſes " of each Chriſtian Church.

* In Bib. Cotton. Fauſtina. *A.* 3.

* *In the Margin of the Book there is this Note in a more Modern Hand,* Nota hic, hos omnes convocari à Rege ſuâ Auctoritate, ad cauſas Religionis tractandas, tàm nobiles de clero quàm Principes Regni, cum aliis inferioris gradus; conventio quorum videtur eſſe Parliamentum: *from whence it appears, that this Notator took this Aſſembly for a* Parliament *of thoſe Times.*

THIS is an Authority which ſeemed ſo convincing, that Sir *William Dugdale* hath made uſe of it in his *Origines Juridiciales*, to prove the Antiquity of the Commons of *England* in Parliament; yet Dr. *Brady* in the Concluſion of his Anſwer to Mr. *Cook*'s *Argumentum Antinormanicum*, " accuſes that Gentleman of being both Ignorant and Miſtaken in " the meaning of Cities and Provinces, and the Perſons that came from " them, whom he indeed would have to be not any Repreſentatives of " Counties and Cities, but only Deans, Arch-Deacons, and other dig- " nified Perſons and Church-Officers, as well of the Laity as Clergy, " who were ſummoned by the King to this Synod, from Provinces and " Cities, to adviſe and inform the King of the Conveniency of the " Places, whither the Biſhops Sees then about to be removed from " Villages to Cities, were to be transferred.

BUT ſince there is not one word in this Charter ſaid of any ſuch Thing, and that Sir *Henry Spelman* in his Gloſſary renders the word *Provincia* for a County, and not a Biſhop's See; I my ſelf not now having leiſure to purſue ſuch Niceties, ſhall refer the Curious for their farther Satisfaction to the eighth Dialogue of *Bibliotheca Politica*, where they may read whatſoever he has ſaid againſt it ſufficiently anſwered.

Bibliothec. Politic. pag. 567, 568.

THESE are the only Authorities I ſhall make uſe of at this Time, to prove that the Cities and Boroughs had then their Delegates or Repreſentatives in the *Saxon Witena-Gemotes*.

I will now conclude this Point with the Judgment of that Learned Antiquary Mr. *Lambard*, who certainly underſtood the Conſtitution of this Antient Government, as well at leaſt, if not better, than Dr. *Brady*; and he tells us,

Archeion. p. 256, 257, &c.

" THAT whereas in the beginning of *each* Law, (*viz.* thoſe made by " the *Saxon* Kings he there mentions) all the Acts are ſaid to paſs from " the King and his *Wiſe Men* both of the Clergy and Laity, in the Body " of the Laws, each Statute being thus, *And it is the Advice of our* " Lord, *and his* Wiſe-Men: So as it appears that it was then a re- " ceived Form of Speech, to ſignify both the Spirituality and the Laity " (that is to ſay, the greater *Nobility*, and the leſs, or *Commons*) by this " one word *Witan*, i. e. *Wiſe-men*.

" NOW as thoſe written Authorities do undoubtedly confirm our " Aſſertion of the Continuance of this manner of *Parliament*, ſo is " there alſo unwritten Law or Preſcription, that doth no leſs infallibly " uphold the ſame. For it is well known, that in every Quarter of the " Realm, a great many Boroughs do yet ſend Burgeſſes to the Parlia- " ment, which are nevertheleſs ſo * antient, and ſo long ſince decayed, " and gone to nought, that it cannot be ſhewed, that they have been of " any Reputation at any time ſince the Conqueſt, and much leſs that " they have obtained this Privilege, by the Grant of any King ſuc- " ceeding the ſame. So that the Intereſt which they have in Parliament " groweth by an antient Uſage before the Conqueſt, whereof they " cannot ſhew any beginning: which thing is alſo confirmed by a con- " trary Uſage in the ſelf-ſame thing; for it is likewiſe known, that they " of *Antient Demeſne*, do preſcribe in not ſending to the Parliament, " for which reaſon alſo they are neither Contributors to the Wages of " the Knights of Shires, neither are they bound by ſundry Acts of Par- " liament, tho the ſame be generally penn'd, and do make no Exceptions " of them. But there is no antient Demeſne, ſaving that only which is " deſcribed in the Book of *Doomſday*, under the Title of *Terra Regis*, " which of neceſſity muſt be ſuch as either was in the Hands of the " Conqueror himſelf, who made the Book, or of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, " that was before him. And ſo again, if they of *antient Demeſnes* have " ever ſince the Conqueſt preſcribed not to elect Burgeſſes to Parlia- " ment, then (no doubt) there was a Parliament before the Conqueſt, " to the which they of other Places did ſend their Burgeſſes.

* *Of which ſort are Gatton in Surrey, beſides ſeveral Boroughs in Devonſhire, Cornwall, and other Counties.*

I ſhall here crave leave to add one Record, tho after the Conqueſt, in Confirmation of what Mr. *Lambard* hath here learnedly aſſerted; for that ſeveral Boroughs claimed to ſend Members to Parliament by Preſcription in the beginning of the Reign of *Edward* the *Third*, appears by a † Petition put in to that King *An.* 17 *Edw.* 3. wherein the Burgeſſes of the Town of *Barnſtaple* in *Devonſhire*, ſet forth, that it being a free Borough, had by Charter from King *Athelſtan*, among other Privileges, a right of ſending two Burgeſſes to all Parliaments for the ſaid Borough; upon which the King and his Council ordered a *Writ* of *Inquiry*, which certainly would never have been done, if Dr. *Brady*'s Notion were true, that the Cities and Boroughs never ſent any Repreſentatives to Parliament but once in the 49*th* of *Hen.* 3. and then no more till the 18*th* of *Edward* the *Firſt*, which was but a little above 50 Years to the time of this Petition, which being within the Memory of ſo many then living, the King and his Council would never have ordered a *Writ* of *Inquiry* about ſuch a vain and idle Pretence.

† Rot. Pat. 17. *Ed.* 3. pars 1. m. 20.

FROM all which, I think, it may ſafely be concluded, that this Learned Antiquary above-mentioned, I mean Mr. *Lambard*, did not without good Authority believe, that not only the Great Lords or Peers, but

but alſo the Inferiour Nobility, and Repreſentatives of Cities and Towns, were included under the word *Witan*; and likewiſe that thoſe Places claimed that Privilege by Preſcription.

I ſhall therefore deſire the Doctor, that when he writes next upon this Subject, he will pleaſe to crave in Aid ſome Gentlemen of the Long Robe of his Opinion, to help him to anſwer this Argument of Mr. *Lambard* from general Preſcription; as alſo what hath been already ſaid concerning this matter in the ſame Dialogue of *Bibliotheca Politica* above-mentioned, beginning at *pag.* 483, and ending at *pag.* 593, incluſively: and if he can then with his Aſſiſtances prove all our antient Lawyers to have been miſtaken in this memorable Point, I ſhall own my ſelf to have been ſo too. But I deſire this may be taken notice of, that no Preſcription whatſoever in Law can be laid of later Date, than the firſt Year of King *Richard* the *Firſt*, which began almoſt fourſcore Years before the 49*th* of *Hen.* 3. when he fancies the Commons were firſt ſummoned to Parliament.

BUT that I may be as brief as I can, I ſhall reduce what I have further to ſay upon this Head, to a few Queries. As,

FIRST, Whether in all the Kingdoms of *Europe* of the *Gothic* Model, beginning with *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and ending with *Scotland*, there can be ſhewn any of them wherein the Cities and Great Towns, either had not, or at leaſt not till of Modern Times, their particular Repreſentatives in the Common Councils, or Aſſemblies of the Eſtates in thoſe Kingdoms?

SECONDLY, Why in *England* alone, whoſe King was not more Abſolute than in other Neighbouring Kingdoms, and which was framed after the ſame *Gothic* Conſtitution, its Cities and antient Boroughs (which were in thoſe Times very conſiderable for Strength, Trade and Wealth, and guarded by ſo many Laws made in the *Saxon* Times) ſhould not be thought conſiderable enough to have any Delegates in the Common Council of the Kingdom, till ſo long after the Conqueſt, as the 49*th* of *Hen.* 3. which (if we may believe the Doctor) was alſo intermitted from that time for above the ſpace of twenty Years, till the 18*th* of King *Edward* the *Firſt*?

BESIDES which, I would alſo propoſe theſe farther Queries concerning the Antiquity of the Commons in general. As,

FIRST, If *Clerus* and *Populus* ſignify in our Antient Authors the Clergy and Laity, which the Doctor aſſerts, and I will not oppoſe; then I would ask him, why (the ſame word *Clerus* including the inferiour Clergy, *viz.* Deans, Arch-deacons, *&c.* as well as the ſuperiour, *viz.* Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, *&c.* aſſembled in our Great Councils or Synods) the word *Populus* muſt not be allowed the ſame Latitude of Signification, and extend to the Gentry, or leſs Nobility, together with the chief Citizens and Burgeſſes, by a like Parity of Reaſon? unleſs he can make it out, that *Clerus* muſt be underſtood in a very comprehenſive ſenſe, and *Populus* in a very contracted and narrow one, only to mean Great Lords and Noblemen of the higher Rank.

SECONDLY, I would deſire to know of him what the words *Populus* and *Populi* ſhall ſignify, when put after and diſtinct from the words *Proceres*, *Optimates*, *Senatores*, or *Senatus*, &c. when theſe words occur in ſeveral antient Charters of our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings, as well as

Hiſto-

Hiſtorians that make any mention of the Great Councils, unleſs they mean the *People* or *Commons* diſtinct from the *Great Lords?* Of which I ſhall here ſet down a few Inſtances out of many, both from Charters, Laws and Hiſtorians.

THE firſt whereof is found in the Charter of King *Ethelred*, containing a Grant and Confirmation of ſeveral great Privileges to the Monaſtery of *Wolverhampton*, which concludes in theſe words, *Hæc Decreta ſunt* Sigerici *Archiepiſcopi in placito coràm Rege* Ethelredo, *&* Eboracenſi *Archiepiſcopo, & omnibus Epiſcopis, Abbatibus Regionis* Britanniæ, *ſeu Senatoribus, Ducibus, &* Populo Terræ.

Vid. Monaſtic. Anglican. vol. 1. *fol.* 988. *col.* 2.

THE next is, the third Charter of King *Edward* the *Confeſſor* to the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, made in a Great Council of the Kingdom, which was held in the laſt Year of his Reign, and concludes thus, *Hanc igitùr Chartam meæ Donationis & Libertatis, in die Dedicationis prædictæ Eccleſiæ, recitari juſſi, coràm Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, & omnibus Optimatibus* Angliæ, *omniq;* Populo *audiente & vidente.*

Vid. Spelm. Concil. *f.* 625.

NOW from both theſe Charters it ſeems evident, that by the word *Populus*, the Repreſentatives of Cities and Boroughs are here meant and underſtood, who were preſent at the ſealing of them, as well as the greater Nobility, *viz.* the Senators, Ealdormen and Earls, and the leſſer Nobility, *viz.* the *Thanes*, or Freeholders, included under the Title of *Optimates*, ſince the meer *Vulgar* or *Mob* could never be admitted into the Place of the Great Council as Witneſſes to the ſolemn reading and ſealing of thoſe Charters.

MY third Inſtance ſhall be that famous Law concerning the Grant of Tithes by King *Ethelwolf*, *Anno Dom.* 855. which is cited in the * Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, and confirmed by King *William* the *Firſt*, under the Title *de Apibus, & de aliis minutis Decimis*, wherein it is thus expreſſed, *Hæc (ſcilicet*, theſe Tithes) *conceſſa ſunt à Rege, Baronibus, & Populo.* Here it is plain, that the word *Populus* muſt ſignify a diſtinct Order or Degree of Men from that of the *Barones.*

* Lamb. LL. Edw. Regis, *cap.* 8.

THIS Law of King *Edward* the *Confeſſor* being urged by Mr. *Petyt* in his Rights of the Commons aſſerted, the Doctor paſſes over in ſilence; but when the ingenious Author of *Argumentum Anti-Normanicum*, makes uſe of the ſame Authority, the Doctor can no longer contain himſelf, but in his Anſwer to that Book, tells him (after an inſulting diminutive Reflection upon his Perſon) that, " He thinks " this Law was made in King *Edward*'s days, and was piping-hot when " the Conqueror came in, but (he ſays) it will prove otherwiſe upon " Examination of it, and alſo doubtful, whether there was ever ſuch a " Law or not made by a *Saxon* Monarch or King. For after the Law " hath enumerated the manner of Tithing in very many things both " great and ſmall, requiring an exact Tenth to be paid for moſt of " them; it ſays, That he which detains the Tenth, if need be, may " be forced to Payment by the Juſtice of the Biſhop and King; and " then immediately follow theſe words, *Hæc autèm prædicavit Beatus " Auguſtinus, & conceſſa ſunt à* REGE, BARONIBUS *&* POPULO: " *Sed poſteà* Inſtinctu Diaboli *multi eam (viz.* decimam) *detinuerunt*, &c. " Theſe things St. *Auguſtine* preached up, and they were granted *by " the King, Barons and People*, &c.

Anſwer to Argument. Anti-Norman. *fol.* 297.

Lamb. ibid.

THE reſt of the Latin he there cites being not to the Point in Diſpute, I paſs over; yet I cannot but obſerve, that from hence the Doctor believes

believes he hath got a notable Advantage over him, for he thus proceeds.

" HENCE 'tis evident, that theſe Conceſſions of Tithes were made " in the time of St. *Auguſtine*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, ſent hither " from *Rome* in the Reign of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*; for the words, " *& conceſſa ſunt à* REGE, BARONIBUS ET POPULO, can relate " to no other than the words immediately preceding, *hæc enim prædi-* " *cavit Beatus Auguſtinus.* And the words next following them do al- " ſo prove the ſame; *ſed poſteà Inſtinctu Diaboli, Multi eam detinue-* " *runt*, &c. which was after they were granted by the King, Barons, " and People: ſo that this was at moſt but the Confirmation of a Law " made by King *Ethelbert*; and how, and by what words the Legiſla- " tors were expreſſed near 500 Years after the Law made, and how " they were rendred in *Latin* after the coming in of the *Normans*, tran- " ſiently and without Deſign to give an Account of them, cannot be " of much Value to prove who they were; and that the Laws of King " *Edward* were made, or at leaſt tranſlated into *Norman Latin* after the " Conqueſt, appears by the words, *Comites, Barones, Milites, Servi-* " *entes, Servitium, Villanus, Catalla, manutenere*, all *Norman* words, " and not known here till their coming hither. He that will aſſert any " thing from a ſingle uncouth Expreſſion in one Caſe, and upon one " Occaſion only, brings but a ſlender Proof for what he ſays.

THESE are the Doctor's own words which I have tranſcribed almoſt *Verbatim*, that I may do no prejudice to the Force of his Argument, which in ſhort depends upon this ſingle falſe Suppoſition, *viz.* that the Compiler or Drawer up of King *Edward*'s Laws, imagined that this Law concerning Tithes was made by King *Ethelbert*, and was afterwards confirmed by King *Edward* near 500 Years after the Law was made, when none could tell by what words the firſt Legiſlators were expreſs'd.

BUT if this now ſhould happen to prove otherwiſe, all that the Doctor has ſaid on this Subject will by an unlucky Miſchance fall to the Ground.

AND I ſhall ſhew here, that firſt of all his Argument is not cogent, that becauſe the words, *& conceſſa ſunt à Rege, Baronibus & Populo*, immediately follow thoſe aforegoing, viz. *Hæc enim prædicavit B. Auguſtinus*; therefore this Law could be made by no other than K. *Ethelbert*, ſince the words are put indefinitely, without mentioning any King in particular.

FOR St. *Auguſtine* might preach up Tithes, and yet the Law whereby they were given to the Clergy might be made many Years after; and that this was ſo, will appear by a brief Hiſtory of the Matter of Fact. For firſt there is not, (nor I believe ever was) any Law extant of King *Ethelbert* concerning Tithes, nor is ſo much as mentioned by any Writer or Hiſtorian that I know of: the firſt Law, or Canon we find for the paiment of them, being that of the Council or Synod of *Calcuithe*, held under King *Offa*, *Anno Dom.* 536. and which, either becauſe it was only an Eccleſiaſtical Canon, or elſe becauſe it was not made in a General Council of the whole Kingdom, was not of any Univerſal Obligation, (at leaſt as a Temporal Law) before that famous Grant of Tithes made by King *Ethelwolf* upon his going to *Rome*, and confirmed as a General Law at a Council held at *Wincheſter* after his re-

turn, *Anno Dom.* 855. and at which not any of the Biſhops and Great Lords were preſent, but an infinite Number of other faithful Subjects, (or Commons as we now call them), I ſhall ſhew more at large by and by; and to this, and not to any Law of King *Ethelbert*'s, I doubt not but the Compiler of theſe Laws of King *Edward* had reſpect, when he tells us that Tithes were granted *A REGE, BARONIBUS, & POPULO*, that is, *by the King, Barons, and People of all* England, and not by thoſe of one petty Kingdom, (as *Kent* was in the Time of King *Ethelbert*) whoſe Laws could never oblige the whole *Engliſh* Nation; and therefore the words that follow, viz. *ſed poſtea*, &c. muſt alſo refer to the Time of making this Law by King *Ethelwolf*, and not to this imaginary Grant of King *Ethelbert*, which the Compiler of theſe Laws knew nothing of.

THIS being ſo, I think all the reſt the Doctor ſays ſignifies but little; for he is much miſtaken notwithſtanding he ſo poſitively affirms, that all thoſe words he there mentions, were not known here till the coming over of the *Normans*; ſince he might have found, if he had pleaſed, the words *Comes* and *Miles* in the ſingular Number in the Subſcriptions of divers Charters and Laws before the Conqueſt, and the word *Comites* in the Body of the very Charters themſelves; for which I ſhall only refer him to the firſt Volume of Sir *Henry Spelman*'s Councils, as well as thoſe in *Monaſticon Anglicanum*.

Baro. AS for the word *Baro*, I grant it did not come into Common or Legal uſe till after the Time he mentions; yet that it was ſometimes uſed before, I ſhall refer him to *Aſſerius* his *Annals*, which however it was continued by another Hand till the beginning of the Reign of K. *Edward* the *Elder*, yet that it was wrote before the Conqueſt, there is no doubt to be made of it; and in the very laſt Page of thoſe *Annals* he may find the Names of the *Barones Normannorum*, (as he calls them) who are there related to have been ſlain.

Villanus. AS for *Villanus* uſed for a *Ceorle*'s Man, or Country-Man, you may ſee an Example of the uſe of that word in King *Athelſtan*'s Law above-cited: and the Doctor himſelf mentions *Terra Villanorum*, i. e. Lands of Villanes or Villagers before the *Norman* Times.

Compleat Hiſt. p. 67.

AND as for the reſt of the words, viz. *Servientes*, *Servitium*, *Catalla*, and *Manutenere*, I confeſs they are not to be met with in the *Latin* Verſions of the *Saxon* Laws made before the Conqueſt; but I would fain know why they might not have been in uſe before that Time, tho they are not there mentioned? I am confident no impartial Reader will grant that a Negative Argument is any good Proof to the contrary.

BUT ſhould I own that the words (*Barones*, and all the reſt of them there cited by the Doctor) were not commonly in uſe till after the Conqueſt, yet that would do him but little Service; for admit that this Law was only briefly recited by the Collector of them in the Form there ſet down, it will be all one, for the People or Commons were repreſented in the Time of *Henry* the *Firſt*, (when theſe Laws were drawn up in the Form we now have them) or elſe they could never have been mentioned in this Law as a diſtinct Order of Men, by a Writer who certainly lived long before the 49*th* of *Henry* III. ſince this Law is found thus worded in *Roger Hoveden*'s Copy of King *Edward*'s Laws, which was written by him (being Secretary to *Henry* II.) above a hundred Years before the Commons (according to the Doctor's *Hypotheſis*)

theſis) were ever heard of: So that unleſs he can prove that *Henry* III. was before *Henry* II. I think he will but *Æthiopem lavare*.

BUT indeed if this *ſingle uncouth Expreſſion* (as the Doctor calls it) had been found *in one Caſe, and upon one Occaſion only*, I confeſs it might have been as *ſlender* a *Proof* as he would have it; but when I have not only given him frequent Inſtances of the uſe of this word in our Antient Charters and Laws, as contradiſtinct from all the reſt of the Orders abovementioned, I think that Pretence will ſtand him in little ſtead; and if theſe are not yet ſufficient, I will ſuperadd a few more from our Antient Hiſtorians to the ſame purpoſe.

FIRST, From *William* of *Malmesbury* and *Henry Huntington*, who both agree almoſt in the ſame words, concerning the Depoſition of *Sigebert* King of the *Weſt-Saxons* for Tyranny and Cruelty, *Anno* 754, *Huntington* expreſſes it thus, *viz.* Sigebertus *Rex in principio ſecundi Anni Regni ſui, cum incorrigibilis Superbiæ & Nequitiæ eſſet, congregati ſunt* PROCERES *&* POPULUS *totius Regni, & providâ Deliberatione Omnium expulſus eſt à Regno.* Kinewulf *verò Juvenis egregius de Regiâ ſtirpe,* ELECTUS *eſt in Regem.*

SECONDLY, From *Ailred* Abbot of *Rievalle*, who in his Life of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, giving an Account of the manner of that King's being Elected in his Mother's Womb, tells us, that *Ethelred* his Father having convened a Great Council for the appointing a Succeſſor, proceeds thus; *Fit Magnus coràm Rege Epiſcoporum, Procerumq; Conventus, Magnus Plebis Vulgiq; Conſenſus.* Wherein he makes a plain Diſtinction between the Aſſembly of the great Noble Men, or *Proceres*, from the Conſent of the Commons here, called *Plebs* and *Vulgus*. Decem-Scriptores, fol. 372.

AND tho I grant with the Doctor, this Story of King *Edward*'s Election in his Mother's Womb to have been but a Fiction; yet it is certain, that this Abbot then ſpoke according to his Belief of the manner of *Electing* a King in thoſe Times, and truly ſets down the Parties whoſe Preſence and Votes were neceſſary for the compleating of ſuch an Election, or elſe he muſt have ſpoke as much by way of Prophecy concerning this Matter, as King *Ethelred* and the Eſtates of the Kingdom had done about K. *Edward*'s being Elected in his Mother's Womb. And the Reader may remember that theſe Authors abovecited, lived and wrote many Years before the 49*th* of *Henry* III. when the Doctor ſuppoſes the *Commons* were firſt ſummoned to Parliament; and therefore could not be corrupted with the Notions (not to ſay Prejudices) of thoſe who wrote after that Time.

BUT I know the Doctor has a Subterfuge, as he thinks for theſe plain and full Authoriries, and that is, that by the *Populus*, *Plebs* and *Vulgus* mentioned as you have heard, the King's *Thanes*, or leſs *Barons* as they were called after the Conqueſt, who were all Tenants *in Capite*, are hereby only to be underſtood; and that no other but they had any Right to be preſent, and vote in the Great Councils of the Kingdom; and this he has endeavoured to make good in his Anſwer to Mr. *Petyt*'s aboveſaid Treatiſe.

BUT ſince the Doctor's Authorities do there relate to the Times after his Conqueſt, (concerning which I ſhall not now ſay any thing) I will content my ſelf at preſent with asking him only theſe two Queſtions:

FIRST,

FIRST, How he will prove, that none but the Perſons he there mentions, appeared in thoſe Councils, ſince we cannot trace any Footſteps in our moſt Antient Laws or Hiſtorians of his *Tenants in Capite*, being the only Conſtituent Parts of the *Saxon Witena-Gemotes?*

AND it was indeed very unlikely they ſhould, if we conſider the many Free-Tenants who before the Conqueſt held in *Allodio* without any Military Services; and this, as Sir *Henry Spelman* well obſerves, "was oppoſed to *Feud* or *Fee*, in the Antient Verſion of King *Canutus* "his Laws, where it is called in *Saxon*, *Bockland*; and in the Laws of "King *Alfred*, *Terra Hæreditaria*, and ſeems to be the ſame with our "*Fee-Simple*, which might be made over to Strangers without any Li-"cence from the Lord of whom ſuch Land was held.

Tit. Alodium.

Cap. 75.

Cap. 36.

OF which ſort of Men, there is alſo frequent mention in *Doomſday* Book, under the Title of *Alloarii* and *Allodiarii*, and of whom it is there alſo often ſaid, *Potuit ire cum terrâ quo voluit*, or *potuit ſe vertere ad alium Dominum*. Of theſe there were certainly many more before the Conqueſt than afterwards, when I own the greateſt part of the Kingdom was in a few Years parcell'd out into *Knights Fees*.

SECONDLY, I deſire to be informed how our Great Councils could conſiſt of ſuch a multitude of Perſons, as I find in Antient Charters and Hiſtorians to have appeared at thoſe Aſſemblies, not only before, but long after the Conqueſt? But of the Period before that Time, (and which I treat of in this Volume) I ſhall give theſe remarkable Inſtances.

THE firſt is out of an Antient Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library, concerning the League between *Alfred* and *Godrun* the *Dane*, which begins thus, *Circà Annum Salvatoris noſtri* DCCCLXXVI. *in Magno Concilio ſive* Mycel-Gemot, *Aluredus Rex Anglorum & Godrunus Rex Anglo-Danorum, & Omnes Angligenæ* Sapientes, *& omnis* populus *qui in Anglia manſit, Pacis agenda ſive fœdus conſtituerunt, & Juramento confirmaverunt pro ſeipſis & Junioribus ſuis Ingenitis.* Wherein this is worth obſerving, that by the *Angligenæ Sapientes* here mentioned, the greater *Wites* or *Noblemen* are underſtood, and by *Populus*, the Repreſentatives of the inferior People or Commons.

Sub effigie Claudii, D. 2. F. 8.

THE next is, that at the end of King *Ethelwolf*'s Charter of Tythes, *Anno* 855. where you will find after the Subſcriptions of the Biſhops, Earls and other Great Men, or *Thanes*, to this Law, theſe following Parties are mentioned, *Aliorúmque Fidelium infinita Multitudo, qui omnes Regium Chirographum laudaverunt, Dignitates verò ſua Nomina ſubſcripſerunt.*

Vid. Spelm. Concil. f. 350.

FROM whence you may obſerve, that tho only the Dignified Perſons ſubſcribed their Names, yet all the reſt of this Multitude had a Right to approve, and give their Conſents to what was there tranſacted: But it cannot be imagined, that this Charter would ever take notice of the Approbation of the meer Rabble without, however they might ſhew a Joy and Satisfaction at what was there done by their Hollowing and Shouting.

AND this I conceive to be the Reaſon why theſe Councils often met in the open Air, when the Weather would permit, becauſe no one Room could eaſily hold them; as appears by the Concluſion of King *Edgar*'s Charter to *Ely* Abby, bearing date at *Wulſamere*, *An. Dom.* 970. *Apud* Wlſamere (ſays the Record) *non clàm in angulo, ſed* ſub Dio, *palàm evidentiſſimè, ſcientibus totius Regni mei Primatibus*; who were not only

Charta antiq. in Turri Lond. B.

only *Primates Regis*, the King's Tenants in *Capite*, but *Primates Regni*, the principal or moſt conſiderable Men of the Kingdom.

I could give ſeveral more Inſtances to prove, that our Antient *Witena-Gemotes* conſiſted of a much greater number than the Doctor's *Tenants in Capite*, which in the time of his Conqueror were not five or ſix hundred Perſons, and might not be half that number in the time of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*. But ſince the reſt of my Authorities fall out in the following Period, I ſhall reſerve them to the next ſucceeding Volume. Theſe are ſufficient, I think, to make out that long before the time the Doctor allows, the *Commons* had their *Repreſentatives* in the Great Councils by thoſe of their own Order; but whether by Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes, as now at this day, I do not affirm.

BUT to paſs from Charters to the Laws themſelves, that prove the *Engliſh-Saxons Witena Gemotes*, to have then conſiſted of a great multitude of People, I ſhall only inſtance in the famous Charter of *Athelwolf*'s concerning Tithes, *Anno Dom.* 855. which being confirmed into a Law at the Common-Council at *Wincheſter*, there is both in the Copy of this Charter in *Ingulph*, as alſo in that in Sir *H. Spelman*'s firſt Volume of Councils, this Concluſion (after the Subſcriptions of Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Earldormen, and others) in theſe words, *Aliorumq; Fidelium infinita multitudo, qui omnes Regis Chirographum laudaverunt, Dignitates verò ſua nomina ſubſcripſerunt*, i. e. there were beſides a great multitude of faithful Subjects, who all approved of the Royal Subſcriptions; but the Dignities, *i. e.* the dignified Perſons alone ſubſcribed their Names.

NOW I would fain be ſatisfied from the learned Doctor, or any other who ſhall next undertake this Controverſy, who this *infinita Fidelium multitudo* were, that are here ſaid to have approved of this Charter, unleſs they were the whole Body of the inferiour Nobility, or Freeholders of the Nation, together with the Deputies of Cities and Boroughs, on whoſe behalf the Dignities are ſaid to have ſubſcribed their Names? ſince it had been very ridiculous for this Charter to have mentioned the Aſſent or Approbation of the *Mob*, or meer Vulgar that only looked on at this Aſſembly, or to have taken particular notice that theſe had not ſubſcribed their Names, but only the Perſons of great Dignity.

I come next to conſider in whom the *Legiſlative Power*, or that of *Enacting* and *Repealing* Laws, did then as well as *now conſiſt*.

Dr. *Johnſton* in his Excellency of Monarchical Government, *Chap.* 24. and other high Aſſertors of the Royal Prerogative, think they have done enough to prove, that the Power of enacting Laws reſided wholly in the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings; and for this they cite the * Titles or Prefaces to ſeveral Laws, wherein the King by the Advice of his Biſhops, and *Wites*, or Wiſe-men, ſtrictly charges and commands ſuch and ſuch " Laws to be obſerved; and ſometimes he does it in his own Perſon " without mentioning any of them, as may be ſeen in the Preface to " the Laws of King *Cnute*, and other Places.

* *Vid.* LLeg. Regum Inæ, Ælfredi, Æthelſtani, Edgari, &c. *Vid.* Spelm. Concil. vol. 1. *fol.* 552.

I ſhall not diſpute the Truth of any of the Authorities theſe Gentlemen produce, but freely confeſs that the King, as Head of the Body Politick or Common-weal, is often mentioned, as if he himſelf made ſuch and ſuch a Law; as we ſay at this day the Statutes of King *Charles* the

Firſt, or *Second*, tho every body knows that thoſe Laws were enacted with the Conſent and Authority of Parliament.

SO under our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings, tho the King's Authority gave Sanction to the Law, and he might *propter Excellentiam Perſonæ*, frequently bid and command in his own Perſon, yet it was ſtill in ſuch a manner as was conſiſtent with the ſettled and received Conſtitution of the Kingdom, which I dare maintain hath not been altered in this Point ſince that time. Some few Authorities of this ſort I will here ſet down, collected out of the ſame Books theſe very Gentlemen have made uſe of, to which I will alſo add ſome antient Charters of indiſputable Credit.

THE firſt ſhall be from the Laws of King *Ina*, which you may ſee in the Preface to Sir *Henry Spelman*'s Councils, where in a *Mycel Synod* ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil Laws were made to theſe ends, *viz. ad Concordiam publicam promovendam, per Commune* Concilium, *& Aſſenſum Epiſcoporum, Principum, Procerum, Comitum, & omnium Sapientum Seniorum, & Populorum totius Regni.* And as for the Concluſions of King *Alfred*'s Laws, which * Dr. *Johnſton* urges for the King's ſole Power in making Laws; they rather make againſt than for his Opinion, for he there ſhews us, that this King having commanded his Laws to be written, thoſe that he liked not, he with the Council of his *Wites* rejected, and thoſe he liked, he bad, or commanded to be holden; where I deſire the Reader to take notice, that he neither rejected nor commanded theſe Laws, but *MID MINRA WITENA GETHEAT*, in *Saxon*, that is, with the Conſent of his *Witena*, or Council of *Wiſe-men*, whoſe Conſent and Approbation was certainly neceſſary in thoſe Laws, as appears by theſe very words at their Concluſion, which the Doctor himſelf hath thus tranſlated out of *Saxon*; I *Alfred* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, ſhewed all theſe (Laws) to all my *Wites* (*i. e.* Council of Nobility, or Wiſe-Men) and they ſaid they all liked (or were pleaſed) they ſhould be holden.

Tom. 1. fol. 219.

* Pag. 193.

AND that the *Saxon* word *GETHEAT* ſignifies ſomewhat more than bare Counſel or Advice, you may ſee in the Title to King *Athelſtan*'s Laws, which is thus, *Hæc ſunt Judicia quæ Sapientes* Exoniæ, *Conſilio* Adelſtani *Regis inſtituerunt, & iterùm apud* Fuereſham, *& tertiâ vice apud* Thundresfeldium, *ubi hoc definitum ſimul & confirmatum eſt.*

Vid. Chronic. Brompt. fol. 848.

HERE you may obſerve, that the *Sapientes*, the *Wites*, or *Wiſe-men*, are ſaid to inſtitute or make theſe Judgments or Laws by the Advice of the King, and not He by theirs.

THIRDLY, I will preſent you with the Title of King *Ethelred*'s Laws, (as you may ſee in the ſame Author) and there we meet with theſe words, *Hoc eſt Concilium quod* Ethelredus *Rex, &* Sapientes ſui *condixerunt ad Emendationem & Augmentum Pacis, omni Populo apud* Wodeſtocam *in* Mercena Landa, *id eſt, in terra* Mercenorum.

Brompt. ut ſupr. col. 893, 894.

FOURTHLY, To another Body of Laws made by the ſame King *Ethelred*, you will find this Title, *Hæ ſunt Leges quas* Ethelredus *Rex, &* Sapientes ſui *conſtituerunt apud* Venetyngum, *ad Emendationem Pacis & Fælicitatis Incrementum.*

Idem fol. 895.

BY theſe two laſt Titles prefixt to King *Ethelred*'s Decrees, the Reader may pleaſe to take notice, that *Concilium* in the firſt of them does not there ſignify barely *Advice* or *Counſel*, (tho if it did only do that

it

it would make but little to theſe Gentlemens purpoſe) but it muſt (and can do nothing elſe here than) intend and mean the Laws and Statutes which were made in this Great Aſſembly, not by King *Ethelred* alone, but by him and his *Wiſe-men*: this you find in both of them; for what is called *Concilium* in the former, the latter Title calls *Leges*, and were all enacted by the joint and unanimous Conſent of the King and his Great Council.

I ſhall now proceed to give you a few Inſtances from antient Charters: And the firſt is that out of the great Regiſter of *Abingdon* above-cited, which being thus, *Ego* Ecberht *Rex* Occidentalium Saxonum *cùm Licentia & Conſenſu totius Gentis noſtræ, & Unanimitate omnium Optimatum*, &c. Bibl. Cotton. ſub Effig. Claud. B. 9. cap. 31.

FROM whence I ſhall obſerve, that as antient as the time of King *Egbert*, the whole *Engliſh-Saxon* Nation, as well as the chief Men of it, are ſaid to give not only their Conſent, but their Licence to this Charter, without which the Authority of the King, and the Unanimity of theſe chief Men would have ſignified little.

THE ſecond Charter is that of King *Cnute* to the Abbey of *Briadriceſworth* (afterwards called St. *Edmundsbury*) now in the Office of the King's Remembrancer of the *Exchequer*, the beginning of which runs thus, * *Ego* Cnute *Rex totius* Albionis *Inſulæ, & aliarum Nationum plurimarum, in Cathedrâ Regali promotus,* † *cum Concilio & Decreto Archiepiſcoporum, Epiſcoporum, Abbatum, Comitum, aliorúmq; omnium Fidelium elegi ſanciend.*

* Rot. Cart. 4. E. 3. m. 24. n. 58.

† *The ſame Expreſſions as to the enacting part, as well as all the Parties that gave their Aſſent, you may alſo find in K.* Edward *the Confeſſor's laſt Charter to the Abby of* Weſtminſter. *vid. Sir* Hen. Spelman's 1ſt *vol. of Councils*, ad finem.

THIS Charter is the more remarkable, becauſe made by a Prince who came in partly by Force, and therefore one might have thought he would have exerted a more abſolute Power in making Laws by his ſole Authority; and yet we find him ſo far from pretending to do that, that he grants this Charter not only by the *Conſent*, but by the *Decree* of the Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and all his other *faithful Subjects*; which word (in the Latin, *Fideles*) tho Dr. *Brady* underſtands it only of Military Tenants *in Capite*, yet I doubt not but it is there to be taken in a much larger ſenſe, and muſt comprehend all the leſſer *Thanes*, or Freeholders above-mentioned, as alſo the Deputies or Repreſentatives of Cities and Towns: of which *Fideles* Sir *Henry Spleman* underſtands *omnes qui in Principis alicujus ditione ſunt, vulgò* ſubjecti: *Hi ſunt qui in Hiſtoriis dicuntur* Fideles Regis. And alſo in the ſame ſenſe it is to be underſtood in the Oath of Fidelity taken antiently in the Court-Leets, as the ſame Author ſhews us, *Tu* J. S. *jurabis quod ab iſta die in anteà, eris* Fidelis *& Legalis Domino noſtro Regi, & ſuis Hæredibus*; & Fidelitatem *& Legalitatem ei portabis de vita & membro, & de Terreno honore, & quod tu eorum Malum aut Damnum nec noveris, nec audiveris, quod non defendes* (*id eſt*, prohibes) *pro poſſe tuo*, &c. Spelm. Gloſſ. f. 225. col. 1.

AND tho I grant this word (*Fideles*) is after the Conqueſt frequently uſed for a Military Tenant or Vaſſal, yet does it likewiſe even then often extend further than to Tenants *in Capite* only, as I am able to prove from the very Authorities he gives us in his own Gloſſary, under the Title *Fideles*, were it now worth while to diſpute that Point. But in the mean time it lies upon him to make out, that the *Fidelium Multitudo* mentioned in King *Athelwolf*'s Charter abovecited, and the *Omnium*

nium Fidelium in theſe, were no other than his Tenants *in Capite*, which when ever he does, (to make uſe of his own Phraſe) *Erit mihi Magnus Apollo.*

I could alſo give you ſome Inſtances to the ſame Effect out of the *Saxon Annals* under the Years 994, and 1002. in both which it is ſaid expreſly, *THA GÆREDDE SE KYNG AND HIS WITAN*; that is, it was Decreed by the King and his *Wites* or *Wiſemen*, to make Peace with the *Danes*, and to raiſe a Tax for that end.

SO that to conclude, I think this Diſpute about the King's Authority in making of Laws, may eaſily be reconciled to that which the two Houſes of Parliament now exerciſe, that is, the King makes the Laws, yet by and with the *Aſſent* of the Lords and Commons, as is declared in the Year-Book of *Edward* the *Third*. And if ſuch their *Aſſent* be abſolutely neceſſary, can any Man in reaſon deny their Authority to be Eſſential in the making of theſe Laws?

22 Edw. 3. f. 3. a. b.

AND therefore *Bracton* underſtood well enough what he wrote, when he tells us, *Cum Legis Vigorem habeat Quicquid de Conſilio & Conſenſu Magnatum, & Reipublicæ Communi ſponſione, Authoritate Principis præcedente, juſtè fuerit Definitum & Approbatum*; i. e. "That whatſoever hath been rightly decreed and approved of by the Advice and "Conſent of the Chief Men, and the General Agreement of the Common-Wealth, the Prince's Authority preceding, carries thenceforth "the Force of a Law."

WHEREBY it appears that in this Great Man's Time, the King gave his Conſent to Laws firſt, by ordering them to be drawn up by his Council, and propoſed to the Parliament when they met; and that it was in their Power either to accept or refuſe them, as we ſee it is in Charters and Acts of Pardon at this Day, when they are Paſſed and Confirmed by both Houſes; and for this ſee the Preface to the Statute of *Weſtminſter* the *Third*.

AS for the Judicial Power of this *Witena-Gemote*, in Baniſhing great and notorious Offenders againſt the King and Kingdom, whoſe Crimes were either not directly Treaſon according to the ſtrict Letter of the Law, or elſe their Perſons being too great for any other leſs Court of Judicature; you may find divers Examples in our *Annals* and Hiſtorians, *viz.* under the Years 1048, 1052, 1055. But I do not find any great Lord or Nobleman condemned to Death, or attainted by Authority of this Council, till long after the Conqueſt.

HAVING now ſhewn the Antient Authority of the Eſtates of the Kingdom to have been always neceſſary and concurrent, (I do not ſay co-ordinate) with that of the King, and alſo what other Powers they conſtantly then uſed; in the next Place I come to obſerve the near Conjunction and Union of both Church and State in their *Mycel-Synods* or *Witena-Gemotes*; which lets us ſee what kind of Supremacy our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings then exerciſed in Church Matters, as alſo who they were that at that Time made *Eccleſiaſtical* as well as *Civil* Laws: and I ſhall give it you in the Words of a very Learned Lawyer lately deceaſed, I mean, Mr. *Joſeph Waſhington*, ſince I own I am not able to mend what hath been wrote by ſo excellent a Pen: his words are theſe.

Obſervations on the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of the Kings of England, *pag.* 13, 14, &c.

"IN the ſecond Place, (for in the precedent Pages he had given "ſome Inſtances before the entry of the *Saxons*, (*which being not to my preſent*

preſent Deſign I omit) " to make appear in ſome Meaſure how the *Law* " ſtood in thoſe Times with reſpect to the *King's Supremacy*;) " I will exhibit (ſays he) a very few Inſtances of the *Saxon* Times, " during the *Heptarchy*. The Reader may conſult many more at his " Leiſure.

" NO marvel if we find this *People* ſubmitting to nothing in *Reli-* " *gion*, but what was ordained by themſelves; *De Majoribus Omnes*, " was one of their Fundamental Conſtitutions before they came hither; " and it is continued here to this Day. And *Matters* of *Religion* were " amongſt their *Majora*, even before they received Chriſtianity. Tacit. de Morib. German. Cap. 11.

" ACCORDINGLY *Edwin* King of *Northamberland*, *habito cum Sa-* " *pientibus Conſilio*, renounced his *Paganiſm*, and he and they embraced " the *Chriſtian Faith*. This is deſcribed in *Bede* and *Huntington*, to " have been done in ſuch an Aſſembly of Men, as the *Parliaments* of " thoſe Days are generally mentioned to conſiſt of. *Vid.* Bede Eccl. Hiſt l. 2. c. 13. Hunting. l. 3. f. 188.

" AFTER the *Chriſtian Religion* had ſpread among the *Saxons*, the " *Biſhops* and *Clergy* frequently held *Synods* without the *Laity* for " Church-Viſitation, and made Conſtitutions for the Regulation of the " Clergy, which they obeyed and ſubmitted to by reaſon of their *Oath* " of *Canonical Obedience*: but as nothing tranſacted in thoſe *Aſſemblies* " of the Clergy bound the People, ſo can no Inſtance be produced of " the Clergy's being bound by any Act of the King, not aſſented to in " the Provincial Synods of thoſe Times. *Vid.* Spel. Concil. ubicunq;.

THESE Synods may eaſily be diſtinguiſhed from our *Mycel-Synods* or *Witena-Gemotes*, not only by the Matters tranſacted in them, but by the Perſons that therein preſided, and ſubſcribed them, *viz.* the Pope's Legate, or elſe the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* or *York*, and the Biſhops, Abbots, *&c.* without the Names of any Temporal Perſons preſent thereat, when they were meer Eccleſiaſtical Synods; but if they were mixt as well for Temporal as Eccleſiaſtical Matters, both the King and Arch-Biſhop are ſaid to preſide, otherwiſe the King alone: and before the Union of the Heptarchy into one Kingdom, theſe Synods were commonly held in the Dominions of that King who was then moſt Powerful, ſo that the leſſer or weaker Princes were fain to appear therein in Perſon, or by their Deputies; but if they did not appear there, nor yet ſend any Deputies, thoſe Councils were looked upon as to all Temporal and Eccleſiaſtical Matters, no other than particular Synods, or Councils of thoſe Kingdoms wherein they were held, or whoſe Kings conſented to them; for which I could give you ſeveral Inſtances were it not to avoid being tedious; but for this I refer the Reader to the firſt Volume of Sir *H. Spelman*, as alſo to divers Charters in *Monaſt. Anglican.* and *Ingulf*; ſome of which are taken notice of in this *Introduction*, and the following Hiſtory. This I thought fit to ſuperadd, the better to explain what our Learned Author hath ſaid upon this Point.

BUT notwithſtanding he there further obſerves, " That the Clergy " themſelves, both as to Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Ceremonies, were " bound by the Publick Laws of the Kingdom, enacted in the *Great* " *Councils* of the Nation; concerning which he gives us theſe enſuing " Inſtances.

" IN the Year 673. *Concilium* Herudfordiæ *celebratum eſt ſub initio* " *primi Anni* Lotharii *Regis* Cantiæ, *præſidente* Theodoro Cantuariæ " *Archiepiſcopo*. At this Council (ſays *Matthew Weſtminſter*) were " preſent Mat. Weſtm. fol. 122, 123.

" present *Episcopi Angliæ, & Reges, & Magnates Universi*: where *Theodore* proposed *decem Capitula*, out of a Book of Canons before them *all*, which were there *assented* to, and *subscribed*. The first was concerning the Observation of *Easter*; the ninth, that the Number of *Bishops* should be increased, *crescente Fidelium numero*. The rest were concerning *Bishops, Bishopricks, Monks, Marriage, Fornication*, &c.

Spelm. Concil. Vol. 1. Pag. 152, 153.

" THE Presence of the *Bishops* and all the *Magnates*, makes this Assembly appear to have been a *Parliament* of those Times. What Orders of Men were comprehended under the word *Magnates*, is not material to our present purpose. The *Great Councils* that made the Laws, and without whom no Laws were made, are frequently so described by our Antient *Historians*.

BUT without all peradventure these *Magnates* were *Laymen*, and that is enough for my Point.

THEN the same Author goes on in these words, "In the Year 692. *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons*, enacted many *Constitutions* for the Government of the *Church*, as *De Formula vivendi Ministrorum Dei. De baptizandis Infantibus. De Opere in die Dominico. De Immunitate Fani*, &c. The Preface to which Law runs thus, *Ego* Inas *Dei beneficio* Occiduorum Saxonum *Rex, suasu & Instituto* Cenredi *Patris mei, &* Heddæ *&* Erkenwaldi *Episcoporum meorum*, Omnium Senatorum meorum, & natu Majorum Sapientum Populi mei, *in magna Servorum Dei frequentiâ, religiosè studebam tùm animorum nostrorum saluti, tùm communi Regni nostri conservationi, ut legitima nuptiarum fœdera*, &c. Here the King, his Bishops, all his Senators, the *Natu majores & Sapientes* of his People, (which are Descriptions of the Laity in the Parliaments of those Times) and a great Number of *God's Servants*, (by which the *Clergy* are meant) make *Ecclesiastical Laws*. This was a *Parliament*, as appears not only by the Presence of the *Laity*, but by many *Temporal Laws* enacted at the same Time.

Ibid. fol. 182, 183, &c.

" IN the Year 694. *Concilium Magnum* Becancelдæ *celebratum est, præsidente* Withredo *Rege* Cantiæ, *nec non* Bertualdo *Archiepiscopo* Britanniæ, *cum* Tobia *Episcopo Rossensi, Abbatibus, Abbatissis, Presbyteris, Diaconibus, Ducibus, Satrapis*, &c. All these *pariter tractabant, anxiè examinabant de statu Ecclesiarum Dei*, &c. Here the King's *Legislative Power* in *Ecclesiastical Matters* exerted it self, not *Personally*, but in this *Great Council*. They do all Enact, *Statuimus, decernimus, præcipimus*. For when the *King* himself is spoken of, the *singular* Number is used, *Nullus unquam habeat Licentiam accipere alicujus Ecclesiæ vel Familiæ Monasterii Dominium, quæ à meipso vel Antecessoribus meis*, &c.

Ibid. p. 185, 190.

" A Council was held at *Berghamstede, Anno quinto* Withredi *Regis* Cantiæ, i. e. *Anno Christi* 697. *Sub* Bertualdo *Archiepiscopo* Cantuariensi, *præsentibus* Gysmundo *Episcopo* Rossensi, *& omnibus Ordinibus Gentis illius, cùm Viris quibusdam militaribus. In quo de moribus cavetur ad Ecclesiæ cognitionem plerumq; pertinentibus*. These *Ordines Gentis illius*, seem by the Preface to these Laws, to be meant of the *Ordines Ecclesiastici Gentis illius*; but withal, that they *cum viris utiq; militaribus humanissimè &* Communi Omnium Assensu *has Leges decrevere*. So that these *Ecclesiastical Laws* were enacted by the Assent of the *Viri Militares*, as well as of the *King* and the *Clergy*.

Ibid. p. 194.

" A

" A Council was held at *Cloveſhoe, ſub* Cuthberto Doroberniæ *Archie-*
" *piſcopo, præſentibus (præter Epiſcopos, Sacerdotes & Eccleſiaſticos quam-*
" *plurimos)* Ædelbaldo Merciorum *Rege cum ſuis Principibus & Ducibus,*
" *Anno Dom.* 747. *In quo decernebatur de unitate Eccleſiæ, de ſtatu Chri-* Spelm. Concil.
" *ſtianæ Religionis, & de Concordiâ & Pace,* &c. p. 242, *&c.*

" In the Year 787. *Concilium Legatinum & Pananglicum* was held at
" *Calcuith*, in which many *Canons* were made *de fide primitùs ſuſceptâ*
" *retinendâ, aliiſq; ad Eccleſiæ regimen pertinentibus.* This Council was
" held *coràm Rege* Ælfwaldo, *& Archiepiſcopo* Eanbaldo, *& omnibus*
" *Epiſcopis & Abbatibus Regionis, ſeu Senatoribus & Ducibus, &* Populo
" Terræ. After theſe *Eccleſiaſtical Laws* had been thus enacted by
" *Ælfwald* King of *Northumberland*, the *Legats* carried them into the
" *Council* or *Parliament* of the *Mercians*, where the glorious King *Offa,*
" *cum Senatoribus Terræ, unà cum,* &c. *convenerat.* There they were
" read in *Latin* and *Teutonick*, that *all* might underſtand, and *all* pro-
" miſed to obſerve them; and the *King* and his *Princes*, the *Arch-biſhop* Spelm. Concil.
" and his *Companions*, ſigned them with the ſign of the Croſs. vol. 1. f. 291, 292, *&c.*

" MANY Inſtances of this kind might have been added, as parti-
" cularly that of the Council at *Hatfield*, *Anno* 680, wherein the *Ca-*
" *nons* of five *General Councils* were received, which was a *Witena-*
" *Gemot*, a *Conventus Sapientum*; but I ſpare time, and am indeavour-
" ing only to open a Door.

" BY theſe Inſtances it is apparent, that the ſame Body of Men that
" enacted the *Temporal Laws* of the Kingdom did in the very ſame
" *Councils* make Laws for the Government of the Church. Indeed, the
" whole Fabrick of the *Engliſh-Saxon Church* was built upon Acts of
" Parliament; nothing in which the whole Community was concern'd,
" was enacted, decreed, or eſtabliſhed, but by that Authority. For
" whoſo reads impartially the Hiſtories of thoſe Times, and compares
" them with one another, will find, that as moſt of thoſe antient *Councils*,
" commonly ſo called, were no other than (to ſpeak in our Modern
" Language) *Parliaments*; ſo not any thing whatſoever in *Religion*,
" obligatory to the *People*, whether in Matters of *Faith, Diſcipline, Ce-*
" *remonies*, or any *Religious Obſervances*, was impoſed, but in ſuch
" Aſſemblies as no Man can deny to have been Parliaments of thoſe
" times, that has not a Fore-head of Braſs. For the Preſence not of
" the Kings only, but of the *Duces, Principes, Satrapæ, Populus Terræ*, &c.
" ſhews ſufficiently, that neither the *Kings* and the Clergy, without
" the concurrent Authority of the ſame Perſons that enacted *Temporal*
" *Laws*, could preſcribe *General Laws* in Matters of *Religion*. I do
" not diſpute what Orders of Men among the *Saxons* were deſcribed
" by *Duces, Principes*, &c. but ſure I am, that they were *Lay-men*, and
" as ſure, that they *aſſented* to, and *confirmed* thoſe Laws, without
" whoſe *Aſſent* they were no Laws: ſo that the *Kings* of thoſe Times
" had no greater *Legiſlative Power* in *Eccleſiaſtical Matters* than in
" *Temporal.*

" THE tearing the *Eccleſiaſtical Power* from the *Temporal*, was the
" great Root of the *Papacy*: It was that mounted it to this heighth; thoſe
" Powers never were diſtinct in *England*, nor moſt other Nations, till
" that *See* got the Aſcendant. And it is a ſtrange Inconſiſtency to ar-
" gue one while, that *whatever the Pope* de facto, *formerly did by the*
" *Canon Law, that* of Right *belongs to our Kings*; and another while,

" that

" that the ſeveral Acts that reſtore the *Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction to the*
" *Crown*, are but *declarative*. It ſhews how little the *Supremacy* is un-
" derſtood by Modern Aſſertors of it, and how little they are acquain-
" ted with the Antient Government of *England*.

" THE third *Period of Time* to be conſidered, ſhall be from the uni-
" ting of the ſeveral Kingdoms of the *Saxons* under one Monarchy to
" the *Norman* Conqueſt.

" IN this Diviſion we find a Letter from Pope *Formoſus* to King *Ed-*
" *ward* the Elder, wherein the Pope complains, that the Country of the
" *Weſt-Saxons* had wanted *Biſhops* for ſeven whole Years: Upon the
" Receipt of this Letter, the King calls *Synodum Senatorum Gentis An-*
" *glorum*, who being aſſembled, *ſingulis tribubus* Gewiſiorum (i. e.
Spelm.Concil. 387, 388. " *Weſt-Saxonum*) *ſingulos conſtituerunt Epiſcopos, & quod olim duo habue-*
" *runt, in quinque diviſerunt.*

" THE *Eccleſiaſtical Laws* of King *Edward* the *Elder*, and *Guthrun*
" the *Dane*, begin with this *Præmium: Hæc ſunt Senatuſ-conſulta ac*
" *Inſtituta, quæ primò* Aluredus *&* Guthrunus *Reges, deindè* Edwardus
" *&* Guthrunus *Reges, illis ipſis temporibus tulère, cum pacis fœdus* Dani
" *&* Angli *ferierunt. Quæque poſteà à ſapientibus* (Tha Witan) *ſæpiùs*
" *recitata atq; ad Communem Regni utilitatem aucta atq; amplificata ſunt.*
" The Titles of ſome of theſe Laws are, *De Apoſtatis, De Correctione*
" *Ordinatorum*, (i. e.) *Sacris Initiatorum, De Inceſtu, De Jejuniis*, &c.
" all of Eccleſiaſtical Cognizance, or at leaſt of after-times ſo reputed.
" Theſe are called *Senatuſ-conſulta*, than which a more appoſite word
" could ſcarce have been uſed for *Acts* of *Parliament*, and were aſſented
Spelm.Concil. 390, *&c.* " to by the *Witen*; from which word the *Saxon* Term for *Parliaments*,
" *Witena-Gemot*, is derived.

" A *Concilium celebre* was held under King *Athelſtan, in quo Leges*
" *plurimæ, tùm Civiles, tùm Eccleſiaſticæ, ſtatuebantur.* It's true, the
" Civil Laws are omitted, and Sir *Henry Spelman* gives us an Account
" only of the *Eccleſiaſtical Laws* made at this Aſſembly, which conclude,
" *Decreta, Actaq; hæc ſunt in celebri* Gratanleano *Concilio, cui* Wulfel-
Spelm.Concil. 396, *&c.* " mus *interfuit Archiepiſcopus, & cùm eo Optimates & Sapientes ab* Athel-
" ſtano *evocati frequentiſſimi.*

" KING *Edmund* held a Council *Anno* 944. where many *Eccleſia-*
" *ſtical* as well as *Secular Laws* were made, as *De Vitæ caſtitate eorum*
" *qui ſacris initiantur*; *De Fani inſtauratione*; *De pejerantibus*; *De iis*
" *qui barbara factitarunt Sacrificia*, &c. And this Council is expreſſed
Spelm.Concil. fol. 419, *&c.* " to have been *Conventus tàm Eccleſiaſticorum, quàm Laicorum*; *celebris*
" *tàm Eccleſiaſticorum, quàm Laicorum frequentia.*

" I will give no more Inſtances before the Conqueſt, tho numbers are
" to be had which lie ſcattered up and down in the *Monkiſh Hiſtories*,
" which being compared with one another, will ſufficiently diſcloſe
" what I aſſert. For ſometimes *Laws* that concert *Temporal Affairs*, as
" well as *Eccleſiaſtical*, are ſaid to have been made by ſuch a *King* in one
" Author, which very Laws another *Hiſtorian* tells us were made in
" the *Great Council*, for which yet they have no uniform, appropriated
" Expreſſion, Term, or Denomination: Juſt as we in common Par-
" lance ſay, King *Edward* the *Third*, or King *Henry* the *Seventh* made
" ſuch a Law, which yet every Man underſtands to have been made in
" Parliament, becauſe elſe it were not a Law.

SO

SO far have I made bold with the words of this Learned Gentleman: I ſhall now, by way of Confirmation to what he hath ſaid, obſerve, from Mr. *Lambard*'s Edition of his *Engliſh-Saxon* Laws (which was a different Copy from that, from whence Sir *Henry Spelman* publiſhed his Councils) that our *Saxon* Laws both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, were made by one and the ſame Authority, as appears by the Preface to the Laws of King *Edmund*, which we find runs thus, Ædmundus *Rex ipſo ſolemni* Paſchatis *Feſto, frequentem* Londini *tàm Eccleſiaſticorum quàm Laicorum Cœtum celebravit*, &c. So likewiſe in the Laws of King *Edgar*, the Preface of which is thus, *Leges quas* Edgarus *Rex frequenti Senatu, ad Dei Gloriam, & Reipublicæ utilitatem, ſancivit.* In the *Saxon* Original thus, *MID HIS WITENA GEHEAHTE GERÆD*, that is, with the Council of his Wiſe-men he eſtabliſhed. The Laws of King *Cnute* likewiſe begin thus, *Conſultum quod* Canutus Anglorum, Dacorum, & Norwegiorum *Rex, ex Sapientûm Concilio ſancivit.* (Note, the words in the *Saxon* are the ſame as above.)

Lamb. Archaionomia, f. 57. & deln.

Id. fol. 62.

Id. fol. 97.

I could illuſtrate this further by ſeveral more Inſtances out of the ſame Volume, were I not afraid of having already treſpaſſed too much upon you; only I deſire you would pleaſe to take notice, that in each Body of theſe above-mentioned Laws, the *Eccleſiaſtical* precede, and then the *Civil* or *Temporal* follow, tho being both made at the ſame time, in the ſame Council, and by the joint Authority of the ſame Parties.

BUT now to add one thing more from the ſaid Author, Mr. *Waſhington*, which is, "That *Biſhopricks* and other *Eccleſiaſtical Dignities* "were in the *Saxon* Times (commonly) conferred in *Parliament*; we "have the Teſtimony of *Ingulphus*, who was Abbot of *Crowland* in "King *William* the Conqueror's Reign; *à multis annis retroactis nulla* "*erat Electio Prælatorum merè libera & Canonica: ſed omnes Dignitates* "*tàm Epiſcoporum, quàm Abbatum, Regis* Curia *pro ſuâ complacentiâ con-*"*ferebat*: that is, ſays he, that for many Years paſt, there was no Election of Prelates abſolutely free and Canonical: But all Dignities both of Biſhops and Abbots, were conferred by the King's Court (*i.e.* the Great Council of the Kingdom, as I ſhall prove by and by) according to their good Pleaſure.

AFTER which, the Perſon ſo elected, being firſt conſecrated, the King inveſted him with the Temporalties, *per traditionem Baculi & Annuli*, as you will find in the ſame Author.

AND that this Cuſtom was very antient will appear by the Election of *Wilfrid* to be Biſhop of *Hagulſtade, Anno* 666. for *Stephen Heddi* expreſly tells us in his Life, *Reges deindè Concilium cum ſapientibus ſuæ Gentis poſt ſpatium inierunt, quem eligerent in ſedem vacantem*, &c. *Reſponderunt Omnes uno Conſenſu, Neminem habemus meliorem & digniorem noſtræ Gentis, quàm* Wilfridum *Presbyterum & Abbatem.* Then the two Kings (*i.e.* of *Northumberland*) after ſome time held a Council with the Wiſe-men of their own Nation, to conſider whom they ſhould chooſe to fill up the vacant See, *&c.* and they all unanimouſly anſwered, We have none fitter nor more worthy in our Nation, than *Wilfrid* the Presbyter and Abbot; and thereupon being preſently elected, he was conſecrated Biſhop.

In vitâ Wilfridi, cap. 11. edit. per Rev. Dom. Dr. Gale fol. 46.

THE next Authority of much what the ſame time you may find in an antient Manuſcript-Life of St. *Erkenwald* in the *Cottonian* Library, where are theſe words, *Contigit autèm Epiſcopus* Londonicæ *ſedis*, Cedda

Claudius A. 5.

migravit ad Dominum, conſenſu verò Sebbæ *Regis, & vocabulo univerſæ plebis, vir Domini* Erkenwaldus *in Cathedrâ Pontificali ſublimatus eſt*, i. e. but it happened, that *Cedda* Biſhop of *London* deceaſing, *Erkenwald*, that holy Man, by the Conſent of King *Sebba*, and the Nomination of *all* the *People*, was promoted to the Epiſcopal Throne.

Bibl. Cotton. Vitellius D.17.

BUT long after this, as a Nameleſs Author of the Manuſcript-Life of St. *Dunſtan* informs us, he was made Biſhop after this manner, *viz. Poſtea, Anno* 958. *factus eſt magnus ſapientum Conventus, in loco, qui vocatur* Bradanforde, *& ea omnium ex electione ordinatus eſt* Dunſtanus *ad Epiſcopum* Wigornenſem. To wit, that afterwards, *ſcilicet*, in the Year 958. a Great Council of the Wiſe-men of the Kingdom, was held at *Bradanforde*, and there by the Election of them all *Dunſtan* was advanced to be Biſhop of *Worceſter*, &c. and then the King finding how well he diſcharged that Truſt, the ſame Author tells us, that he committed to him the Church of *London*, then void by the Death of its Paſtor, or Biſhop.

THIS Nomination of the King's muſt be underſtood in the ſame ſenſe with that which went before, as well as with what immediately follows, *viz.* that *Brihthelm*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, being depriv'd, a little after he retired to his Monaſtery, and then *Rex, ſcilicet*, Edgarus, *ex Divino reſpectu, & Sapientum Conſilio, conſtituit* Dunſtanum *ad ſuum prædictæ Eccleſiæ Sacerdotem*; King *Edgar*, both from a Divine reſpect, and from the Counſel of his Wiſe-men, conſtituted *Dunſtan* chief Biſhop of that Church.

THE next Example we have, is that of St. *Wulſtan*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who (as it is related by a Monk of that Church in his Manuſcript-Life of that Saint, about *Anno* 1170.) being ſent for on purpoſe to be made a Biſhop, he gives us the manner of his being elected thus, *Sanctus ergò ad Curiam exhibitus, jubetur ſuſcipere Donum Epiſcopatûs; contrà ille niti, & ſe tanto honori imparem (cunctis reclamitantibus) clamitare, adeò concors populus in unam venerat ſententiam, ut non peccaret qui diceret in tot corporibus in hoc duntaxat negotio unam conflatam eſſe Animam.* This holy Man being called before the Great Council, (for ſo *Curia* in this place is certainly to be underſtood) he was commanded to accept the Gift of a Biſhoprick; but he endeavoured all he could to wave the Acceptance of it, alledging, that he was altogether unfit for ſo great an Honour; but the whole Aſſembly not admitting his Excuſe, they all unanimouſly came to this Reſolution, that one ſhould not have told a Lie who had ſaid in this particular Affair, that one Soul had animated ſo many Bodies.

Mat. Paris. fol. 20.

SO that it was not without very good Cauſe, that *Matthew Paris* tells us concerning this Biſhop's Election, there concurred *Plebis Petitio, Voluntas Epiſcoporum, Gratia Procerum, Regis Authoritas.*

HAVING thus given you ſo many good Authorities from antient Manuſcripts and approved Hiſtorians of the Power of thoſe Great Councils in the *Election* of Biſhops, I ſhall only add a few more from our *Saxon Annals.*

THE firſt is under *Anno* 970, which relates, that then *Oskytel*, Arch-biſhop of *York* deceaſed, who had been by the Conſent of King *Edward* the *Martyr*, and all his Wiſe-men, conſecrated Arch-biſhop of that See.

THE next is under *Anno* 994. and there we read, that *Sigeric* the Arch-biſhop deceaſing, *Ælfric* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was elected in his room

room on Easter-day at *Ambresbury*, by King *Æthelred*, and all his Wisemen; from whence it appears, that not only the King, but the Great Council of the Kingdom had a share in this Election.

I could give you also several Instances in the said *Annals* of divers Abbots elected in the same Assemblies to the greater Monasteries; but I hope what I have done already is sufficient to my present Purpose, and therefore shall leave it to the Reader's Judgment to consider, whether, when these *Annals* and Historians inform us, that *Rex constituit* such and such a Man to be Bishop or Arch-Bishop of such or such a See, it is not to be understood in the same Sense as we have already observed from Mr. *Washington*'s said Treatise; that when this or that *King* is said to have made such or such a *Law*, it is still to be understood as made in *Parliament*?

I shall now say somewhat of the same Great Council's Power in the *Deprivation* of Bishops, of which I shall not trouble you with many, but they shall be such Examples as are of undeniable Authority.

THE first is from *Osbern* in his Life of Arch-Bishop *Dunstan*, lately printed in the first Volume of *Anglia Sacra*, concerning the Deprivation of Arch-Bishop *Brihthelm* abovementioned in these words, Bryhtelmus *post paucos susceepti Pontificatus dies, cogitans quod ad tantam rem minùs esset Idoneus, jussus à Rege & Omni populo discedere, discessit, atq; ad relictam nuper Ecclesiam non sine Verecundiâ rediit*, i. e. "*Bryhtelme* within "a few Days after he had received his Bishoprick, not thinking with "himself that he was fit for so great a Charge, being commanded by "the King and all the People to quit it, departed, and returned to "the Church he had lately left, though not without Shame.

BUT that *John* of *Wallingford* was very well satisfied, that this Arch-Bishop was deprived by the Lay, as well as Spiritual part of the Great Council, appears by his Chronicle, where having set forth his unfitness by reason of his too great Easiness and Softness of Temper, he proceeds thus, *Rex* Edgarus *eadem via quâ ascenderat, fecit eum descendere; nam Concione super hoc eodem facta, objecit* Bryhthelmo *plura Capitula, nimiam ipsius remissionem morum argumenta, & condictione & Assensu Baronum suorum ad curam Solius* Dorcasinæ *Ecclesiæ relabi fecit*, that is, "King *Edgar* made him to go down the same way he got up; "for a Council being called for this very Matter, he objected several "Articles against this *Bryhtelme*, shewing his too great Easiness and "Remissness in Discipline; and thereupon by the Appointment and "Assent of his Barons, he caused him to retire to the Cure of his for-"mer Church of *Dorchester*. By which it is evident, that this Author (living in the Reign of *Henry* the *Third*) was very well satisfied that the Temporal as well as the Spiritual Barons, were concerned in this Deprivation.

I was likewise from the Authority of the *Saxon Annals*, as also of *William* of *Malmesbury*, about to have here also added the Deprivation of one *Sinard*, who is reported by the *Annals*, *An.* 1043. "to have been "privately Consecrated to the See of *Canterbury*, with the King's good "liking, by Arch-bishop *Eadsige*, and who then laid down that "Charge: and of which *Sinard*, *William* of *Malmesbury* farther tells us, that he was afterwards deprived for his Ingratitude to Arch-Bishop *Eadsige*, in denying him necessary Maintenance: but since there is no such Person as this *Sinard* in the Catalogues of the Arch-bishops of *Canterbury*, Lib. 1. de Pont.

Canterbury, and that upon a more nice Examination, I find in the Learned Mr. *Wharton*'s Treatiſe, *De Succeſſione Archiepiſc. Cantuar.* that this *Siward* (who was alſo Abbot of *Abingdon*) was never Conſecrated Arch-Biſhop, but only *Chorepiſcopus*, or Subſtitute to Arch-biſhop *Eadſige*; who was then unable to perform his Function by reaſon of his Infirmities: which upon a review of this Paſſage in *William* of *Malmesbury*, I find alſo confirmed by him, in calling him no more than *Succeſſor Deſignatus*, and who being put by for his Ingratitude, was preferred no higher than to be Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; but this is denied by the abovecited Mr. *Wharton*, who ſays expreſly, that this *Siward* Abbot of *Abingdon*, and Subſtitute to the Arch-biſhop, was never Biſhop of that See, but died at *Abingdon* of a long Sickneſs before Arch-Biſhop *Eadſige*. So much I thought fit to let the Reader know, becauſe in this Hiſtory under *Anno* 1043, being deceived by the expreſs words of the *Annals*, I have there made this *Siward* to have been Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and deprived for his Ingratitude to his Predeceſſor, which I am (upon better Conſideration) now convinced to have been a Miſtake.

Vid. Ang. Sacra, Vol. 1. Pag. 107.

I ſhall conclude with our *Saxon Annals*, which under the Year 1052. relate, that Earl *Godwin* having in a Great Council held at *London*, purged himſelf and his Sons of the Crimes laid to their Charge; and being thereupon reſtored, Arch-Biſhop *Robert* the *Norman*, his Enemy, (having juſt before fled away into his own Country) was not only by a Decree of this Council baniſhed, but alſo deprived of his Arch-biſhoprick; and *Stigand* then was advanced to that See in his ſtead, which certainly was done by the ſame Authority as deprived the former: and if ſo, then I think none can deny but that Power might alſo have deprived any other inferior Biſhop; and yet we do no where find there was any Schiſm in *England* among the Clergy at that Time, becauſe theſe two Primates of the Church had been deprived without their own Conſent, by the Lay, as well as Spiritual part of the Great Council.

HAVING now finiſhed all I had to ſay concerning the Power of the King, and the *Witena-Gemote* in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, I would not be thought to aſſert that they have the like Authorities in Matters of *meer Spiritual Cognizance*, ſince I am very well ſatisfied of the Primitive Inſtitution of the Epiſcopal Order, from the firſt Preaching of Chriſtianity in the Time of the *Romans*, to the Reſtoration of it in this Iſland upon the Converſion of the *Saxons*; which is not liable to be abrogated by any Temporal Power, and which has been continued among the *Britains* or *Welſh*, without any Interruption from thence, even to our own Times.

BUT as for the Eccleſiaſtical Power, it was at firſt ſettled under the two Arch-biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, who had then no Juriſdiction or Preheminence the one over the other; the former being Primate of the Southern, as the latter was of the Northern parts of *England*: only I cannot but obſerve, that the Church of St. *Martin*'s without the City of *Canterbury*, was (till after the Conqueſt) the See of a Biſhop, called in Latin *Core Epiſcopus*, " who (always remaining in the Countrey) " ſupplied the Abſence of the Metropolitan, that for the moſt part " followed the Court; and that as well in governing the Monks, as in " performing

Vid. Lambard's *Perambulat. of* Kent, *Pag.* 340.

" performing the Solemnities of the Church, and in exerciſing the " Authority of an Arch-Deacon;

AND no doubt had alſo the Epiſcopal Powers of Ordination and Confirmation, or elſe he could have been no Biſhop. I obſerve this to let you ſee, that the *Engliſh* were not then ſo ſtrictly tied up as not to allow of more than one Biſhop in one City.

BUT ſince I have chiefly deſigned to ſpeak of Civil Affairs, I ſhall not here meddle with the Eccleſiaſtical Authority of the Biſhops or their Courts, or the Officers belonging to them, but will leave them to thoſe to whoſe Province it does more peculiarly appertain.

HAVING thus diſpatched what I had to ſay concerning the Synods and Great Councils of the Kingdom in the *Saxon* Times, I ſhall in the next Place treat of the *Engliſh* Laws before the Conqueſt; and they were of two kinds, *viz.* either the particular Cuſtoms or Laws of the ſeveral diviſions of the Kingdom in which thoſe Cuſtoms were in uſe; or elſe ſuch Additions to, or Emendations of them, as were made from time to time by the Great Council of the whole Kingdom, concerning the Puniſhment of Crimes, the manner of holding Men to their good Behaviour, or relating to the Alteration of Property either in Lands or Goods; with divers other particulars, for which I refer you to the Laws themſelves, as I have extracted them from Sir *Henry Spelman* and Mr. *Lambard*, their Learned Collections: and ſome concerning each of theſe particulars, I have given you in the following Work. *Of the Engliſh Laws before the Conqueſt.*

BUT to ſhew you in the firſt place the Original of the *Saxon* Cuſtomary Laws, they were certainly derived from each of the Great Nations that ſettled themſelves in this Iſland before the *Heptarchy* was reduced into one Kingdom; but indeed after the *Danes* had ſettled themſelves here in *England*, we find they were divided into theſe three ſorts of Laws, in the beginning of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*'s Reign, according to the ſeveral parts of the Kingdom wherein they prevailed; as, *The Original of the Saxon Cuſtomary Laws.*

1. *MERCHEN-LAGE*, or the *Mercian Law*, which took place in the Counties of *Gloceſter*, *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, *Warwick*, *Oxon*, *Cheſter*, *Salop* and *Stafford*. 1. *Merchen-Lage.*

2. *WEST-Saxon-Lage*, or the Law of the *Weſt-Saxons*, which was in uſe in the Counties of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, *Berks*, *Southampton*, *Somerſet*, *Dorſet*, *Devon* and *Cornwal*; I mean that part of it which ſpoke *Engliſh*, the reſt being governed by their own (*i. e.*) the *Britiſh* Laws. 2. *Weſt-Saxon-Lage.*

3. *DANE-Lage*, or the Laws which the *Danes* introduced here into thoſe Counties where they chiefly fixed, *viz.* in thoſe of *York*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, *Leiceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Northampton*, *Bucks*, *Hertford*, *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, *Suffolk* and *Cambridg*. 3. *Dane-Lage.*

BUT as for *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland*, I ſuppoſe they are omitted in this Catalogue, becauſe in the Times not long before the Conqueſt, the firſt was under the Power of the *Scots*, and conſequently under their Laws, as the two latter were under that of their own Earls, who ruled thoſe Counties as *Feudatary* Princes under the Kings of *England*; tho thus much is certain, that the *Daniſh* Laws took Place there as well as in *Yorkſhire*.

BUT after King *Edward* the *Confeſſor* came to the Crown, he reduced the whole Kingdom under one General; for thus ſays *Ranulph Higden*,

as he is cited by Sir *Henry Spelman* in his Gloſſary, *Tit. Lex. Ex tribus his Legibus, Sanctus* Edwardus *unam Legem Communem edidit, quas Leges Sancti* Edwardi *uſque hodie vocant. Brompton* ſays the like, *Iſte Supradictus Rex Sanct.* Ed. Conf. *dictus eſt* Edwardus *Tertius, qui Leges Communes* Anglorum *Genti tempore ſuo ordinavit; quia proantè Leges nimìs partiales editæ fuerant.* But *Roger Hoveden* carries them up higher in his Hiſtory of *Henry* the *Second*, for he ſays, *Quod iſtæ Leges primùm inventæ & inſtitutæ erant tempore* Edgari *Avi ſui; ſed poſtquam* Edwardus *venit ad Regnum, Conſilio Baronum* Angliæ, *Legem per* 48. *Annos ſopitam excitavit, excitatam reparavit, reparatam decoravit, decoratam confirmavit; confirmata verò vocata eſt Lex* Edwardi *Regis, non quià ipſe invenisſet eam prius, ſed cum prætermiſſa fuerat, & Oblivioni penitùs data è Diebus Avi ſui* Edgari, *qui primus Inventor ejus fuiſſe dicitur uſq; ad ſua tempora, quià juſta & honeſta erant, è profundo Abyſſo extraxit, & eam revocavit, & ut ſuam obſervandam tradidit.* But the true Reaſon why it is called the Common Law, is, becauſe it is the Common or Municipal Law of this Kingdom; ſo that *Lex Communis*, or *Jus Patriæ*, is all one with *Lex Patriæ*, or *Jus Patrium*: and it is alſo called the Common law in other Countries, as *Lex Communis* Norica, Burgundica, Lombardica, *&c.* And from this latter they were ſo called by *William* the *Firſt*, in his Confirmation of them.

HAVING now given you the Original of our Laws in General, we will next proceed to ſhew you what they were in particular, as far as they concern thoſe two great Branches of all Municipal Laws, *viz.* the Civil or the Criminal: The former of which concerns Lands and Goods, and the latter the Nature and Puniſhments of Criminal Offences.

The Civil Laws.

TO begin with the former as far as it concerns Lands, I ſhall ſatisfy my ſelf with what Dr. *Brady* hath with great Induſtry and Exactneſs extracted in the firſt part of his *Compleat Hiſtory of* England, out of thoſe Learned Authors you will find there cited in the Margin, which is as follows.

Dr. *Brady's Compleat Hiſt.* Fol. 66, 67.

" Mr. *Somner* ſays, there were but two ſorts of Tenures here in the " *Saxon* times before the Conqueſt; [1.] *Bocland* and *Folkland*, to which " two all other ſorts of Land might be reduced. *Bocland*, as [2.] *Lam-* " *bard* ſays, was Free and Hereditary, and was a Poſſeſſion by Writing, " the other without. That by Writing was poſſeſſed by the Free or " Nobler ſort; that without, called *Folkland*, was holden by paying " Annual Rent, or performance of Services, and was poſſeſſed by the " Rural People, *Ruſticks*, *Colons* or *Clowns*; in thoſe Times theſe " Writings [3.] were called in Latin, *Libelli Terrarum*, *Landboc's* and " *Telligraphia*, and Livery and Seizin was then made and given, by [4.] " delivery of a Turf taken from the Land with the Writings: This " was called *Terra Teſtamentalis, & hereditaria*, *Land Inheritable*, and " deviſable by Will, unleſs the firſt Purchaſer or Acquirer, by Writing " or Witneſs, had prohibited it; and then it could not be ſold or diſ- " poſed of from the [5.] neareſt *Kindred.* This *Bocland* was of the " ſame Nature with *Allodium* in *Doomſday*, holden without any Pai- " ments, nor chargeable with Services to any Lord or Seignory; and " though the Name was almoſt quite loſt, yet the thing remained un- " der the Name of *Allodium*, and the Lands poſſeſſed by the *Allodiarii* " frequently mentioned in *Doomſday.*

Gavelkind, Fol. 11.

[1.] *K.* Edw. Sen. cap. 11.

[2.] Gloſſ. in verbo Terrâ ex Scripto. *Bocland* and *Folkland*, what?

[3.] Spelm. Concil. Fol. 310. An. 800. Concil. Cloveſho. C. 2, 3, 6.

[4.] Somner. ut ſup. pag. 12, 13.

[5.] LL. *Alured.* Cap. 37. *Bocland* and *Allodium.*

I have been the more exact in putting down this Paſſage, becauſe it plainly proves, from the learned Doctor's own ſhewing, that if the greateſt part of the Lands before the Conqueſt, held by Men of any Quality, were *Bocland*, and that this *Bocland* was the ſame (as he grants) with Lands held in *Allodio*; (and I have already proved that ſuch Lands were held without any Paiments or Services, other than ſuch publick Taxes as were impoſed by the *Great Council* of the Kingdom, that is, *Danegelt*, with ſuch other Duties as all Lands whatſoever were liable to:) then is it alſo as evident that theſe Lands, which were far the greateſt part of the Lands in the Kingdom, were not held by Knight's Service, and conſequently their Owners could not be Tenants *in Capite*, as this Author is pleaſed in other Places to ſuppoſe; and therefore theſe Tenants in *Allodio* could never be ſo repreſented by ſuch Military Perſons, as that they alone could either make Laws for them, or lay Taxes on their Eſtates, without their Conſents either by themſelves or Repreſentatives in the Great Councils or Parliaments of thoſe Times; and therefore ſuch free Tenants muſt have either appeared for themſelves in Perſon, or have choſen others to repreſent them. *Compl. Hiſt.* pag. 66, 67.

AND if any Man doubt whether theſe Lands held in *Allodio*, were before the Conqueſt the greateſt part of the Lands of the Kingdom; I muſt refer them for their Satisfaction to Mr. *Somner's* and Mr. *Taylor's* Treatiſes upon *Gavelkind*, as alſo to Mr. *Lambard's* Diſcourſe of the Cuſtoms of *Kent*, at the end of his *Perambulation* of that County; who there fully prove, that the Antient *Bocland* deſcending to all the Male Iſſue alike, was not meer *Socage* Tenure, but *Allodial*. 2*dly*, That this was the general Tenure of all Lands not held by Knights Service before the Conqueſt, (as well *Gavelkind* as others) and that not only at the Common Law, but confirmed by divers *Saxon* Kings; as by that Law of King *Edmund*, *Si quis inteſtatus obierit, Liberi ejus hæreditatem æqualiter dividant*: So likewiſe by the 68*th* and 75*th* Laws of King *Cnute*, as alſo by thoſe of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, confirmed by *William* the *Conqueror*, Cap. 36. And therefore Mr. *Somner* in his ſaid Treatiſe of *Gavelkind*, farther proves, that this was a Liberty left to the *Kentiſh* Men by *William* the *Conqueror*, when all the reſt of *England* changed its Antient Tenure; and Mr. *Taylor* in his Hiſtory of *Gavelkind*, Chap. 6, 7, 8. hath proved this to have been a general Cuſtom, not only in *Kent*, but in *Wales* and ſeveral parts of *England*. Pag. 603.

I ſhall not any further purſue what the Doctor has ſaid of Lands holden by Military Service before the Conqueſt, or of the *Herriots* or *Reliefs* that were due upon them, which were payable out of the *Feudal* Lands of the Ealdormen, middle and leſs *Thanes*; but ſhall refer you to the Laws of King *Cnute*, and thoſe of the *Confeſſor*, the former of which you will find at the end of his Reign in the enſuing Volume, wherein is ſet down what the Heirs of each of thoſe *Feudatary* Tenants were to pay to their Lords at the Death of their Anceſtors.

BUT that theſe could not be near all the Lands of *England*, appears by what hath been already ſaid of Lands held in *Allodio*. And I have known ſome Learned Antiquaries, who have not without good Cauſe believed that all Tenure by Knight-Service in *England*, was derived from the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, who upon their Conqueſts and ſettling here, firſt brought in that ſort of Tenure out of *Denmark* and *Norway*; from whence the *Engliſh Saxon* Kings might by Degrees impoſe it upon ſe-

veral

veral Lands by them granted to their Ealdormen or Earls, and chief *Thanes*, by Military or Knights Service, who likewiſe granted them to their inferiour *Thanes* under the like Tenures; and yet it would have been very unreaſonable that ſuch inferior *Thanes* ſhould have ſo far been deprived of their antient *Engliſh* Freedom, as that the Earls and King's *Thanes* ſhould have it in their Power to make what Laws, and impoſe what Taxes they pleaſed upon them as their under Tenants, without their Conſent.

AND if meer Tenure alone could have done this, I would fain know why the *Engliſh* Kings before the Conqueſt, by the ſame reaſon might not as well have made Laws, and taxed their Tenants *in Capite* without their Conſent, as theſe could have done their Tenants that held under them? But this is altogether falſe in Matter of Fact, as all the Hiſtories of thoſe Times ſhew; *Danegelt* it ſelf being firſt impoſed by the Conſent of the King and his *Wites*, as appears by the *Saxon Annals*.

Anno 994.

NOT but that I grant all the Lands of *England* were then held under thoſe three great Services called in Latin *Trinoda Neceſſitas*, viz. 1. Expedition (that is, the finding of Men to defend the Kingdom in caſe of Invaſion.) 2. The Repair of Bridges; and, 3. Fortifying of Caſtles; from which even Lands granted to the Church were not exempted, as appears by the Charters to ſeveral Monaſteries. But theſe were Services due, and to be performed by the Common Law and Cuſtom of the Kingdom, and did not concern one ſort of Tenure more than another.

I have no more to obſerve concerning this *Bocland*, but that it paſſed by Deed, called by *Ingulphus*, *Chirographa*, until the *Confeſſor*'s time, and was confirmed by the Subſcriptions of the *Fideles*, or Subjects there preſent, with golden Croſſes, and ſome other holy Marks; only this methinks ought not to be paſſed over, that the Ceremony of Livery or Seizin of Lands is very antient, as appears by the Charter of *Ceadwalla*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons* (preſerved among the Evidences belonging to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*) in the Year DCLXXXVII. made to *Theodore* then Arch-biſhop of that See, of certain Lands with this Subſcription, *Ad cumulum autèm Confirmationis, ego* Cedwalla *Ceſpitem terræ prædictæ ſuper ſanctum Altare Salvatoris poſui, & propriâ manu, pro ignorantia Literarum, ſignum ſanctæ Crucis expreſſi & ſubſcripſi*: that is, "For the farther Confirmation thereof, I *Ceadwalla* have put this ſaid "Turf of Earth upon the holy Altar, and for want of Learning, have "with my own Hand made and ſubſcribed the Sign of the holy Croſs. The like alſo hath *Camden* out of a Patent made by *Withered* King of *Kent*, to a Nunnery in the Iſle of *Thanet*. So much for *Bocland*.

Ingulph. Hiſt. fol. 508.

Vid. Camd. Brit. in Cantio.

CONTRARY to which was that called *Folkland*, which Sir *Henry Spelman* ſays, was *Terra popularis, ſcilicet, quæ jure communi poſſidetur, vel ſine ſcripto*; that is, Land belonging to the ordinary ſort of People, which they enjoyed of common Right, without any Writings or Deeds, as we ſee in Copy-hold Lands at this day, for which the Tenants have ſeldom any other Evidences than the Copy of the Court-Rolls of the Mannor; which Copy-hold Lands were antiently either held by *Sockmen* (that is, Free-men holding by the Plow) to perform mean and villain Services, or elſe by thoſe who were Villains appendant to the Mannor.

Folkland.

Spelm. Gloſſ. tit. Folkland.

THESE

THESE might be ouſted of their ſmall Eſtates at the Will of the Lord, which a Farmer could not be ſo long as he honeſtly performed his Services; and theſe were they, who after the Conqueſt were called Tenants in *Antient Demeſne*, either of the King, or of ſome other Lord, as you will find in the old *Natura Breviam*. *Tenants in Antient Demeſne.* Cap. Breve de Recto.

OF the like ſort alſo, as Dr. *Brady* very well informs us, " were " Lands and Poſſeſſions mentioned by other Names in our *Saxon* Laws, " as *Gaſſolland*, *Rent-Land*, or *Farm-Land*, *Fœdus Alured*, and *Guthr.* " c. 2. *Gafogyldenhus*, an Houſe yielding or paying Rent, or Gable. " *LL. Inæ*, c. 6. There are alſo mentioned *Inland*, or the *Lords De-* " *meſnes*, which he kept in his own Hands, and *Neatland*, which is " called *Utland*, or *Outland*, in * *Byrthric's* Will; *Terra Villanorum*, " and was let out to Country-men, or Villagers, *Ægder of Thegnes in-* " *landge*, of *Neatland*, *i. e.* either of the Lords or *Thanes* Inland, or " Demeſnes, or elſe the Country-mans, *Villagers*, or *Villan's* Land, " *Gafolland*, *Neatland*, and *Utland*, as † Mr. *Somner* truly informs us, " were oppoſed to *Inland*, or Demeſne-Lands, and were Lands granted " out for Rent, or Service, or both, and reducible to *Folkland*; and 'tis " very probable they were the ſame, or of the ſame Nature; for that " in the Laws where they are mentioned, it appears they were always " occupied by *Ceorls*, *Churles*, *Country-men*, *Colons* or *Clowns*; by *Ge-* " *bures*, *Boors*, *Ruſtics*, *Plough*, or Husbandmen; or by *Neates*, and " *Geneates*, *Drudges*, *Villanes*, or *Villagers*. Theſe three *Saxon* words " being almoſt of the ſame Signification, tho very different in Sound, " were always applied to the ordinary ſort of People, called by us *Folk* " at this day. Thus far the Doctor, which I will not contradict, tho he here makes all *Ceorles Men* to have been meer Drudges, which was not ſo, ſince thoſe that held Land by *Socage*-Services, were as *free* as to all things elſe from the Power of their Lords, as our Tenants are at this day. *Saxon Tenures.* *Inland.* Utland or Outland. * Lamb. Peramb. Kent, p. 495. † Gavelk. p. 14, 115. *The Names of ordinary People.*

BUT I deſire by the way, that this may not be unobſerved, that I can no where find the word *Colonus* uſed for a Husbandman or Clown, in any of our antient *Saxon* Laws, tho Sir *Henry Spelman* gives us ſome Examples of the uſe of it in the *German* Laws, there ſignifying *Liberi Eccleſiaſtici*, *quos* Colonos *vocant*, and the King had alſo his *Coloni*; but this learned Author ſuppoſes that theſe *Coloni* anſwered our *Sockmen*, who were certainly Freemen and not Villains. Nor did *Villanus* ſignify a Villain, but a Country-man or Villager in general, till after the Conqueſt; and then it was not from the *Latin* but *French* Idiom, that a Villain came to ſignify a Slave or Drudg. Spelm. Gloſſ. in verb.

HAVING now given you what I thought fit to ſay concerning the ſeveral Tenures, and ways of Conveyance of Lands in the *Saxon* Times, I ſhall proceed in the next place to diſcourſe ſomewhat of the manner of the diſpoſing of their Goods and Perſonal Eſtates, which they might do either by Deed or laſt Will in Writing, as at this day: But if they happened at any time to die inteſtate, then their Goods were equally divided between the Wife and Children of the Deceaſed; tho by a Law of King *Edmund*, the Relict, or Widow, was to have half her Husband's Goods, yet by the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, it was declared, that *in caſe any one died Inteſtate, then the Children were equally to divide the Goods*; which I take to be underſtood with a *Salvo* of the

Wife's Dower or Portion. As yet therefore the Ordinaries had nothing to do with the Adminiſtration, for *Goods* paſſed by Deſcent as well as Lands, and upon this Cuſtom the Writ *de Rationabili parte Bonorum* was grounded at the Common Law, as well for the Children as the Wife's Part, according as by the Body of the Writ may appear.

F.N.B. p. 122.

* *The Original of Eccleſiaſt. Juriſdict. of Teſtaments, ſet out by Dr.* Littleton, *ſol.* 5.

† Peramb. Cant. *p.* 548.

THE antienteſt Will that Mr. * *Selden* ſays he hath obſerved before the Conqueſt, is, one of King *Edgar*'s time, which Mr. *Lambard* † has given us in his *Perambulation* of *Kent*, and that is of one *Brithric*, a Gentleman, or *Thane*, and his Wife *Elſwithe*, wherein they deviſed both their Lands and Goods, and alſo gave his chief Lord and the Lady his Wife ſeveral noble Legacies to prevail with him that his Will might ſtand good. By which it ſhould ſeem the Lands bequeathed were *Feudal* Lands (held by Knights Service) which could not be alienated without the Lord's Conſent. But Mr. *Selden* there further takes notice, "That the Protection or Execution of this Teſtament, as well as "the Probate, were within the Juriſdiction of the Lord's Court; and "that eſpecially becauſe divers *Lords of Mannors* have to this day the "Probate of Teſtaments by Cuſtom continued, againſt that which is "otherwiſe regularly ſettled in the Church.

Selden ut ſup. fol. 15, 16. cap. 1.

BUT as for Inteſtates *Goods*, he ſays, "The Diſpoſition or Adminiſtration of them was in the *Saxon* times in the chief Lord of him that "died, in caſe the Inteſtate were an immediate Tenant, and died at "home in Peace: But in caſe he were no Tenant, or died in his Lord's "Army, then it was (it ſeems) as other Inheritance, under the Juriſdiction of that Temporal Court within whoſe Territory the Goods "were. This may be proved out of the Laws of that Time, which "ordain, that upon the Death of an Inteſtate, whom they call

* Canuti Leg. cap. 68.

"*CWIALE AWE*, the Lord * is only to have the *Heriots* due to him,

† Ejuſdem Leg. cap. 68.

"which are alſo appointed by † the Laws of the ſame time, that *by his* (the Lord's) *Advice or Judgment, his* (the Inteſtate's) *Goods be divided among his Wife and Children, and the next of kin, according as to every one of them of right belongs*; that is, according to the nearneſs "of Kindred, if no Children, or Nephews from them be: for it muſt, "I ſuppoſe, be underſtood, that the Succeſſion was ſuch, that the "Children excluded all their Kindred, and of their Kindred the next

|| De Moribus Germanorum.

"ſucceeded, according to that in *Tacitus* || of his *Germans*, whoſe "Cuſtoms were doubtleſs mixed with our *Engliſh-Saxons*; *Hæredes*, "ſays he, *ſucceſſoréſq; ſint cuiq; liberi, & nullum Teſtamentum.* But it "ſeems Chriſtianity afterwards brought in the free Power of making "Teſtaments amongſt them, *Si liberi non ſunt, proximus gradus in poſſeſſione, Fratres, Patrui, Avunculi.*

* Canut. Legibus, cap. 75.

"BUT this is expreſs'd only in caſe the Tenant died at home, and "in Peace; for if he died in his Lord's * Army, both the Heriot "was forgiven, and the Inheritance both of Goods and Lands was to "be divided *as it ought*, which was, it ſeems, by the Juriſdiction of the "*Temporal Court*, within whoſe Territory the Death (*of the Inteſtate*) "or Goods were; for in that caſe, it is not ſaid, that the Lord's Judgment was to be uſed, but that the Heirs ſhould divide all; or, as the

† Leg. Edw. Confeſſ. cap. de Heretochiis.

"words in the *Confeſſor*'s Law are, *habeant* † *Hæredes ejus pecuniam & terram ejus ſine aliqua Diminutione, & rectè dividant inter ſe*; where the "Right of the Heir both to Lands and Goods is expreſly deſigned, but "the Judg that ſhould give it them, not mentioned. Therefore it ſeems,

"it

" it remained as other Parts of the Common Law, under the Tem-
" poral Jurisdiction, as by the * Civil Law it was under the *Prætors*.
Thus far this learned and great Author.

* F. S Instit. de bonorum possessione.

FROM whence we may make this Note, that the Probate of Wills was a Matter of Civil Cognizance before the Conquest, and for some time after, till, the Canon Law being more generally received in *England*, the Bishops Courts took this Power to themselves, supposed by Mr. *Selden*, in his *6th* Chapter of his said Treatise, to be about the time of *Henry* the *Second*.

Criminal part of the English Saxon Laws.

WE shall now, in the last place, go on to the *Criminal* part of the *English-Saxon* Laws, *viz.* the manner of Trial, Judgment and Execution pass'd and inflicted on Offenders in those Times.

All Trials in Court-Leets, Sheriffs-turn, or County-Courts.

ALL Trials for Criminal Matters were then either in the *Court-Leets*, the *Sheriffs-turn*, or the *County-Courts*, in which last the greater Offenders were commonly tried, and that most antiently by Witnesses and Juries, as at this day: for we find in the *Mirror of Justices*, that King *Alfred* commanded one of his Justices to be put to death for passing Sentence upon a *Verdict* corruptly obtained, upon the Votes of the *Jurors*, whereof three of the *Twelve* were in the Negative. And the same King put another of his Justices to death for passing Sentence of Death upon an *Ignoramus* return'd by the Jury.

Mirror, Cap. 5. Sect. 1.

The Number of Jury-men to be Twelve.

BUT the first Law we read of that defined the Number of *Jury-men* to be *Twelve*, was that of *Ætheldred* I. above two hundred Years before the Conquest, which says, *In singulis Centuriis*, &c. in *English* thus, *In every Century or Hundred, let there be a Court, and let Twelve Antient Freemen, together with the Lord of the Hundred, be sworn that they will not condemn the Innocent, nor acquit the Guilty.*

LL. Sax. Lamb.

Grand Jury.

BUT whether there were any such thing as a Grand Jury or Inquest, we do not particularly find, only we may reasonably conclude there was, because in the same *Mirror* we read that a Justice suffered Death for passing Sentence only upon the *Coroner*'s Record; and another Justice had the same Punishment for condemning one without any preceding *Appeal* or *Indictment*.

YET the first time that we find any mention of a Jury by Mens Peers or Equals, is in the Agreement between *Alfred* and *Guthrune* the Dane, in these words in *English*, *viz.* " That if a Lord or a Baron
" be accused of Homicide, he shall be acquitted by twelve Lords; but
" if of inferiour Rank, he shall be acquitted by eleven of his Equals,
" and one Lord.

K. Alured. Concil. Brit. fol. 492.

Ordeal, what, and what the Trial.

BUT in Cases very doubtful, and where there was not sufficient Evidence by Witnesses, but only strong Presumptions of Guilt, in the times after King *Alfred*, Trials by *Ordeal* came in, which *Somner* in his Glossary says was derived from *Or* a Negative, or *Privative*, and *Dal*, which signifies *Distinction*, or *Difference*, that is, without any Distinction or Difference, and imports a just, impartial Judgment: it was of two sorts, by *Fire* or *Water*; by *Fire*, when the Person accused carried in his bare Hand a red-hot Iron some few steps; which, if it weighed but one Pound, was called single *Ordeal*, and so double, or treble, according to the Pounds the Iron weighed: or when he walked *bare-foot*, and *blindfold*, over and between certain red-hot Plow-shares, placed at a stated distance; if in doing this the Party was burnt, he was pronounced Guilty;

Somn. Glossar. in verbo Ordeal.

Guilty; if not, he was accounted Innocent. *Water-Ordeal* was either when they caſt the accuſed into Water, and if they did ſwim, were adjudged Guilty; if they ſunk, Innocent: or elſe their Hands and Arms were put ſometimes up to the Wriſt, ſometimes up to the Elbow in *boiling-hot* Water; if they were ſcalded, they were eſteemed Guilty; if not, Innocent. The Noble and Freemen were tried by *Fire-Ordeal*, the Peaſants and Servants by *Water Ordeal*.

LL. Longob. lib. 1. tit. 9. c. 39. Glanv. lib. 14. cap. 1. in fine.

A great Example of the former you will find towards the latter end of the ſixth Book, concerning the putting of Queen *Emma*, Mother of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, to this *Fire-Ordeal* by Plow-ſhares, upon ſuſpicion of *Incontinency* with *Ailwyn* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: but indeed this Story is very improbable for ſeveral reaſons; for firſt, the Crime ſhe ſtood accuſed of could be no more than ſimple Fornication, which was then as well as now within the Cognizance of the Church, and for which no higher Puniſhment than the common Penance was inflicted. And further, we find this Queen to have fallen into the King's Diſpleaſure in the firſt or ſecond Year of his Reign, and being not long after reſtored to his Favour, we do not read ſhe was ever after queſtioned: and as for *Robert*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, who is ſaid to have been one of her chief Proſecutors, it is certain he was not conſecrated to that See till about ſeven or eight Years after. Beſides all which, Biſhop * *Godwin* in his Account of this Arch-biſhop, further proves from *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *William* of *Malmesbury*, that Biſhop *Ailwin* was dead *Anno* 1047, a Year before ever *Robert* was made Arch-biſhop; and therefore this learned Author does wholly deny the reality of this Story. But to return again to our *Ordeal*.

Fol. 79.

Set the Hiſt. Anno 1042.

* De Præſul. p. 89, 90.

THE firſt mention made thereof as we meet with, was at the Council of *Mentz*, and afterwards in the Council of *Triers*; but we have no Foot-ſtep thereof in our *Engliſh* Laws, till it was brought into this Nation by the Council of *Berkhamſtead*, under *Bertwald* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Anno* 647; and it after became inſerted into thoſe of King *Athelſtan*, tho it was certainly in uſe before that time.

LL. Æthelſt. Can. 23.

I have little more to add concerning this way of Trial by *Ordeal*, but that it was under the Government of the Clergy, who never permitted it to be put in Execution but when they were preſent. And ſometimes it was performed with the great Solemnity of receiving the *Holy Euchariſt*, eſpecially if the ſuſpected Perſon was of their Order and Function; and if the Party was caſt, he was to ſuffer as Guilty.

THIS way of Trial by *Ordeal* continued long after the Conqueſt, but at laſt it was forbid by the Pope's Decree; and we have now no Remainders of it left, unleſs it be in the Country Peoples trying of Witches, who being tied with their Thumbs and Toes together, and ſo flung into the Water, if they ſink, are accounted Innocent: if they ſwim, Guilty: but indeed if this *Ordeal*, either by Fire or Water, was performed by the help of the Devil, one would wonder it ſhould ever be introduced, eſpecially with ſuch ſolemn Prayers and Preparations, as you may find in *Lambard*'s Explications of *Law-terms*, and in *Matthew Parker* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* his *Antiquities of the Britiſh Church*. And on the other ſide, if it was aſſiſted by a Divine Power, it is as wonderful how it came to be forbid by the Pope, as wholly unlawful.

Vita Roberti Archiep.

BUT

BUT beſides theſe ways of Trial abovementioned, upon more ſlight Suſpicions, our *Engliſh Saxon* Anceſtors were uſed to content themſelves with a *Voyer dire*, or the Oath of the Party ſuſpected, and the concurring Teſtimony of other Men; the firſt atteſting his own Innocency, the other atteſting their own Conſciences for the Truth of the former Teſtimony; and therefore were, and ſtill are called *Compurgators*. Their number was more or leſs, and of greater or leſs Value, according as the Offence, or the Party ſuſpected was of greater or leſs Concernment.

AND as for the way of Trial by *ſingle Combat* or *Duel*, tho ſome Writers ſuppoſe it to have been in uſe before the Conqueſt, yet ſince I meet with no mention of it either in our Hiſtorians or Laws, I ſhall defer diſcourſing of it till I come to the next Volume.

HAVING now diſpatched this Head concerning Trials, I'll proceed to the Judgments and Penalties that were inflicted on Perſons for ſeveral Offences. And firſt I ſhall conſider thoſe againſt Almighty God, as Sacrilege, which you will find upon the firſt introducing of Chriſtianity to have been appointed by the Pope, as alſo by the Laws of King *Egbert*, either in making ſatisfaction of nine times the Value, or in caſe of Inability, to pay that Sum in Stripes; for not then, nor long after was it puniſhable with Death: for *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, that *Theodered*, the good Biſhop of *London*, in the Reign of King *Athelſtan*, fell ſhort of one thing, *viz.* That he cauſed certain Thieves to be hanged, who had robbed St. *Edmands* Church in *Suffolk*, and were there held by ſome inviſible Power, inſomuch that they could not go away with what they had ſtolen, but were all taken and executed accordingly; for which piece of Severity he was much blamed. *Sacrilege.* De Geſtis Pontificum, l. 1.

THE next Offence was *Working upon Sundays*, which by the Laws of King *Ina*, was puniſhable by *Fine*, if the Criminal were a *Freeman*; and by *Whipping* if he were a *Bond-Servant*. *Sabbath-breaking.*

BUT as for *Blaſphemy*, *Curſing* or *Swearing*, either they were Crimes the *Saxons* were not guilty of, or elſe they inflicted no Puniſhments on thoſe who were culpable of them; for I find no mention of them in the *Saxon* Laws.

AS for the Offences againſt both God and Man, I will firſt begin with *Adultery* and *Fornication*, and theſe were Capital amongſt the *Saxons*: for by the Laws of *Withred* King of *Kent*, if a Military Man ſhould (after that Council was ended, deſpiſing the King's Law, and the Judicial Sentence of the Biſhop's Excommunication) be taken in Adultery, he ſhould pay to his Lord an hundred Shillings. But afterwards by the Laws of King *Cnute*, a Wife found guilty of Adultery, ſhould have her Noſe and Ears cut off, and the Man was Fined or Baniſhed: and by thoſe of King *Alfred*, "the Man convicted of Adultery with another's Wife, "ſhould pay to the Husband ſo abuſed, a Fine ſutable to the Eſtate and ". Quality of him that was ſo injured. *Adultery and Fornication.*

THE higheſt Offence againſt Man alone was Treaſon, and the Puniſhment for this Offence I find ſet down in the 4*th* Law of K. *Alfred* to this effect, *viz.* "That if any one by himſelf, or any other Perſon ſhould attempt "againſt the King's Life, he ſhould loſe his Life and Goods; or in "caſe he will purge himſelf, he was to do it according to the Valuation of "the King's Head. But in this the King had no greater a Prerogative *Treaſon.*

than divers other of his Subjects; for the ſame Law doth inform us, "That it ordained in all Judgments concerning other Men, whether "Noble or Ignoble, whoſoever ſhould Conſpire againſt his Lord, ſhould "loſe both his Life and Eſtate, or elſe pay the Valuation of his Lord's "Head.

Coining and Clipping. I come next to the *Coining* and *Clipping* of Money, which was not originally ſuch an Offence as was puniſh'd by Death; for the firſt Law that made it ſo was that of *Ethelred*, whereby it is left to the King's diſcretion, either to fine, or put to Death ſuch Merchants as imported falſe Money; and all *Port-Reeves* of Towns who ſhould be Acceſſary to it were made liable to the ſame: but for all this it was not even after the Conqueſt puniſhable by Death, but amputation of the Right Hand and Privy-Members.

Murder. AS for *Murder*, or killing a Man with Malice prepenſed, it was by the Preface to King *Alfred*'s Laws puniſhable by Death: And this and the former Law concerning *Treaſon*, will help us to interpret in what Caſes the *Wiregilds* or *Mulcts*, that we find ſo frequently mentioned in the *Saxon* Laws, were to be paid for the Life of a Man, and particularly that Law of King *Athelſtan*, which ſets the Rate of theſe *Wiregilds* according to the Quality of the Perſon ſlain, from the King to the Peaſant; that is, when the Party was Killed in ſome ſudden Fray or Quarrel without any Malice forethought.

Manſlaughter. THIS I take notice of, to obviate the Error of ſome who ſuppoſe, that all Murder, even of the King himſelf, was redeemable by Money, which was not allowed in any Caſes but thoſe we account Man-ſlaughter at this Day; and ſhews the Antiquity of that diſtinction between Man-ſlaughter and Murder, which is now almoſt peculiar to *England*, and aroſe at firſt from the Proneneſs of our Nation to Fewds and ſudden Quarrels; tho the like Cuſtom is alſo to be found in the Antient *Friſian* and *German* Laws, if you will take the Pains to conſult them. But as for *Maiming*, &c. Bloodſhed, Striking, Maiming, Wounding, Diſmembring, *&c.* they were all of them puniſhable by Mulcts or Fines, as you will ſee in the Laws of King *Alfred*, and other Places in this Volume.

Robbery and Burglary. I proceed in the next Place to Robbery and Burglary, which by the Laws of King *Ina*, were puniſhable by Death; only the Thief was admitted ſometimes to redeem it according to the Eſtimation of his Head, and that I ſuppoſe was left to the diſcretion of the Judg, either to deny or allow. But for all other leſs Thefts, they were redeemable by Fines. And the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, limited that Puniſhment of Death to Thefts of twelve Pence in value, or above.

Treſpaſſes. AND Treſpaſſes of a leſs Nature upon Lands and Goods, were to be puniſhed by the Criminal's making Satisfaction to the injured Party, and his paying a certain Fine beſides to the King; which by King *Alfred*'s Law was ſet at five Shillings; and in his Time other Actions were likewiſe uſed, ſuch as we call *Actions upon the Caſe*; and the Plaintiff not only recovered *Damages* for Treſpaſſes done to Poſſeſſions and Goods, but alſo *Coſts* for Injuries in Point of Scandal and Defamation, in caſe the Complainant ſpecially declare that he was thereby diſabled, or injured in his Preferment, and made Proof of the ſame, much like to the Forms of our Pleadings now.

Cap. 30.

Perjury. AS for *Perjury* which I have hitherto omitted, tho in ſtrict Method it ſhould have been mentioned before, as a Sin againſt both God and Man,

the

the *Saxons* were utterly Enemies to it, and puniſhed it with perpetual diſcredit of their Teſtimony, and ſometimes with Baniſhment, or with grievous *Fines* to the King, and *Mulcts* to the Judg. For that difference I find obſerved in thoſe Days between *Fines* and *Mulcts*, tho the more Antient Times uſed them for one and the ſame; for I often find *pars Mulctæ Regi*. In all theſe Matters where any Intereſt was veſted in the Crown, the King had the Prerogative of Pardon, yet always a Recompence was ſaved to the injured Party; beſides the Security of the Good-behaviour for Time to come, as the caſe required.

LL. *Æthelſt.* Cap. 12. LL. *Canuti*, c. 5. Spec. Sax. l. 3. Art. 53. LL. *Edw.* c. 18.

THESE *Mulcts* for all theſe *Offences* were ſet down in a Book, which was the Rule and Standard of the Judge's Sentence. And it is called in the Preface to the Laws of King *Edward*, the *Doom* or *Judgment-Book*; and Compoſition was to be made, and Satisfaction given, according to what was laid in this *Judicial* or *Doom-Book*.

Fines ſet and appointed by Law.

THIS ſhews that Fines were then ſet out and appointed by Law, and were proportioned not only according to Mens Offences, but Abilities of what they were able to pay; and were not in thoſe Times left to the Arbitrary Wills and Humours of the Judg, to ruin Mens Fortunes and Families, and impriſon their Perſons during Life, perhaps only for a ſmall Offence in a raſh Word, or unmalicious Deed.

I confeſs this Introduction is longer than I firſt intended it, but herein I hope the Reader will excuſe me, ſince I have preſented him with a true Scheme of the Antient *Engliſh-Saxon* Government and Laws, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, relating to the juſt Prerogatives of the King, as alſo to the true Rights and Liberties of the People: and this I have done for two Ends; firſt, to inform thoſe of our own Nation as well as Strangers, that this Government before the pretended Conqueſt, agreed in the moſt material parts of it with thoſe of the ſame *Gothick* Model all over *Europe*; and that if we do ſtill labour to preſerve our Antient Conſtitution, when moſt of our Neighbours have either loſt or given up theirs, I think we do deſerve Commendation, more eſpecially ſince both Prince and People may have found an equal Intereſt and Happineſs in it.

AND ſecondly, to ſhew, that neither the *Daniſh* nor *Norman* Invaſions, (called by ſome *Conqueſts*) have at all altered it in any of the Subſtantial parts of our Government or Laws, notwithſtanding what ſome Men have ſo ſtrenuouſly advanced to the contrary, out of what deſigns they themſelves beſt know.

AS for what I have here laid down, if any thing appears either new, or of ſuſpicious Credit, I deſire to be no farther believed, than the Reaſons and Authorities I have here produced will juſtify me; and therefore ſhall leave the Reader to make what Judgment he pleaſes of it, which if it doth not ſuit with mine, I ſhall not take it amiſs, ſince I am ſufficiently ſenſible how much Mens Opinions depend on their preſent Intereſt, Education, or Courſe of Life: and I cannot but obſerve, that there are a ſort of Men, whoſe Heads ſeem framed for ſuch a ſet of Notions rather than others, which make them that they cannot eaſily digeſt any thing that claſhes with them.

BUT I do not pretend to be infallible, or to propoſe my ſenſe as a Rule and Standard to all others; *Homo ſum, nihil humanum à me alienum puto*, as the Comick Poet hath long ſince well obſerved.

ONE

ONE thing indeed I think I may pretend to in this Undertaking, and that is *Integrity*; for I look upon it a much viler thing, either to falsify, or conceal part of an Authority that makes against one, and use only so much as shall serve a present Turn, than it is to *pick a Pocket:* and as it is of far more dangerous Consequence to the Publick, if not found out; I must say it is likewise more easily to be discovered, since every Man may, if he please, consult the Authors that such Writers make use of, and so detect the Fraud.

BUT for those who think they may differ from me in some things with good Reason and Authority, and will please by their learned Labours to give the World any better Information and Account of these Matters than I have done; I shall be so far from being displeased at them, that I shall upon full Satisfaction, readily own my self very much in their Debt, for making the World and me so much the Wiser: only I must desire to be treated as one, who, if I chance to be under any Error, am not so wilfully, nor (as I think) without great appearance of Reason and Authority on my side; since I call God to witness, that neither from a vain Ambition of Glory, nor prospect of any Temporal Advantage, nor design of gratifying any Party or Faction, have I wrote any thing that may disgust Men of different Principles and Notions.

AND I thank God for this great Blessing to us, that we live in a Time, when we may not only think or speak, but also safely write what we believe to be the Truth, to which all Mankind do owe Allegiance; and therefore I hope I never shall abuse that invaluable Liberty, to the Prejudice of the Government, or that excellent constituted Church, of which I own my self a Member, being fully satisfied that the main End of all our Writings, ought to be for the Honour of God, and the Common Good of Mankind.

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ERRATA.

In the Preface.

PAge 5. line 5. for *be would*, read *would be*. P. 17. l. 4. f. *Greſhams*, r. *Greſham*. Ibid. l. 45. del. *in*. P. 23. l. 3. f. *Ilcombil*, r. *Ilcombkil*. P. 23. l. 14. f. *that*, r. *whither*, ib. f. *never*, r. *ever*. P. 24. l. 15. f. *no*, r. *any*.

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PAge 31. line 17. for *longer*, read *long*. Ib. l. 18. f. *which*, r. *and*, ib. r. *enjoyed it*. P. 34. l. 27. del. *for a long time after*. P. 86. l. 13. del. the Comma's in the Margin, beginning at, *from whence you may obſerve*; and ending at, *well obſerves*. P. 89. l. 15. f. *word*, r. *words*. Ibid. l. 32. f. *upon*, r. *that*. Ib. del. *that*. P. 96. l. 29. f. *Longobardarum*, r. *Longobardorum*. P. 97. l. 2. f. *Cribtan*, r. *Cnihtan*, (i. e. *Knights*.) P. 105. l. 38. f. *conſiſt*, r. *reſide*.

ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA.

SINCE this Volume was printed off, coming to a more ſtrict View of the whole Work, than I could make when it was in looſe Sheets; I think fit to make ſome few Additions and Corrections, as in theſe following Particulars.

BOOK IV.

Pag. 195. The Conſecration of *Erkenwald* Biſhop of *London* being ſet down twice, *viz.* in the beginning of *Anno* 675. and again at the end of that Year, and was forgot to be ſtruck out in the Page above-mentioned, thoſe firſt three Lines and half, beginning at Line 23. may be ſtruck out; and that Relation referred to *p.* 196. at the end of the Year (where it is already) and you may read it in theſe words. *This Year alſo according to* Matth. *of* Weſtminſter *(for* Bede *does not give us the time when it was done)* Erkenwald *a younger Son to* Anna *King of the Eaſt Angles was by* Theodore *the Arch-biſhop conſecrated Biſhop of* London, *he being in great Reputation for the Sanctity of his Life, as having before he came to be a Biſhop*, &c. Read the reſt as in the Print.

P. 198. Queen *Etheldrithes* being twice married and never lain with, having been already mentioned, *p.* 193. you may ſtrike out part of three Lines in *p.* 198. beginning at Line 48. *at* who yet remained, and ending line 51. *with* but ſhe, and then read it thus: *Wife of King* Egfrid *above-mentioned; this Lady, tho twice married ſtill remaining a Virgin, died at laſt*, &c.

BOOK V.

Pag. 312. *line ult.* The Continuation of *Aſſer*'s Chronicle publiſhed by Dr. *Gale*, having put this Action of Prince *Ethelwald*'s, there mentioned under the Year 904. and *Florence* of *Worceſter* making him come as far as *Crecanford* (now *Crayford* in *Kent*); from the different Names of which Places, and Years, I ſuppoſed that this Action was not the ſame with that related in the Year 905. but upon better Conſideration I am now ſatisfied, that either *Florence*'s Copy of the *Annals*, or his Tranſcriber were miſtaken, and that *Crecanford* and *Bradenewood* mentioned by him under 905, and *Creccagelade* and *Bræden* ſet down in the Annals under the ſame Year, are both the ſame Places, ſetting aſide the difference of the Years; ſo that this is alſo but one and the ſame Action: and therefore I rather now chuſe to follow the printed Copies of the Saxon Annals, and place the whole under *Anno* 905. therefore you may ſtrike out the laſt Line of *pag.* 312. beginning at *after*, as alſo the four firſt Lines of *pag.* 313. ending with, *ſo returned home.*

P. 265. After the Reign of *Ethelwulf*, *Anno* 855. add this that follows. That about theſe Times the Scotiſh Kings held the Low-lands of *Scotland* as Tributaries to the Kings of *Northumberland*, take this Relation from *Leſſely* Biſhop of *Roſſe*'s Hiſtory of *Scotland*, in the Reign of King *Donald* V. where he tells us, that the *Picts* (who had been lately conquered and expelled *Scotland*) having hid themſelves in *Northumberland*, and the Neighbouring Countries, combined with the *Britains* and *Saxons* to recover their Liberties, who, being thus confederated, invaded *Scotland*; whereupon King *Donald* gathering together his Army met them near *Jetburgh*, and joining Battel with them put them to flight; with

with which Succeſs the King and his Men growing inſolent and ſecure, ſpent the Night following in Luxury and Drinking, without keeping any Guard, or obſerving Military Diſcipline; of which the Enemies (who it ſeems fled not far) gaining Intelligence, and laying hold of this Opportunity, ſet upon them about Midnight, and ſlew near 20000 *Scots*, being then (as it were) buried in Wine and Sleep; King *Donald* himſelf being alſo taken Priſoner, and to purchaſe his Liberty, was forced to give up all the Countries lying between the River *Cluyde* and *Sterling* to the *Britains* and *Saxons*, and farther obliged himſelf and his Succeſſors to the Annual Payment of a Sum of Money in Name of a Tribute: and that then in the ſixth Year of his unhappy Reign the *Engliſh-Saxons*, in Memory of this Victory, rebuilt the ruined Caſtle of *Sterling*, and fortified the Bridg of *Forth*, where they erected a Croſs of Stone as a Monument of their Victory, on which were engraven theſe barbarous Latine Verſes.

Anglos à Scotis *ſeparat Crux* iſta *remotis*,
Arma hic ſtant Bruti, *ſtant* Scoti *ſub hac Cruce tuti.*

BUT in the mean time the *Picts*, who were the Authors of this Scotiſh Slaughter, were ſo far from being thereby reſtored to their Country, that they were quite expell'd by the *Saxons* out of *Britain*.

THIS Relation *Hector Boetius* gives you much more prolix, and makes King *Osbern* who reigned in *Northumberland*, to have commanded the *Engliſh-Saxons* at the great Battle above-mentioned.

THE ſame Author likewiſe ſhews us in the Reign of K. *Gregory*, *Anno* 872. how the *Britains* came to be driven out of *Cumberland*, which they had till then enjoy'd, *viz.* That the *Britains* having by the Aſſiſtance of the *Danes*, expelled the *Scots* from divers *Territories*, endeavoured alſo by ſecret Treacheries to drive them yet further; but being ſurprized by K. *Gregory* were by him quite expelled *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, as a Puniſhment for having violated their Faith with him.

Pag. 313. *l.* 18. After *Eaſt-Angles*, add this. And *Bromton*'s Chronicle in this Year further adds, That *Ethelwald* having paſſed the *Thames* at *Crekelade* to *Brithenden*, and marched as far as *Brandenſtoke* (now *Bradenſtoke*) in *Wiltſhire*; ſo that as Mr. * *Camden* well obſerves, our Modern Hiſtorians have been much miſtaken, in making that Place to be *Baſingſtoke* in *Hampſhire*.

* Britan. Wiltſhire. *p.* 102.

BOOK VI.

Pag. 8. *l.* 1. You may ſtrike out the three remaining Lines after *Dunſtan*; for I am ſatisfied upon better Conſideration, that the Aſſertion therein contained is not true, as I have prov'd in the Introduction, *p.* 71, 72.

Pag. 12. *l.* 8. After the words *freely forgave him*, add this. That the *Low-lands* of *Scotland* continued under the Dominion of the Kings of *England* till the Reign of King *Edgar*, we have the expreſs Teſtimony of *John* of *Wallingford* Abbot of St. *Albans*, who wrote his Chronicle in the beginning of the Reign of King *Henry* the Third, and before ever the Diſpute concerning any Homage being due for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* was raiſed, which began not till the time of K. *Edward* the Firſt. This * Author thus relates it in the beginning of the Reign of King *Edgar*, *viz.* that about *Anno Dom.* 964, that King ſummoning the *Northumbrian* Barons (i. e. *Thanes*) to a Council at *York*, ordained divers things relating to the Publick Affairs of the Kingdom, among which he divided the Earldom of *Oſwulph* (Earl of *Northumberland* late deceaſed)

* P. 444, 445.

ceaſed) into two; for the King was not willing to beſtow ſo great a Part of the Kingdom on any as an Inheritance, leſt the *Northumbers* ſhould again aſpire to their antient Liberty; wherefore he beſtowed that Part of *Northumberland* lying between the *Humber* and the *Theys* upon Earl *Oſlac*, girding him with the Sword of that Earldom: But from *Theys* to *Mireferth* being the Sea-coaſt of *Deira*, he beſtowed upon Earl *Eadulf*, ſirnamed *Ethelwald*; and thus the two Kingdoms became two Earldoms, and ſo continued all the times of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings under their Gift and Juriſdiction; whilſt *Lothian* lying open to the Incurſions of the *Scots* was of no great concern to our Kings.

BUT *Keneth* K. of *Scotland* receiving a high Character of the Generoſity of K. *Edgar* from the two Earls above-mentioned, deſired the King's ſafe Conduct to come to *London* to viſit him, which being granted, the ſaid two Earls conducted him thither, where he was honourably received by K. *Edgar*, who often converſing friendly and familiarly with *Keneth*, he then repreſented to K. *Edgar*, that *Lothian* appertained to him as his Right, having been long poſſeſſed by the Kings of *Scotland* as their Inheritance: but the King not being willing to do any thing that he might afterwards repent of, referred the Determination of this Affair to his great Council; where the chief Men of the Kingdom would not aſſent to part with it, unleſs under a Homage to be yielded by the K. of *Scotland* to the K. of *England*; and that too only becauſe all Acceſs to that Country was very difficult, and its Government of little or no Profit: Whereupon K. *Keneth* aſſented to this Demand, and ſo received it under that Condition, did Homage for it accordingly, promiſing likewiſe many other things; as that the People ſhould ſtill remain under the Engliſh Name and Language, which continues to this day; and ſo the old Quarrel about *Lothian* was now happily determined, tho ſome new ones were often ſtarted. Thus the King of *Scots* became Feudatary to King *Edgar* on this occaſion; whence you may obſerve how the Scotiſh Nation became Maſters of *Lothian*, where *Edinburgh* the Capital City of the Kingdom is ſeated, and which City continued in the Hands of the Engliſh (as Mr. * *Camden* well obſerves from an antient Manuſcript he there cites) till the Reign of K. *Indulf*, *viz.* till about *Anno Dom.* 960.

* Vid. *Britan. Deſcript. of* Scotland.

You may add this to the Laws of King *Edgar* at the end of his Reign: *p.* 14. This King is alſo related by *William* of *Malmesbury* to have made a Law to reſtrain exceſſive drinking of great Draughts; by which Law it was ordained, that no Man under a great Penalty ſhould drink at one Draught below certain Pins that were ordered to be fixt within the ſides of the Cups or Goblets for that purpoſe.

Pag. 72. I confeſs I was ſo far miſled by the Authority of the *Saxon Annals* and *Matth. Weſtminſter*, as to believe that *Siward* mentioned under *Anno* 1043. had been conſecrated Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*; but being now ſatisfied of the contrary, and having given good Reaſons againſt it in the Introduction, *p.* 115, 116. that Relation of *William* of *Malmesbury* from theſe words, *l.* 20. of which Author, may be thus altered. *That tho he was deſigned Succeſſor to this Arch-biſhop, and to that end was conſecrated his* Corepiſcopus (i. e. *his Coadjutor*) *yet that notwithſtanding he was ſoon after depoſed for his Ingratitude, in defrauding the weak old Man of his neceſſary Maintenance.* But that this alſo was a miſtake in this Author, ſee the Introduction, *p.* 115, 116.

Thus much I thought fit to advertiſe the Reader, ſince I had rather confeſs my own involuntary Miſtakes, than put another to the trouble of ſhewing them to the World; but however, ſince I do not pretend to be infallible, if any Perſon of greater Skill in our Engliſh Hiſtories, will take the pains to ſhew the World any other Errors or Omiſſions I have been guilty of in this Work, I ſhall be ſo far from taking it ill, that for the publick Satisfaction, they ſhall be mended in the next Edition.

THE

THE General Hiſtory OF BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND:

As well Eccleſiaſtical, as Civil.

BOOK I.

From the Earlieſt Accounts of TIME, *to the Firſt Coming of* JULIUS CÆSAR.

SINCE I deſign (with God's Permiſſion) to write and digeſt the moſt Remarkable Things and Tranſactions that have occurred in this Kingdom from the earlieſt Accounts of Time, I ſhall follow Venerable *Bede*, as well as other Hiſtorians, in firſt giving a brief Deſcription of this Iſland.

Britain, the largeſt of all the *Europæan* Iſlands, (and one of the biggeſt in this Habitable Globe,) is ſcituate between 50 Degrees 16 Minutes, and 59 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, the whole Iſle lying in length from *Dunsby-Head*, the moſt Northerly Promontory of *Scotland*, to *Dover*, the ſpace of near Six hundred Miles; yet is the Climate more mild and temperate than could be expected in ſo Northerly a Scituation; the Winds from the Seas encompaſſing it on all ſides, ſo tempering the Air, that it is neither ſo cold in Winter, nor yet ſo hot in Summer, as the oppoſite Continents of *France*, *Germany*, and the *Low-Countries*; and alſo by the Indulgence of Heaven, as well as the Fertility of its Native Soil, it is plentifully furniſhed with all Things neceſſary for Human Life.

It was anciently called by the Greeks *Albion*, but whether from a Giant of that Name feigned to be the Son of *Neptune*, after the

Fabulous Humour of those Times, in giving Names to Countries from Giants and Heroes; or else from the Greek word Ἀλφὸν, which according to *Festus* signifies *White*; since, this Island is on many sides of it encompassed with Rocks of that Colour; or else from the Phœnician word *Alp*, which signifies *High*; or from *Albeu*, which in the Hebrew Tongue signifies *White*, is uncertain, and therefore needless to be insisted on too much.

As for the Name of *Britain*, which *Nennius* and divers other British Writers derive from *Brutus*, (whom they likewise call *Brito*;) but others of them from the British words *Pryd Cain*, i. e. *Forma candida*, a white Form; it seems too far fetch'd; and besides, we do not find that the Natives of this Isle ever called it *Britain*.

Introduct. to Britan. Mr. *Camden* derives it from the Welsh word *Brith*, which signifies *Painted*, (for the ancient *Britains* used to paint themselves of a pale blewish Colour with *Glastum*, or *Woad*;) and Τανία, which in Greek signifies a *Region*, or *Country*. But this Etymology has this Inconvenience in it, that it is derived from too far different Languages; and besides it seems very improbable, that such an Accidental Custom as that of painting their Bodies, should give a Name to the whole Island, as well as its Inhabitants. Nor does this word, *Brith*, signifie in the Welsh Tongue, *Painted*, but rather *Spotted* with divers Colours; whereas the ancient *Britains*, as some write, did not paint themselves with various Colours, but only stained their Bodies with one simple Colour, *viz.* Blue. We must therefore endeavour to derive it from some other Language, if it was not the *Britains* themselves, but other Nations (as is most probable) that first called this Island *Britain*. Now it is certain, that there is no Word in the Greek Tongue from whence Βρεττανία can well be derived, which Name only the more modern Greek Historians have given this Island; for thô * *Strabo* in his Geography calls it Βρεττανικὴ, yet since this word is an Adjective, it is plain that Νῆσος, i. e. *Insula*, an Island, is to be understood: So that it seems the word Βρεττανικὴ must be more ancient than Βρεττανία, and therefore Mr. *Camden*'s derivation of it will scarcely hold good: Yet *Ptolomy* never calls this Island Βρεττανία, but Ἀλλίων, for when he speaks of all the Islands lying together in these Seas towards the North, he calls them Βρεττανικαὶ Νῆσοι, or Αἱ Βρεττανικαὶ Νῆσοι; i. e. *Insulæ Britannicæ*, the British Islands. And * *Pliny* in his Natural History speaking of all these Islands, says, *Albion ipsi nomen fuit, cum Britannicæ vocarentur omnes*; *i. e.* The particular Name was *Albion*, but the Islands together were called *British*.

* *Lib. III. c. 2.*

* *Lib. II. c. 16.*

But Monsieur *Bochart*, in his most Learned Work, Entituled * *Chanaan*, where he Treats of the Colonies and Language of the *Phœnicians*, hath given us a more probable derivation of the Name of *Britain*, which he supposes to be derived from the *Phœnicians*, who in their Language called this Island (as well as some others near it) *Barat Anac*, or more contractedly *Bratanac*, *i. e.* in the Land or Country of Tin or Lead; which being thus given it by the *Phœnician* Mariners, that first sailed thither and discovered those Islands, might afterwards by the *Greeks* be mollified into Βρεττανικὴ, and Βρεττανία. Now, that the *Phœnicians* were the first that discovered those Isles, (which the *Græcians* called *Cassiterides*, (and which are proved by Mr. *Camden* to be no other than our *Scilly* Islands,) and from whence, as * *Strabo* tells us in his Geography, "The *Phœnicians* first brought Tin, which thô "they

* *Lib. I. c. 39.*

* *Lib. II. c. 2.*

" they vended to the Greeks, yet kept the Trade, as well as the " Place, private to themſelves, may be believed upon theſe Authorities: " * *Pliny* tells us, That *Midacritus* was the firſt who brought Lead from " the *Caſſiterides*. But Monſieur *Bochart* there ſhews us, That it ought to be read *Melicharius*, who was the *Phœnician Hercules* of *Sanchoniathon*, and to whom the *Phœnicians* attributed their firſt Weſtern Diſcoveries. * *Lib.VII c.38.*

Yet notwithſtanding the Care of the *Phœnitians* to conceal theſe Iſlands, the *Greeks* did at laſt diſcover them, (thô we cannot tell the certain time when,) giving them the Name of *Caſſiterides*, which ſignifies in the *Greek* Tongue, the ſame that *Barat-Anac* does in the *Phœnician*, viz. *The Land* or *Country of Tin*; which Name, thô given only to theſe Iſlands at firſt, was at laſt alſo communicated to the adjoyning Countries, now called *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire*; from whence alſo the *Phœnicians* might bring this Commodity; and ſo by degrees this Name came to be given to all thoſe Iſlands thus lying together; ſince in thoſe Times (as well as now) it is probable, there might be Mines of this Metal in *Britain* itſelf, as well as in thoſe ſmaller Iſlands above-mentioned: In ſome of which Mr. *Camden* tells us, there are found Veins of this Metal even unto this Day; and there might be far greater Mines of it in former Ages, thô long ſince worn out.

But it is Objected, That Mr. *Camden*, in his Introduction to his *Britannia*, hath poſitively aſſerted, that *Britain* was not known to the *Greeks*, and therefore its Name could not be derived from them, or the *Phœnicians*; and for Proof of this, he cites a Place out of the Third Book of *Polybius*'s Hiſtory, which we ſhall here render into Engliſh thus: " As for *Aſia* and *Lybia*, where they joyn to each " other about *Ethiopia*, none can ſay poſitively to this Day, " whether it be a Continent running to the South, or whether " it be encompaſſed by the Sea. So likewiſe what lies between *Ta-* " *nais* and *Narbon*, ſtretching Northward, is unknown to us at this " preſent, unleſs hereafter by diligent Enquiry we may learn ſome- " thing of it; they that ſpeak or write any thing of theſe Matters, " are to be thought to know nothing, and to lay down meer Fables.] By which Words *Polybius* only means, That as it was doubtful whether the Sea encompaſſed the South Parts of *Africa*, ſo it was unknown whether the North Parts of *Europe* about *Narbon* were likewiſe ſo encompaſſed; whereas Mr. *Camden* underſtands the Words as if they were ſpoken in general, when indeed they related only to that particular Queſtion, Whether the Northern Tracts of *Europe* were inviroined with the Sea or not, which notwithſtanding the great Improvement of Navigation ſtands unreſolv'd even unto this Day. But that *Polybius* writ not in this ſenſe, appears further, in that he himſelf deſcribes the Fountains of *Rhodanus* and *Ligeris*, with many other Places of *Gaul* which lie all above *Narbon*. But to put this paſt all Diſpute, in this very Third Book, *he promiſes particularly to write of the further or Weſtern Sea, as alſo of the Britanick Iſlands*, (for ſo he calls them,) *and of their manner of making Tin*: Which Promiſe of his required more than a Curſory Knowledge to perform: Since he ſays, *That the Trade into thoſe Seas was then very great*; now that he alſo performed this Promiſe, appears from * *Strabo* where *Polybius* is cited, as comparing the Opinions of *Pytheas*, *Dicæarchus*, and *Eratoſthenes*, concerning the Magnitude of *Britain*; but that theſe Iſlands were diſcovered by the * *Lib. II.*

Greeks long before *Polybius*'s time, appears also from *Herodotus*, who confesses, *he does not know the Islands Cassiterides, from whence Tin is brought*; (that is, he did not know them any otherwise than by Report;) and if these smaller Islands were then discovered, can any one believe, that so great an Island as *Britain*, which lay so near them, could remain undiscovered? But I have spoke enough, if not too much, of the Etymologies of the Names of this Island; since of all that may be counted Learning, nothing is more uncertain than this, nor is it often of any great use when known.

I shall therefore now proceed to somewhat more Solid and Useful, and try if we can discover who were the first Inhabitants of this Island; but since the Scriptures, as well as Prophane Histories, are silent in this Point, it is impossible to tell the Name of the Man who brought the first Colony hither; Only thus much seems probable, That *Europe* was Peopled by the Posterity of *Japhet*, either from one *Alanus*, (whom *Nennius* supposes to have been his Grandson,) or else from *Gomer* his Son, from whom Mr. *Camden* derives the Names of *Cimmerii* and *Cimbri*, whom he supposes to be one and the same Nation, and by whom the ancient *Gallia* was first Inhabited, and from whom he brings the present *Welsh*, called in their own Language *Cymri*, which, if true, nothing is more certain and easie to believe, than that this Island was first Inhabited (at least as to its more Southern Parts) from the Continent of *Gaul*, as is delivered by *Bede* in his first Chapter as a current Tradition in his Time; and Mr. *Camden* farther proves it out of *Cæsar*'s Commentaries: For tho' he there tells us, that the Inland Parts of *Britain* were Inhabited by those who called themselves the Natives; yet that the Maritime Parts were possessed by such, who to make War, and get Prey, had passed over from *Belgium* and *Gaul*, which were then called by the same Names as those People from whence they came. Which may be also proved from other Arguments, as their Affinity in Customs, Language and Religion, with those of *Gaul*, as they are there described by *Cæsar*, and also by other *Roman* Authors: Tho' *Tacitus*, in his Life of *Agricola*, does not wholly agree with *Cæsar* as to this Particular, for he there tells us, "That the "Northern Parts of *Britain* seem to have been Peopled by the *Ger-* "*mans*, as the Eastern Coasts by their opposite Neighbours the *Gauls*, "and the South Part by the *Iberi* or *Spaniards*: This he gathers from "the different Complexion of the People, the Northern *Britains* (says "he) are Fair, having large Limbs, and long yellow Hair like the "*Germans*; but the *Silures*, or Southern *Britains*, were Swarthy, and "had curled Hair like the *Spaniards*, whereas the Coast lying over- "against *Gaul* agreed in Language, Customs, and in every thing else "with the *Gauls*.

It was not from the Continent of *Gaul* alone, that this Island was first Inhabited, but also from *Ireland*, and the North Parts of *Germany*, or else from *Scandinavia*, now called *Sweden*; for *Bede* tells us in the First Chapter of his History, "That, after the *Britains*, the *Picts* came out "of *Scythia* in long Ships, and landed first in the North of *Ireland*; but "being there refused Habitation by the *Scots*, who then possessed that "Island, they were advised to plant themselves in the North part of "*Britain*, which they then thereupon performed; and when the *Picts*, "wanting Wives, desired the *Scots* to bestow some on them, they con-

"sented

"sented to it on this condition, That when there was any dispute about "the Succession to the Crown, they should rather chuse a King from the "*Feminine*, than *Masculine* Line of their former Kings, which is still ob- "serv'd (says he) among the *Picts* to this day.

Now that this Country, which *Bede* here calls *Scythia*, could be no other, than the more *Northern* Parts of *Germany*, or else *Gothia* (now called *Sweden*) at the farthest, seems highly probable, since the best Writers of the middle Ages do all agree, that these parts were in those times called by the general Name of *Scythia*. And you may see Authorities sufficient for this, cited by Arch-Bishop *Usher* in the 15th Chapter of his learned work, *De Antiquitate Britannicarum Ecclesiarum*, and by the reverend Dr. *Stillingfleet* (now Lord Bishop of *Worcester*) in his *Origines Britannicæ*; who allows *Hector Boethius* his Conjecture not to be be improbable, who derives them from the *Agathyrsi*, who came out of *Sarmatia* into the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, and from thence into *Scotland*. Cap. 5.

But that the *Scots* came into this *Island* many Ages after out of *Ireland* is also as certain, Since *Bede* tells us in the same place, that in process of "time *Britain* receiv'd a Third Nation, *viz.* of the *Scots*, besides the "*Britains* and *Picts*, which *Scots* going out of *Ireland* under the conduct "of one *Reuda*, took those *Territories* which they have among the *Picts*, "either by terms or agreement with them, from which *Reuda* even to this "day they are called *Dalreudini*, for *Dal* in their language signifies a share "or portion, which *Reuda* in what Age he lived and brought over this "Colony out of *Ireland*; since it hath bred a great dispute among our Modern *Antiquaries*, I shall not take upon me now to decide: But that the *Scots* came at first from *Ireland*, is acknowledged by *John Fordon*, and *John Major*, their two eldest Historians extant; the latter of whom tells us, "*That as yet*, that is, in his time, *almost half* Scotland *spoke the* Irish "*Tongue*, *which they had brought over with them from* Ireland.

To return to the matter in hand it is evident from *Bede*, that in his time, *God* was served in five several Languages in this Island, (*viz*) The *English*, the *British*, the *Scotish*, (or present *Irish*) the *Latin* (which they commonly used in Divine Service) and the *Pictish*; though what that Language was we cannot now tell; for the *Picts* being totally subdued by the *Scots*, and thereby incorporated into the body of that Nation, that Tongue is quite extinct; though if it had not been at least different in Dialect from that of the *Britains*, it seems improbable that *Bede*, who was so near a neighbour to them, should mention it as a distinct Tongue from all the rest. And yet notwithstanding by all the relicts we can now find of it in the Names of places in the *South* and *West* parts of *Scotland*, they are purely *British*, as Mr. *Camden* hath learnedly proved in his said Introduction, and therefore, since the name of *Pict* is indeed *Latin*, and signifies no more than painted Men, and that no *Roman* Author makes mention of them, before *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who lived about the end of the fourth Century, and is the first who calls the Inhabitants of the *Northern* parts of *Britain* by the name of *Picti*, distinguishing them into *Dicalidonii* (perhaps, it should be *Deucaldonii*) and *Vecturiones*, which the learned Dr. *Lloyd*, late Lord Bishop of St. *Asaph*, and now of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, in his Historical account of Church Goverment in *Britain*, probably enough derives from the *British Deucilyddion*, and *Gwithwrion*, that is *Southern Caledones*, or Borderers and *Northern* Men. It is probable that these *Picts* were no other than the remainder of those *Britains*,

Britains, who preſerved their Liberty by reſiſting the *Roman* Arms, and were at laſt divided from the *Roman Britains*, by a Wall, now called the *Picts* Wall, (the Veſtiges of which are to be ſeen to this Day) drawn between the mouths of the Rivers *Tine* and *Eske*, to hinder their farther Incurſions into thoſe parts which were then under the *Roman* Empire.

But having ſaid enough concerning this *Iſland* in general, together with its firſt Inhabitants and their Languages; It is now high time to come to our main deſign, the Hiſtory of that part of it, called at this day *England*, and which was in the *Romans* time divided into ſeveral Provinces or Governments, as *Britannia Prima*, *Secunda*, and *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, *&c.* they may be ſeen in the Antient *Notitia* of the *Roman Empire*. We muſt therefore in the firſt place ingenuouſly confeſs, that till the coming in of the *Romans*, there are no certain or Authentick Hiſtories remaining of any tranſactions before that time; for *Gildas*, who liv'd not long after the *Saxons* were firſt call'd into *Britain*, "freely owns, "*that as for* the *Antient monuments* of his Country, (whatever they were) "being either burnt by Enemies, or carried beyond Sea by his baniſh'd "*Country men, they were not then to be found*, therefore I ſhall wholly omit that fabulous Succeſſion of *Celtick* Kings, who are feigned to be derived from *Samothes*, one of the Sons of *Japhet*, whom they ſuppoſe to have planted Colonies firſt on the Continent of *Celtica* or *Gaul*, and next in this *Iſland*, and thence to have named it *Samothea*, ſince they never had any exiſtence, but in the brain of *Annius de Viterbo*, and by him vented in his counterfeit *Beroſus*, which is long ſince exploded by all that are any thing verſed in Antiquity.

But now I could heartily wiſh that we had any certain monuments of the Hiſtory of this Kingdom, which might juſtly ſupply their room; but having no Authentick accounts left us of the *Britiſh* Kings, that reigned in this Iſland till *Julius Cæſar*'s firſt Expedition hither, I could willingly have excuſed my ſelf from the drudgery of writing things ſo uncertain, nay in diverſe particulars utterly falſe, were it not that moſt Authors who have already writ our Hiſtory either in *Engliſh* or *Latin*, have thought thoſe long Succeſſions of Kings not unworthy a particular Recital, as ſuppoſing it ſcarce poſſible, that a deſcent of above Sixty Kings together, with ſo many tranſactions attended with ſuch particular Circumſtances, as the making of War and Peace, building of Cities and enacting Laws, ſhould be wholly Fabulous and Romantick, or that the names of ſo many ſucceſſive Princes ſhould never have been derived from any real Perſons.

For though it is true that *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* is look'd upon as the chief (if not only) Author of the Story of *Brutus* and his Succeſſours; yet it is certain that he pretends in the Proem to his Hiſtory, (which he dedicated to no leſs a Man than *Robert* Earle of *Glouceſter*, natural Son to K. *Hen. the I.*) that he received an antient *Britiſh* Hiſtory from *Walter*, Arch-Deacon of *Oxon*, which (as he ſays) he faithfully tranſlated out of the *Britiſh* Tongue into *Latin*, though *William Neobrigenſis*, (who lived ſome time after this *Geoffrey*) in the very beginning of his Hiſtory writes thus of him, "*In theſe our days* (*ſays he*) *a certain Writer is riſen*, who hath "deviſed many fooliſh Fictions of the *Britains*, he is named *Geoffrey*: "And a little after, thus, *with how* little ſhame, and with what great "Confidence doth he frame his Lyes! So that you may ſee his Hiſtory began to be cryed out againſt almoſt as ſoon as it was publiſhed. And

yet

yet for all this, it is certain, that *Geoffrey* was not the first Author of this Story of *Brutus*; for *Nennius*, who lived in the 8th Century (and is also Intituled *Gildas* in some Copies) in his History makes the Isle of *Britain* to be first inhabited by one *Brito*, the Son of *Hisicion*, the Son of *Japhet*, or else from one *Brutus*, (it seems he did not know which) whose Pedegree he "derives from *Æneas* by his Son *Ascanius*, and who (as he "supposes) reigned in *Britain* in the time that *Eli* Judged *Israel*, and "under whose *Conduct* the *Britains* in the third Age of the World first "came into this Island; which Calculation falls out right enough with our at present received Chronology: But as for *Sigebertus Gemblacensis*, a *French* Monk, (who lived about Twenty Years before *Geoffrey*) tho' in some Editions he speaks of *Brute* with his *Trojans* arrival in *Gaul*, and of his passage from thence into *Britain*, yet it is certain they are none of that Author's words, there being no such thing to be found in the truest Edition of his Chronicle, published by *Mirræus*. *An.* 1608. as the above cited Lord Bishop of *Coventry*, and *Litchfield*, in his learned Preface to his Historical account of Church Government in great *Britain* and *Ireland*, hath fully proved. But after him *Henry* Arch-Deacon of *Huntington*, an Author of Credit (who lived at the same time with *Geoffrey*) ascribes the first habitation of this Island to *Brutus*, the Son of *Sylvius*, Grandson to *Æneas*; whom together with his certain *Trojans* he supposes to have come into *Britain* in the third Age of the World, as the *Scots* did in the fourth into *Ireland*, which he seems to have taken out of *Nennius*, or some other ancient Author: But this must still be confest, that the whole relation of the Actions of *Brutus*, and the Succession of all the Princes that followed him, do all depend upon the Credit of *Geoffrey* and the truth of his translaction, and so was looked upon in the Age in which he published his History: But to make this *Brute* to be a *Trojan*, and to give him a *Genealogy*, which is plainly contradicted by all the *Roman* Authors, is that for which his History ought to be condemned: Yet thus much may be said in Excuse of him, and of all those Authors who have ascribed the Origine of the *Britains* to *Brute*, that they have imitated the Vanity of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, who derived their Kings from some *God* or *Heroe*. And have been followed in it not only by the *Britains*, but the *French* and almost all other Nations of *Europe*, since they began to write Histories of their Originals.

Cap. 2. 3, 4.

But since it is fit that we should give you some account (though as short as possible) of this *Brute* and his Successors, I shall contract their History from *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* into as narrow a Compass as I can.

Brutus, who is suppos'd to have first Peopled *Britain* with Inhabitants of the *Trojan* Race, is said to have been the Great Grandson of *Æneas*, by his Son *Ascanius*, who killing his Father *Sylvius*, King of *Alba*, accidently with an Arrow, was forced to fly his Country, and going into *Greece* joyned himself with the remainder of those scattered *Trojans* he found there, and becoming their Leader, made War upon *Pandrasus*, the King of that Country, to whom he sent this Message, *viz.* "That the *Trojans* holding it unworthy "their Ancestors to serve in a Foreign Kingdom, had retreated to the "Woods; choosing rather a Savage, than a slavish Life; if that dis-"pleased him, then with his leave they might depart to some other "Soile. The particulars of which being tedious and fabulous, are here needless further to be inserted. But at last that King being by them made a Prisoner, was forced to accept of terms of Peace, the Articles of which

which were, That *Brute* ſhould Marry *Inogena* the King's Daughter, and in Conſideration of her Dower ſhould have a Fleet given him, with Liberty to tranſport all ſuch as would be willing to follow his Fortunes: The Marriage being thereupon ſolemnized, *Brute* and his *Trojans* with a great Fleet betook themſelves to Sea, and within a ſhort time landed on a deſerted Iſland, where they found a ruin'd City, in which was a Temple, and an Image of *Diana*, that gave Oracles; whereupon *Brutus* conſulting with his Diviner and Twelve other of the Ancients, was adviſed to invoke the Goddeſs to tell him, in what Land or Region he ſhould find a place to ſettle in, and accordingly as we find it in *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, he is ſaid to Adreſs her thus,

Diva potens Nemorum, terror Sylveſtribus apris,
Cui licet anfractus ire per æthereos,
Infernaſque domos: Terreſtria Jura reſolve,
Et dic, quas terras nos habitare velis.
Dic certam ſedem, quâ te veneremur in ævum,
Quâ tibi Virgineis Templa dicabo Choris.

Thus excellently well tranſlated by the Learned Mr. *Milton.*

Goddeſs of Shades, and Huntreſs who at will
Walk'ſt on the rouling Sphere, and through the deep,
On thy third Reign the Earth look now, and tell
What Land, what Seat of reſt thou bidſt me ſeek,
What certain Seat, where I may worſhip thee
For ay, with Temples vow'd, and Virgin Quires.

Whereupon the Goddeſs returned this following Anſwer.

Brute ſub Occaſum ſolis trans Gallica regna
Inſula in Oetano eſt undique cincta Mari.
Inſula in Oceano eſt, habitata Gigantibus olim,
Nunc deſerta quidem, Gentibus apta tuis.
Hanc pete, namque tibi ſedes erit illa perennis;
Hæc fiet natis altera Troja tuis
Hic de prole tua Reges naſcentur, & illis
Totius Terræ ſubditus Orbis erit.

Rendred thus,

Brutus, far to the *Weſt*, in th' Ocean wide
Beyond the Realm of *Gaul*, a Land there lies,
Sea-Girt it lies, where Giants dwelt of old,
Now void, it fits thy People, thither bend
Thy Courſe, there ſhalt thou find a laſting Seat,
There to thy Sons another *Troy* ſhall riſe,
And *Kings* be born of thee, whoſe dreaded Might
Shall awe the World, and Conquer Nations bold.

But

But these Verses being in *Latin*, when there was no such Language spoke in the World, sufficiently betray the modernes of the invention: So that were it no more to please, then instruct, I should not have inserted them here.

And now *Brute* being guided, as he thought by a Divine Conduct, Sails again towards the *West*, and Landing in *Italy* meets with some other *Trojans* who had come thither with *Antenor*, many of whom he takes along with him, together with one *Corinæus* their Chief. With this recruit *Brute* puts again to Sea, and passing the Pillars of *Hercules*, at the mouth of *Ligeris* in *Aquitania* casts Anchor, where they were set upon by one *Goffarius* a *Pictish* King of that Country, now called *Poictou*, with whom having several Battles, *Brute* at last Conquered and Expell'd him his Kingdom, but he soliciting the other Kings of *Gaul* to his assistance; *Brute* thereupon finding himself too weak for so great a force, called a Council, where 'twas resolved, that since this was not the Land promised them by the Oracle, they should again put to Sea: So embarking all their Forces, after a few days Sail they arrived at *Albion*, and Landed at a Haven, now called *Totnesse* in *Devonshire*. The time of which enterprize is supposed to be about 1200 Years after the *Flood*, and about 66. Years after the Destruction of *Troy*; if any certain time can be assigned for so uncertain a relation.

But *Brute* having at length (through many dangers and difficulties) attained this long wish'd for Island, Lands his *Trojans*, and marches up into the Country to take possession of it, which he found in great part desart, or Inhabited only by some Gyants; these he quickly destroys and to his People divides the Land, which in allusion to his own Name he called *Britain*. On *Corinæus Cornwall*, (as we now call it) was bestowed: But here I omit as a Fable, only fit to be told Children, how this Hero, though no Gyant himself, yet took up the mighty Gyant *Gogmagog* in his Arms, and flung him off from a Cliff into the Sea, from whence the place hath been ever since called *Langoemagog*, that is to say, the Gyant's Leap.

After *Brute* had thus conquer'd the Island, he chose a fit place to build a City, which he called *Troja Nova*; (for it seems he spoke Latin though it were not then used in *Italy*) which Cities Name was changed in time to *Trinobantum*, or *Troynovant*, after to *London*: This he made the Seat of his *Kingdom*, (*Eli* being then High Priest in *Judea*), where he enacted several Laws, and having reign'd here Fifteen Years, he divided his Kingdom among his Three Sons; *Locrinus* the Eldest had that part called *Loegria* now *England*: *Camber* the second possessed *Cambria*, now *Wales*. And *Albanactus*, *Albania*, now *Scotland*; but he some time after being invaded by one *Humber* King of the *Huns*, was slain in Fight, and his People driven back into *Loegria*, whereupon King *Locrinus* and his Brother *Camber* march'd against this *Humber*, who fighting with them, and being overcome, and drown'd in a River, left his Name to it. I designedly omit the long story of the Lady *Estrildis*, whom *Locrinus* then taking Prisoner he fell in Love with, and privately enjoy'd, and would have Married, had it not been for fear of *Corinæus*, whose Daughter *Gwendolin*, he had already betroathed; but no sooner was *Corinæus* dead, but he owned *Estrildis* for his Queen, which so incensed *Gwendolin*, that although *Locrinus* was strengthened by the addition of *Cambria* upon the Death of his Brother; yet she goes into *Cornwall*, and by powerful sollicitations in the

behalf of her ſelf and her young Son *Madan*, the *Corniſh* are brought to aſſiſt her: With theſe Forces, ſhe marched againſt *Locrinus*, and in a pitch'd Battle nigh the River *Stour* he was overcome, and Slain, in the 20th Year of his Reign, upon this (juſt as ſhe would have it) the Kingdom fell to her Son

Madan, the Son of *Loctinus* by *Gwendolin*, although a Child, yet ſucceeded his Father, but under the Regency of the *Queen* his Mother, who out of Revenge, drown'd *Eſtrildis* and her Daughter *Sabra* in a River, which from her was called *Sabrina*, in *Engliſh Severne*; *Gwendolin*, her Son coming to full Age, reſigned her Power, and retired into *Cornwall*, after ſhe had Govern'd Fifteen Years: But *Madan* having had the fame of Ruling well for the ſpace of Forty Years in all, left behind him two Sons, *Mempritius* and *Manlius*; *Mempritius* the Eldeſt Son of *Madan* is ſuppoſed to have ruled over the whole Iſland, but *Manlius* his Younger Brother rebelling againſt him, he deſired a treaty with him, who giving his Brother a meeting, he treacherouſly murdered him, and now having put an end to that trouble, giving himſelf up to Luxury and Cruelty, and at laſt to unnatural Luſt, hunting in a Forreſt was devoured by Wolves; to whom ſucceeded *Ebrank* his Son, who was a Man of mighty Strength and Stature; he went after *Brutus* waſted *Gaul*, and returning rich and proſperous, built *Caerbranc*, now *York*, and in *Albania*, the Town of *Mount Agned*, now *Edinburgh*. He is ſaid to have had Twenty Wives, and by them Twenty Sons and Thirty Daughters, which (as our Author relates) were ſent under the Conduct of their Brother to *Sylvius Alba* then King of *Italy* to be provided with Husbands, becauſe he had heard that the *Sabines* would not give their Daughters in Marriage to the *Latins*, which is ſo very ridiculous that it needs no Confutation. This Prince dying, after he had reign'd about Forty Years, left the Kingdom to *Brute*, Sir-named *Greenſhield* from the colour of his Target; he revenged thoſe Indignities, which had been put upon his Father by *Brunchild*, Prince of *Hannonia* or *Hainault* Conquering him near the banks of the *Scaldis*, i. e. the *Scheld*, but the modern names of *Hainault*, and *Brunchild* ſufficiently betray the Novelty of this *Fable*: He hath the Character of an Excellent Prince, Juſt, Merciful, and a moſt exact obſerver of his Word; and reigned Twelve Years, to whom ſucceeded

Leil his Son, who built the City of *Carliſle*, (in the Days of *Solomon*,) after called by the *Romans Luguballa*, and did alſo repair *Caerleon*, now called *Cheſter*; he was a good Prince till the latter end of his days, when falling into ſeveral Vices, he occaſioned great diſſentions in the Kingdom, which did not end with his life, but after he had reigned Twenty five Years, left the Kingdom to

Rudhudibras or *Hudibras*, who compos'd the diſturbances begun in his Fathers days, and, ſtudying nothing more than to ſtrengthen and adorn his Kingdom, built ſeveral Cities, as *Caerkin* now *Canterbury*; likewiſe *Caer Guent*, now *Wincheſter*; as alſo Mount *Paladur*, after *Septonia* or *Shaftsbury*, and having reigned Twenty nine Years, was ſucceeded by,

Bladud his Son, who is ſaid to have been skill'd in Magick, and thereby to have found out thoſe Medicinal Waters, now called the *Bath*, where he alſo built a City, called *Caer Baden*; he is ſaid to be a Man of a good Invention, and having made himſelf Wings to flye, fell down from the Temple of *Apollo* in *Trinovant*, and broke his Neck, having governed *Britain* Twenty Years. To him ſucceeded

Leir

Leir his Son who built *Caer Leir*, now called *Leiceſter*: He had only Three Daughters, *Gonnilla*, *Regana*, and *Cordiella* his darling: but in his old Age, being jealous of their Affections, he called them before him, and demanded, that they would give him ſome aſſurance of their Love; the two Eldeſt called Heaven and Earth to witneſs, that they loved him Ten thouſand times dearer than their own Souls, and that they were not able to Expreſs their infinite kindneſs for him; and at laſt concluded their flatteries with horrid Oaths and aſſeverations of their Sincerity; but *Cordiella*, the Youngeſt, though having before her Eyes the preſent reward of an eaſie flattery, yet could not be moved from giving him this downright honeſt Anſwer: Father (ſaith ſhe) my Love toward you, is as my Duty bids, What ſhould a Father ſeek? What can a Child promiſe more? They who pretend beyond this flatter: This ſhort Anſwer not at all ſatisfied the old ſuſpicious *King*; for he ſhewed his reſentments by his neglect of her, and the ſuddain advancement of her Siſters, Marrying *Regana* to the *Duke* of *Cornwall*, and *Gonarilla* to the *Duke* of *Albania*; reſerving no portion at all for *Cordiella*, but it ſo happen'd, that *Aganippus* a Prince of *Gaul* (however he came by this *Greek* Name) hearing of her Vertue and Beauty deſired her in Marriage, to whom ſhe was welcome without any other Dower, but her own Vertues. King *Leir* having thus diſpoſed of his two Eldeſt Daughters, and dividing half his Kingdom between them, they within ſome time by their ſubtile practices work him out of all; ſo that he was forced to ſojourn with his Daughters by turns, who being ſet on by their Husbands, put ſo many affronts and Indignities upon him (needleſs here to be recited) that in the end he was conſtrained to leave the Realm, and take refuge with *Cordiella*. This rejected Daughter received him with all the Duty and Affection imaginable; and then appeared the difference between the down-right Love of ſome Children to their Parents, and the over talkative obſequiouſneſs of others, while the hopes of a large Inheritance obliges their Tongues to Expreſs more Duty than ever they mean to perform; but what was more ſignificant than Words, ſhe aſſiſted her Father with powerful aids, and in Perſon went to revenge his wrongs: So that bringing a great Army into *Britain*, ſhe deſtroyed his Enemies, and reſtored him to his Crown, which he held but for the ſpace of Two Years, whoſe Reign in all is computed to be about Forty Years, and then dying left the Throne to *Cordilla*, who Governed the Kingdom for Five Years; but in the mean time her Husband *Aganippus* dying; *Morgan* and *Cunedage* her Nephews, by her Siſters *Gonorilla* and *Regana*, diſdaining to be under the Government of a Woman, rebelled againſt her; and ſo prevailed, that they took her Priſoner; but ſhe being a Woman of a high Spirit ſlew her ſelf, rather than to live under their Tyranny.

Whereupon *Cunedage* and *Morgan* poſſeſſing the whole Government, divided the Iſland between them; to *Morgan* fell *Albania*, to *Cunedage* all the Land on this ſide *Humber*; *Morgan* not being content with his Portion Invaded his Brother, but being driven by him into *Wales*, and there Slain, gave the Name of *Glan-Morgan* to that Country: *Cunedage* now Ruling alone built many Temples to his Gods, and dying, was buried at *Trinovant*; after he had Ruled Thirty three Years, to whom ſucceeded

Rivallo the Son of *Cunedage*; in his time it rain'd Blood for Three Days together, from whoſe Putrefaction, Noiſom and Venemous Flies were bred; which in Swarms infeſted the whole Land, and brought great Contagion both upon Men and Beaſts. He, after he had Ruled Forty ſix Years, was ſucceeded by

Gurguſt his Son, of whom nothing is recorded worth mentioning; he is ſaid to have Reign'd Thirty ſeven Years: Nor is there more left of *Jago* his Nephew,

Nor yet of *Sillius*, or *Sicillius*, thô how related to the former is not ſaid: But to him, after Forty nine Years Reign, ſucceeded

Kinemare, ſaid to be Brother of *Jago*, of whom there is nothing Recorded, but that he was Buried at *York*: To whom ſucceeded

Gorlodug, the Son of *Kinemare*, he is noted for Tyranny: But dying, he left behind him two Sons

Ferrex, and *Porrex*, who Reigning joyntly at firſt, did within a few Years begin to contend, who ſhould have the whole Kingdom; in which Contention, after a great Battle Fought between them, *Ferrex* was Slain, whoſe Death affected his Mother with ſo great a Grief, that tranſported by Revenge, ſhe by the help of her Maidens, Slew her other Son *Porrex* whilſt he was a Sleep; an unheard of Example, and too ſtrange to be true.

After his Death, the Blood Royal of *Brute* being extinguiſhed by his Death, there happned cruel Wars, ſo that the Kingdom was rent into five parts; one *Pinnor* made himſelf King of *Loegria* or *England*: *Stator* ſeized *Albania*; *Rudock Cambria*, and *Cloten Cornwall*: But as to the fifth diviſion, the Story is ſilent; this *Pentarchie* is ſuppoſed to have laſted above Fifty Years, the Kingdom in the mean time being miſerably harraſſed by Civil Wars, until

Dunwallo Molmutius, Son of *Cloten* King of *Cornwall*, excelling in Valour and Comlineſs of Perſon, by ſubduing the other four Princes, reduced the whole Iſland again into a Monarchy, and is ſaid to be the *Firſt in* Britain *that wore a Crown of Gold*; *and therefore by ſome reputed the firſt King*: But what he got by Force he managed with great Prudence and Moderation; Enacting ſeveral excellent Laws, which *Geoffrey* ſays were tranſlated into *Latin* by *Gildas*; and in *Saxon* afterwards by King *Alfred*. But ſince no ſuch work of his is any where extant, I ſhall not give them ſo much Credit as to recite them; though Mr. *Selden* hath not thought them unworthy of a place in his learned Treatiſe; called, *Janus, Anglorum*. But this King, after he had governed Forty Years, died, and was buried at *Trinovant*, to whom ſucceeded his two Sons

Belinus and *Brennus*, who after ſome Controverſies, divided the Kingdom between them, *Brennus* being to have all that lay *North* of *Humber*, and *Belinus* the reſt; but the Younger being not long ſo contented, did upon new deſigns Sail into *Norway*, and enter into a League with *Elfing* King of that Country, and Married his Daughter, which *Belinus* hearing of, did in his abſence diſpoſſeſs him of his Kingdom; *Brennus* with a Fleet of *Norwegians* makes toward *Britain*, but is encounter'd by *Guithlac*, a *Daniſh* King, who laying claim to his Bride purſued him at Sea, and being there vanquiſh'd in a Fight, was forced to get away with a few Ships; but *Brennus* nevertheleſs recollecting his ſhattered Navy, landed in *Albania*, and gave Battle to his Brother, who totally routed him and forced him to fly into *Gaul*, with no more than one ſingle Veſſel.

But

But *Belinus* being now rid of his Brother, turns his Thoughts to Arts of Peace, and amongſt other things they reckon his making the Four great Ways or Streets, which are ſtill to be ſeen, to run croſs the Kingdom, which they will have him, and not the *Romans*, to have firſt laid.

Brennus in the mean while having been kindly received by *Seguinus* King of *Armorica*, now *Britagn* in *France*, and having Married his Daughter, was by him aſſiſted with a powerful Army to regain his Kingdom, and Landing in *Britain*, was now ready to give Battel to his Brother; when their Mother *Conwenna* mediated between them, and ſo perſwaded them, that embracing each other they were perfectly reconciled; ſo that going to *Trinovant*, they reſolved to turn their united Forces on Foreign Parts, and then Sailing into *Gaul*, the Author tells us, that under theſe two, not only all that Country, but alſo *Italy*, was Conquered, as you may find in the *Roman* Authors. If thoſe were *Britains* and not *Gauls* which took *Rome*, which is not worth our while to Diſpute: Some ſay, that *Belinus* went not into *Gaul* with his Brother, or if he did that he ſoon returned. After which he made it his Buſineſs to adorn his Kingdom, Building ſome Cities, of which *Caer-Uske*, now *Caer-Leon* upon *Uske* was one; and he alſo adorn'd *Trinovant* with a Gate called to this Day *Belin*'s Gate, having a Tower on the Top of it; at the Foot of which he made a Harbour for Ships: He is alſo ſaid to be the firſt Founder of the Tower of *London*. After he had Reigned Twenty-ſix Years died, and his Body being burnt on a Funeral Pile, his Aſhes were put in a golden Urn, and placed on the Top of the Tower that he himſelf had Built.

Gurguint, Sirnamed *Brabtruc*; his Son, ſucceeded him, in whoſe Reign the *Danes* refuſed the Payment of the Tribute, which had bin impoſed by *Belinus*, when their King *Guithlac*, being driven by force of Weather upon the Coaſt of *Northumberland*, was made a Priſoner, nor could be ſet free, without an Engagement to pay Tribute for himſelf and Succeſſors, which being now denied, *Gurguint* ~~now~~ Sailed into *Denmark*, and by force of Arms obliged the *Danes* to renew their Treaty, and received Homage of their King and Chief Nobility, and then Embarqued again for *Britain*: In his return he met with a Fleet of Thirty Sail about the Iſle of *Orkeney*, theſe he encountred, and having taken their Captain *Bartholain*, he demanded of him what he was, and the Reaſon of his coming into thoſe Parts; *Bartholain* anſwered, that he and his Followers were named *Balences*, being baniſhed from *Spain* (their Country) with their Wives and Children, and thereupon had put to Sea to ſeek out new Habitations, whereupon it is ſaid this King aſſigned them *Ireland*, being a Place not then Peopled. This King is ſuppoſed to have Built *Caer-Werith* or *Lancaſter*, *Caer-Peris* or *Portcheſter* in *Hampſhire*, and *Caer-Gaurvie* now *Warwick*, where he was buried, after he had Reigned Nineteen Years; to whom ſucceeded

Guintelin his Son, he was a Prince Learned, Prudent, and of ſingular Juſtice and Moderation; he is ſaid to have had a Wife of as great Vertue, named *Martia*, to whom *Geoffrey* falſly Attributes the making of the Laws called *Merceuenlage*, which was indeed ſo called not from her, but but from the *Mercians*, by whoſe Kings they were firſt enacted. This King is alſo ſaid to have Reigned Twenty-ſix Years, and was ſucceeded by

Sicilius

Sicilius the II. his Son, being about Seven Years of Age, but under the Government of his Mother *Martia*, he is ſuppoſed to have Reign'd Fifteen Years, Seven under the Tuition of his Mother, and Eight after his full Age; and having given all the Signs of a hopeful Prince, he was ſuddenly ſnatched away by Death, and then the Crown fell to

Kimarus the Son of *Sicilius*; but he being of a wild and ungovernable Temper, and wholly given up to all manner of Exorbitances, was killed in the Woods, in purſuit after his Game, ſome ſay by an Ambuſh, others by wild Beaſts: He Reigned but three Years, then

Elanius, or *Danius* his Brother ſucceeded. This King was not Inferior to his Predeceſſor in Wickedneſs of Life, inſomuch, that ſome make them the ſame Perſon, ſo exactly did theſe two Princes correſpond in their Vices. He held the Scepter about Ten Years; then ſucceeded his Son

Morvidus, or *Morindus* (by a Concubine) a Man of great Strength and Comelineſs; as to the Qualities of his Mind, he was Liberal, but withal exceeding Paſſionate: In his Days the *Moriani*, or rather *Morini*, a People of *Gaul*, Landing in *Northumberland* with Fire and Sword waſted that Country, which *Morindus* hearing of, with all Expedition gathered his Forces, and with long and wearifom Marches made up to them, and in one Battel utterly defeated them, and then put all the Priſoners to Death with exquiſite Torments; but not long after hearing of an hideous Monſter, which, coming out of the *Iriſh* Sea, ſeized and devoured many that lived near the Shore. The King beholding the lamentable Deſtruction of his Subjects, fought the Monſter himſelf: the Conteſt held for a while doubtful, but at laſt the Monſter prevailed and devoured the King. This is ſaid to have happened in the Ninth Year of his Reign, to whom ſucceeded

Gorbonian his eldeſt Son, a religious Prince, which he evidenced to the World by repairing decay'd Temples, and erecting new ones in ſeveral Places in his Dominions: He is ſaid to have built *Grantham* in *Lincolnſhire*, and ſome ſay *Cambridge*, antiently called *Caer-Grant* and *Grant Cheſter*. He Reigned Ten Years, and was ſucceeded by his Brother

Archigallo, the Second Son of *Morindus*; he endeavoured to depreſs the Nobility, by depriving them of all Power and Command, and preferring Mean and unworthy Men, and by taking away Men's Eſtates to enrich his own Treaſure; all which Oppreſſions the Nobility of the Kingdom not being any longer to bear, they roſe up in Arms, and depoſing him, placed

Elidure his Brother in the Throne; he was called by his Subjects *Elidure the Pious*; for as he went on Hunting one Day in the Wood *Calater*, in the midſt of the Foreſt he met with his Brother *Archigallo*, and being ſtruck with Pity of his Misfortunes, he ſecretly conveyed him Home to his own Houſe at the City of *Alchluid*, where feigning himſelf ſick, he aſſembled all the Nobles of his Realm, and there partly by Perſwaſions, partly by Commands, he engaged them again to receive his Brother *Archigallo* for their Sovereign; and afterwards calling a general Aſſembly of his People at *York*, he there publickly reſigned his Crown, and taking it off his own Head, placed it on his Brother's, after he had Reigned Three Years.

Archigallo being thus Reſtored, by his wiſe and ſober Deportment regained the Affections of his People; for he diſcarded his former Favourites,

rites, and adhered to the prudent Advice of his Nobility, and Reigning to the general Liking of his Subjects for the ſpace of Ten Years, died and was buried at *Caer-brank*, or *York*.

Elidure, after the Death of his Brother, became once more King of *Britain*, and ſo with much Honour and Reputation, received the ſecond time the Crown, but was ſoon depoſed by the Ambition of his Brethren, *Vigenius* and *Peridurus*, after One Year's Government; when being ſeized by them, and his Perſon confined to the Tower of *London*, they divided the Kingdom between them; *Peridurus* took *Albania*, and *Vigenius* all the Country on this ſide *Humber* for his ſhare.

Vigenius dying after he had Reigned Seven Years, the whole Kingdom devolved to *Peridurus* who managed it with great Moderation and Juſtice, and having governed Nine Years died, then *Elidure* again reſumed the Crown, being delivered out of Priſon by his Subjects, and after he had Reigned Four Years to the general Satisfaction of all Men, then dying, was ſucceeded by his Nephew or Grandſon, the Son of *Gorbonian*, who is called

Regin by *Mat.* of *Weſtminſter*, though not named particularly by *Geoffrey*; He was a worthy Prince, and Reigned with the general Approbation of all his People, to whom ſucceeded

Morgan, or *Margan*, the Son of *Argigallo*, he Reigned Fourteen Years in Tranquillity: After him

Ennian, or *Emerian*, another Son of *Archigallo*'s was advanced to the Throne, who, quite different from his Brother, govern'd Tyrannically, and was in the Sixth Year of his Reign Depos'd, and then ſucceeded

Idwallo the Son of *Vigenius*, who warned by the Misfortune of his Predeceſſor avoided Tyranny; after whom Reigned

Rinco the Son of *Peridurus*, an heroic Prince and a great Warriour. Then next follows, in *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, a long deſcent of Kings, who either did nothing, or had no Body to Record it; theſe make up Seventeen Kings in all, *viz. Gerantius* the Son of *Elidurus*, to whom ſucceeded *Catellus* his Son, then *Coillus*, and after him *Porrex* the Second; then *Cherin*, or *Cherim*; then ſucceeded *Fulgentius* the Eldeſt Son of *Cherin*; next him *Androgeus* the Third Son of *Cherim* enjoyed the Crown; then after him

Urianus the Son of *Androgeus* began to Reign, who giving himſelf up to all Riot and Intemperance, ſoon died; and to him ſucceeded

Eliod; then *Elidavius*, then *Cledanus*, or *Cletanus*, called alſo by others *Detonus*; but here ariſes ſo great a Difference amongſt the Writers of this long Bed-Roll of *Britiſh* Kings, that there is nothing of Certainty concerning their very Names, much leſs of their Actions, for their Names are variouſly recited by *Geoffrey*, and thoſe Authors that lived after him, and pretend to correct or enlarge him; but you muſt take them as we find them. Then ſucceeded

Gurgurntius; then *Merianus*, and after him *Bledunus*; then *Capenus*; next to him *Siſilius* the Third; then *Blegabred*, who is ſaid to have been excellently well Skill'd in Vocal as well as Inſtrumental Muſick; he Reigned Ten Years: After him ſucceeded

Arthimallo his Brother; and after him *Eldol*: Then follow Nine Kings more, without any thing Recorded of them, but their bare Names, *viz.*

Rodianus or *Redian*, then *Redarchius* or *Redargius*, then *Samuil*, then *Peniſill*, then *Carpoir* or *Corporius*, and after him *Geiduellus* or *Dinellus* the Son of *Carpoir*, a Prince Modeſt and Prudent in all his Actions, who left

his

his Son *Heli* his Succeſſor, who Reign'd Forty Years, and was ſucceeded by

Lud his Eldeſt Son, who is reported to have been a Vertuous Prince, making divers excellent Laws, and Correcting many Abuſes in the Government; he Adorn'd the City of *London* with new Walls and Towers, and therein built a Gate, which is ſtill called after his Name, *Lud-Gate*; and is ſaid to have built himſelf a Palace not far from it: And, after he had Reigned Eleven Years, died, leaving behind him two Sons, *Androgeus* and *Theomantius*, under the Tuition of his Brother

Caſſibelan, whoſe Bounty and Worthy demeanour ſo wrought upon the People, that he eaſily got the Kingdom transferr'd upon himſelf; yet nevertheleſs ſhewing ſome Favour to his Nephews, he conferred freely upon *Androgeus London* with *Kent*, and upon *Theomantius Cornwall*; reſerving to himſelf a Superiority over them both, till the *Romans* for a while eclipſed his Power.

I ſhall not here trouble my ſelf to ſet down, much leſs to confute the Errors that may be found in the Chronology of theſe Kings Reigns, ſince *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, from whom they are taken, hath bin ſo cautious, as not to give us any account in what Year of the World they Reign'd; ſometimes telling us (tho' with no certainty at all) the Names of the Judges and Kings of *Iſrael*, whom he makes Contemporary with them. But as for his laſt Nine and Twenty Kings from *Elidure* to *Lud*, he has given us nothing but their bare Names, without ſo much as ſetting down how many Years they reign'd, as if he himſelf, or thoſe Authors he had Tranſlated had bin aſhamed, or weary of their own tedious Stories, and ſo would make it as ſhort as they could.

But as for *Mat.* of *Weſtminſter*, *Ponticus Virunnius*, *Polydore Virgil*, and one *Richard White*, (who calls himſelf *Baſingſtoke*) I do not think it worth while to put down their pretended Corrections, Emendations, and Additions of *Geoffrey*'s Hiſtory, ſince, if he had no Authority to invent, I am ſure they can leſs pretend to Correct his Inventions, or alter his Courſe of Succeſſion of the *Britiſh* Kings, as *Polydore* has done, under pretence of making them more ſuitable to his own Accounts of time: But *White* has exceeded all others in this, making bold with *Geoffrey*, not only altering the Names of his Kings and their Courſe of Succeſſion in many Places, but alſo referring them in particular to the Years of the World, in which he ſuppoſes them to have Reigned, adding alſo the Years of their Reigns where-ever he thought *Geoffrey* to be deficient, but without vouchſafing to give us the Names of any Authors from whence he took them: So that ſince we have indeed no better Authorities than *Geoffrey* himſelf, I ſhall not go about to Confute the Faults that might be found in the Chronology which Mr. *White* has given us of theſe Kings Reigns; though it were no hard Matter to ſhew diverſe Abſurdities in it. But this much is evident from the diſagreement of theſe Authors, about the Names of their Kings and the Years of their Reigns, that they had nothing but their own Fancies to rely upon, for what they wrote; whence proceeds ſo great a Confuſion in this part of their *Britiſh* Hiſtory, that no Body can certainly conclude any thing from hence, unleſs that they were all miſtaken: Nor is it only the uncertainty of Kings Names and Succeſſions that we here find fault with, but the great Improbability (I might ſay Impoſſibility) of divers Matters of Fact related by *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, in this Hiſtory of the *Britiſh* Kings: As for Inſtance, that of

King

King *Ebrane*'s ſending his Thirty Daughters to find Husbands in *Italy*; which Story plainly took its riſe from the *Sabines* denying their Daughters to thoſe People, which *Romulus* many Years after got together. Not to mention the Story of *Morindus*'s being devoured by a Sea-Monſter, whereas neither our Seas nor Rivers do now (or ever did) afford any ſuch noxious Creatures; divers other more improbable Relations (becauſe I would not tire the Reader with ſuch Fooleries) I have here omitted. Beſides all which, the very Names of many of theſe Kings, ſuch as *Jaco*, (which is the ſame with *James* in Engliſh) *Molmutius*, *Morindus*, as alſo *Archigallo*, *Gorbonian*, *Ennianus*, *Geruntius*, *Fulgentius*, *Androgeus*, *Archimalus*, *Rodianus*, ſufficiently betray ſome a Phœnician, ſome a Grecian, and ſome a Roman Original, and could never be derived from the Britiſh Originals. *Rowls.*

Laſtly, There is great difference between this part of the *Britiſh* Hiſtory (eſpecially from *Elidure* to *Lud*) and all other Hiſtories; for whereas theſe commonly are barren of particular Tranſactions in their beginning, and afterwards enlarge themſelves ſtill more and more the further they proceed. This Hiſtory is quite contrary, and the farther we go, the more confuſed we find the Succeſſion of their Kings, and the leſs there is Recorded of their Actions; for from *Elidure* to *Lud* there are Nine and Twenty Kings, of whom nothing almoſt is Recorded but their bare Names; and which is alſo very remarkable, from this *Elidure*, *Geoffrey* makes no mention of the Years of their Reigns. What we find of this kind hath been added by thoſe that writ long after him, who have done it very prepoſterouſly, allowing not above Ten Years one with another to Thirty Kings, which are ſuppoſed to have Reign'd in about Two Hundred Years; ſo that if there were any Truth in this Hiſtory, it ſeems more rational to believe theſe Kings not to have ſucceeded each other, but many of them to have bin Contemporary Rulers of particular Provinces of this Iſland.

I ſhall therefore conclude this Part of the Hiſtory with Mr. *Milton*'s Words concerning theſe Kings. "Thus far have we gone relying upon the Credit of *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* and his Aſſertors, though, for the Reaſons above-mentioned, I have not thought it beſide my Purpoſe to relate what I have found, whereto I neither oblige the Belief of other Perſons, nor ſhall over-haſtily ſubſcribe my own.

"Yet granting theſe things not to have been true, but invented by the Author above-mentioned; yet ſince even Romances, as well as true Hiſtories, may furniſh us with Obſervations ſufficient to Inſtruct us, not only in the Humours and Paſſions of Mankind, but alſo in the Cauſes as well as Effects of human Actions: And ſince Ambition, Luſt, and the Deſire of Revenge are commonly in their turns the Motives that incite Princes as well as private Men to Tranſgreſs the Laws of Reaſon; let us look back and ſurvey ſome of the moſt remarkable Actions of thoſe Princes, whoſe Hiſtory we have here cited.

From thoſe frequent Diviſions we here read to have been made of the Kingdom between ſeveral Brothers, we may learn, that the *Britains* had no Notion of any Right in the Eldeſt Brother to Command over all the Reſt, no not after they became Chriſtians; the Welch Princes ſtill dividing their Territories among all their Sons alike, though we may ſee the Inconvenience of this Courſe, by their making War upon each

other about their particular Shares: Whence we may conclude, that Sovereignty ought to be left undivided, and the more Shares there are in it, the more Causes there are of Civil Wars and Divisions; nor have any prov'd more fatal than those among Brothers, of which we have sufficient Examples, not only in this, but other Histories.

From so many Kings being depos'd for their Tyranny, we may observe, that the ancient *Britains*, though under a Monarchy, yet did not think themselves oblig'd to suffer their Kings, by becoming Tyrants, to make their People Slaves; but knew how to cast off that Yoke when it grew insupportable.

Lastly, from *Cassibelan*'s being made a King by the People, for his Valour and Worth, it plainly appears, that if the Kingdom were then Hereditary; yet the Estates did ~~then~~ reserve a Power to themselves, during the Minority of the Right Heir, to place in the Throne that Prince of the Blood-Royal, who was like to prove most able to defend them either against Foreign or Domestick Enemies; as this Prince in the War with *Cæsar* evidenced to the World. I have made bold to add these few political Observations, that the Reader as well as my self may profit somewhat by Reading a History otherwise so dry and uninstructive.

THE

THE General Hiſtory OF BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND:

As well Eccleſiaſtical, as Civil.

BOOK II.

Containing the Annals of ENGLAND, *from the Firſt Landing of* JULIUS CÆSAR, *to the* Romans *Total Deſertion thereof, being about Four Hundred and Ninety Years.*

HAVING in the former Book deduced the Succeſſion of Britiſh Kings (as well as I was able) from *Brute* to the Beginning of the Reign of *Caſſibelan*, in whoſe Time *Cæſar* Landed in *Britain*; and having hitherto wandred through divers Ages of Fictions, or Uncertainties at beſt, like a Man in a dark Night, who knows not well whether he is in or out of his Road, yet is ſtill forced to Travel on, till Day-light overtake him: So we having hitherto gone forward, though in the dark, are at laſt arrived at a Period, which will give us a more certain Light into our *Britiſh* Hiſtory; though no *Roman* or *Greek* Hiſtorian did ever undertake to write a Hiſtory on purpoſe concerning this Iſland, during all the time that the *Roman* Emperors govern'd here, either in Perſon or by their Lieutenants. For thoſe Authors that are extant, only write of the Affairs of *Britain* occaſionally, and as they ſtood intermix'd with other Parts of the *Roman* Hiſtory: Hence we find that they rarely mention the Affairs of *Britain*, but by the bye, when an Expedition, occaſioned by ſome freſh Rebellion or ſudden Commotion, oblig'd them either to come in Perſon, or to ſend Forces over hither. Nor is there any Author,

except *Tacitus* in his Life of *Agricola*, who expreſly treats of the whole Government or Actions of any one Lieutenant of all thoſe that govern'd here; whence it is that we have ſo imperfect an Account of the Civil State of this Iſland, or what particular Laws were made for the Government of it, whilſt it continued part of the *Roman* Empire, farther than we may pick up from ſome Laws diſperſed here and there in the Code, and Digeſt; or elſe from the *Notitiæ* of the *Roman* Empire: To which may be alſo added (that which is yet worſe than all the reſt) the great Loſs Civil Knowledge has undergone, by the periſhing of ſo many excellent Hiſtories both in Greek and Latin; ſo that whoever pleaſes to ſurvey them will find of thoſe few that remain, ſcarce one of them is come to us entire, but has loſt ſome conſiderable Part or other: All which, if we had them together, would without doubt make a Compleat Roman Hiſtory of this Iſland, which now it is impoſſible to perform, having nothing left us during ſeveral Emperors Reigns, but ſome lame Epitomes, or immethodical Lives in the *Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ*. This I premiſe, that you ſhould not wonder if you find ſuch large gaps in this Period, as to things perform'd in *Britain*, during ſeveral Succeſſions of *Roman* Emperors: So that if it were not for ſome old Altars, and votive Inſcriptions that have been dug up of late Years in divers Places of this Iſland, we could not certainly have known any further than by gueſs, that thoſe Emperors, whoſe Names are there mentioned, had any thing to do here; and as for *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, and thoſe few Modern Writers who take upon them to treat of theſe Matters, they are ſo falſe and uncertain, that they are rarely to be relied upon, and indeed never to be made uſe of, but when we are at a loſs for any other Account of thoſe Times. So that this (as I ſuppoſe) hath bin the Reaſon why ſome of our late *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, for want of other Matter, have ſtuffed out their Hiſtories, not only with what the *Roman* Emperors did in *Gaul*, or *Britain*, but all the other Parts of the *Roman* Empire, where they had occaſion to make Wars; which is indeed rather to give a General Hiſtory of the then known World, than of one ſingle Iſland or Province.

But ſince I intend to confine my ſelf only to write of ſuch Actions as were perform'd within the compaſs of this Iſle, either by the *Roman* Emperors or their Lieutenants during the time they govern'd here; I ſhall rather chuſe ſometimes to leave a gap in the Story it ſelf, than to write Things foreign and impertinent to the Subject I am to treat of: And indeed I could willingly have forborn Writing this Part of the Hiſtory at all, ſince it hath been done already by Mr. *Camden* in Latin, and Mr. *Milton* in Engliſh, who have ſcarce omitted any thing which is worth the Collecting out of the *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians, that was neceſſary to compleat this Period. Therefore, were it not for leaving too great a Chaſm in our intended Work, I could very willingly have excuſed my ſelf from ſo ungrateful a Task, in which I confeſs it is hard to equal, and much more to exceed ſuch great Authors. But ſince I find there is a Neceſſity, in order to render the Hiſtory entire, to give an Account of what was done in this Iſland during the *Roman* Empire, I ſhall perform it as well as I am able.

But that I may follow *Cæſar*'s Example, give me leave from him, as well as other *Greek* and *Roman* Authors, to give you a ſhort Account of the Religion and Manners of the antient *Britains*, as well in *Cæſar*'s Time as ſome Ages after, before we ſay any thing of his Expedition hither.

That

That Great Man in the Fifth Book of his admirable Commentaries tells us, that in his Time there were "in *Britain* a vaſt number of Men "and Cattel, the Houſes thick, and built almoſt like to thoſe of the "*Gauls*; that they uſed Copper or Iron-Plates weighed by a certain "Standard inſtead of Money: That they counted it againſt their Re- "ligion ſo much as to taſte of a Hare, Hen or Gooſe. And a little after proceeds thus; "Of all People thoſe which inhabit *Kent* were moſt "human, neither differ'd much from the Gallick Cuſtoms: The more "Inland People for the moſt part ſowed no Corn, but lived upon Milk "and Fleſh, being cloathed with Skins. But all the *Britains* ſtain'd "themſelves with Woad, which made them of a blewiſh colour, and "thereby of a more terrible aſpect in Battel: They wore long Hair, "but ſhav'd all the reſt of their Bodies, beſides the upper Lip. Ten "or twelve Men had Wives among them in common, chiefly Bre- "thren with Brethren, and even Parents with their Children, but the "Children that were got by them were looked upon as theirs, by whom "thoſe Women were taken in Marriage.

As for their manner of Fighting, I ſhall leave that to be related when I come to *Julius Cæſar*'s War in *Britain*.

Strabo in his Geography * tells us, "That the *Britains* exceeded the "*Gauls* in Stature, he having ſeen ſome of them at *Rome* who were half a "Foot higher than the talleſt Men there, but that they were looſer made. He ſays farther, "That they were like the *Gauls* in Diſpoſition, but more "ſimple and barbarous; ſo that ſome of them knew not how to make "any Cheeſe, though they abounded in Milk; and that divers of them "were ignorant of dreſſing Gardens, as well as other Parts of Husban- "dry: That they had many diſtinct Governments among them; their "Woods ſerv'd them inſtead of Cities, for with Trees cut down, when "they had incloſ'd a large Circle, they build themſelves Cottages, and "Stables for their Cattle within it, though for no very long time.

* *Lib. IV.*

Diodorus Siculus deſcribes the *Britains* to be Aborigines, and living after the Manner of the Antients, and in Fight uſing Chariots like the *Greek* Heroes in the *Trojan* War; that they made their Houſes for the moſt part of Reeds or Wood; that they laid up their Corn in the Ear in Granaries, from whence they fetch'd as much as would ſerve for one Day's Uſe; that they were ſimple and uncorrupt in their Manners, Strangers to the Craft and Subtilty of that Age, and liv'd content with very mean Diet and Apparel, remote from Riches and Luxury that attends them; and that the Iſle abounded in a multitude of Men, who were ſubject to divers Kings and Princes.

Diod. Hiſt. Lib. IV.

* *Pomponius Mela* in his Treatiſe *de Scitu Orbis* relates, That *Britain* produced much People and divers Kings, but that they were all rude and unpoliſhed; and that the farther they were from the Continent, the more ignorant they were of Foreign Riches, abounding chiefly in Cattle. That they died their Bodies with Woad, uncertain, whether for Ornament, or ſome other Cauſe. That they fought frequent Cauſes of War, and diſturbed each other, from Ambition of Empire, and deſire of enlarging their Dominions. That they fought not only on Horſeback and on Foot, but alſo arm'd like the *Gauls* in Chariots, whoſe Axeltrees were arm'd with Scythes.

* *Lib. III.*

Cornelius

* Cap. 2. *Cornelius Tacitus* in his * Life of *Agricola* tells us, "That the *Britains* "were very like the *Gauls*, whether the ſame Original, or the likeneſs of "Climate were the Cauſe of it; ſo likewiſe their Speech was not much "different. They had the ſame boldneſs in ſeeking out Dangers, and "the ſame fear in declining of them when they were at hand: Yet that "the *Britains* ſhew'd greater fierceneſs, as whom long Peace hath not "yet ſoftned; for we have heard (ſays he) that the *Gauls* were once fa-"mous for War, but Cowardice ſoon ſucceeded ſlothfulneſs, their Va-"lour and Liberty being loſt together; which hath alſo happened to the "*Britains* already Conquer'd; but that the reſt of them remained ſuch "as the *Gauls* once were: their chief Strength was in their Foot, but "that ſome Nations of them us'd alſo Chariots in fight; the Charioteers "were more Noble, their Followers fighting for them. That in Times "paſt they obey'd Kings, but were then divided by their Princes into "Factions and Parties; neither is there any thing ſo advantagious for the "*Romans* againſt the ſtrongeſt Nations, than that they do not conſult "in Common; for there are very ſeldom Aſſemblies for two or three "Cities to repel common Danger; ſo whilſt they fight ſeparately they "are all alike overcome. And in the next Chapter he goes on thus; "The *Britains* chearfully yielded to the Preſſing of their Men, paying "Tribute, and all the other Duties impos'd by the Emperor, provided "Injuries were not done them; theſe they will hardly endure, for they "ſubmit that they may obey, not that they may ſerve as Slaves.

Lib. LXIII. *Dion Caſſius* (epitomized by *Xiphilin*) ſpeaking of the more Northern *Britains* relates, that they Tilled no Ground, but liv'd on their Fruits and Hunting, for of Fiſh, though they had great Store, they never taſted. That they liv'd in their Cabines naked and barefooted. They had their Wives in Common, and all of them maintain'd the Children. The chief Authority, for the moſt part, reſided in the People. They were much addicted to Steal. They fought from Chariots, and had little nimble Horſes; their Footmen ran very faſt, and alſo ſtood very firmly to their Poſts. Their Arms were a Shield and a ſhort Spear, at whoſe lower end there was a Ball of Braſs, that when they ſhake it they may terrifie their Enemies with the noiſe. They wore long Daggers. They can bear Hunger, Cold, and all ſorts of Labour; being in the Woods they can live upon the Bark of Trees. They have ſtill ready a certain ſort of Food upon all Occaſions, of which if they take the quantity of a Bean, they will not be Hungry or Thirſty for a great while after.

Lib. XI. But *Herodian* is the firſt who deſcribes the Northern People, then the moſt barbarous ſort of *Britains*, and who, I ſuppoſe, were afterwards called *Picti* (that is, painted Men) to have had their Bodies mark'd with divers Figures; which, whether it was their Cuſtom in *Caſar*'s Time, may be doubtful, ſince he makes no mention of it. But this Author thus proceeds: The *Britains* know not the uſe of Garments, but gird their Bellies and Necks with Iron, thinking it an Ornament as well as a Sign of their Riches, in the ſame manner as other Nations prize Gold. They mark'd their very Bodies with divers Figures of all ſorts of Animals, wherefore they will not wear Cloths, leſt they ſhould hide the Painting of their Bodies. It is a warlike Nation, and moſt greedy of Slaughter, and uſe only a narrow Shield and a Lance, beſides a Sword hanging from their naked Bodies. They knew not the uſe of the Breaſt-

Breaſt-plate or Helmet, thinking them a hinderance to them in their running over the Bogs, of which they had great Store.

Pliny relates (among their other Cuſtoms) that they wore Rings on their middle Fingers, and manured their Land with Marl; which can be only meant of the more civilized *Britains*, who undertook Husbandry; which improvement is uſed with us in ſome Countries to this day: but as for their Drink, *Solinus* tells us, they made it of Barly as we do now: and as *Dioſcorides* alſo notes, who calls it, (though corruptly) *Curmy*, for *Curm*, for ſo the modern *Britains* ſtill call Ale. *Lib. XXXIII. cap. 1.* *Lib. XVII. c. 8.*

So that whoever will but conſider the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Ancient *Britains*, may find them not to be much different from thoſe of the naked *Indians* of ſome part of *America*; when they were firſt diſcovered: only they had the uſe of Braſs and Iron, which thoſe wanted until they were brought to them from other places: and alſo had Horſes and Chariots, the uſe of all which were unknown to the *Americans*: but in other things you will find them much alike, only the latter ſeem to have been a better temper'd and more Vertuous People; from whence the Reader may judge of the likelyhood of thoſe Stories in *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, when he makes ſuch deſcriptions of the ſtately Cities, Palaces, and Fleets of the *Britiſh* Kings; whilſt *Cæſar*, and *Lucan*, and *Pliny* deſcribe their Veſſels to have had their Ribs and Keels made of ſlight Timber, interwoven with Wicker like our Baskets, and covered with Hides, ſowed together; not having the Art of making Saws to cut out Boards or Planks. *Cap. 35.*

Having given you an account of their Ancient Manners and Government; I will next ſay ſomewhat of their Religion. *Cæſar* tells us, that the Religion of the *Britains* and *Gauls* were much the ſame; that they had the ſame Gods, and the ſame Prieſts, *viz.* The *Druids*, who had a great Authority, not only in Religious, but Civil Matters; ſo that they could Excommunicate whom they thought fit; and a Perſon ſo interdicted could not be admitted to their Sacrifices, but was eſteem'd among the number of the Accurſed: ſo that all Perſons ſtudiouſly avoided him, not daring to come near him, for fear of being infected with ſo dangerous a Curſe.

Theſe *Druids* taught the People that the Soul was Immortal, and went out of one Body into another: But whether they had learned this from the *Greeks*, who traded amongſt them, or from the antient *Phœnicians*, is uncertain. *Cæſar Commens. Lib. IV.*

But as for their Gods, they were the ſame with the *Gauls*. *Jupiter* was Worſhipped under the Name of *Taramis*, or *Taran*, for *Taran* ſtill ſignifies in *Welſh* Thunder. *Maximus Tyrius* writes, That they Worſhip'd the higheſt Oak they could find, as the Figure or Repreſentation of this God.

Tutates the God of Travellers is ſuppos'd to be the ſame with *Mercury*, and by the *Britains* called *Duw Taith*, the God of Journeys. *Mars* was Worſhipped by the *Gauls* and *Britains* under the Name of *Heſus*; as alſo *Camulus*, as Mr. *Camden* proves, from a Coin of *Cunobelin*, of which he gives us the Draught, being a Man's Head with an Helmet on it, and with theſe Letters, *C A M U.* The next God of the *Britains* was *Apollo*, Worſhipped by them under the Name of *Beleus* or *Belinus*, as appears by a Paſſage of *Julius Capitolinus* in his Life of *Maximin.* He is alſo ſuppos'd to have bin called *Belatucadrus*; there being divers Altars and Inſcriptions dug

dug up of late Years out of the Earth, all of them with this Title, *DEO BELATUCADRO*, which Name ſeems to be deriv'd from the *Aſſyrian* God *Bel*, or *Belus*.

As for Goddeſſes, they Worſhipped *Diana* under the Name of *Camma*. Another Goddeſs the *Britains* had, who is call'd by *Dion Andraſte*, or *Andrate*, and is ſuppos'd to have bin the Goddeſs of *Victory*; ſhe had a Temple at *Camalodunum* (now *Maldon* in *Eſſex*.) As for their Sacrifices, though they were moſt often Beaſts, at ſometimes they alſo Sacrific'd Men, as *Cæſar* expreſly tells us; and *Tacitus* relates, That it was uſual for the *Britains* to conſult the Gods by the Entrails of Men; *Pliny* alſo tells us, That the Miſletoe growing upon an Oak, being cut with many Ceremonies, was made uſe of in all their Sacrifices and other Religious Rites; and alſo ſays, that *Britain* in his time did ſo Superſtitiouſly cultivate Magick Arts, and that with ſo many Ceremonies; that they might have communicated it even to the *Perſians* themſelves.

Theſe are the chief Things, which antient Authors have left us, concerning the *Britiſh* Cuſtoms and Manners, relating either to their Religious, Civil, or private Life, which, if it ſeem tedious to you, may be paſſed by: So I now come to my main Deſign, and give you *Cæſar*'s own Account of his firſt Invaſion of *Britain*, out of the Fourth and Fifth Books of his Commentaries.

Comment. Lib. IV. *Julius Cæſar* having now ſubdued moſt part of *Gallia*, and quieted the *Germans*, and ſtopped their Incurſions into his Province, reſolv'd on an Expedition into *Britain*: his Pretences were theſe, That the *Britains* had underhand ſent Supplies to the Cities of *Armorica*, who the Year before had revolted from his Obedience, and had joined with the reſt of *Gaul* in a general and dangerous Rebellion, and not only ſo, but that they had received into their Protection the *Bellovaci* his Enemies, who had fled to them for aid. Theſe *Cæſar* there aſſigns as the Cauſes to juſtifie this Invaſion.

But though theſe were the ſeeming Cauſes that moved *Cæſar* to this ſudden Expedition, yet certainly a Soul ſo great as his could not be tempted, by the mean hopes of getting the *Britiſh* Pearls, to ſo dangerous a War, as *Suetonius* in the Life of *Cæſar* ſuppoſes, though he mentions his comparing their weight and largeneſs by poiſing them in his Hand; yet I will not deny, but he might even propoſe the getting of theſe as a Bait to encourage his Souldiers in this Enterprize. By his paſt as well as future Actions we may gueſs, that beſides Glory his main Deſign in Invading *Britain*, was to inure his Souldiers to Hardſhip, and to accuſtom them to the moſt uncouth and barbarous Enemies; that they might not be afterwards terrified at the moſt dangerous Enterprizes, but wholly depend upon his Fortune and Conduct.

Cæſar therefore, although Summer was almoſt ſpent, and Winter coming on very early in the Northern Parts of *Gaul*, yet reſolved to paſs over into *Britain*, and if the time of the Year ſhould not ſuffer him to make War, yet he thought it might be to good purpoſe if he ſhould but Land upon the Iſland, and underſtand the Natures of the Inhabitants, and come to know the chief Places, Harbors and Acceſſes to; it all which, he ſays, were as yet unknown to the *Gauls*; for, beſides Merchants, no Body commonly went thither, and even to thoſe ſcarce any thing was known beſides the Sea-coaſt, and thoſe Countries which were oppoſite to *Gallia*: Therefore though the Merchants were called together from all

all Parts, yet could he not underſtand what Nations they were that inhabited it, nor what ſort of War they made, nor what cuſtoms they uſed, nor what Ports were fitting to receive a Fleet of great Ships: Though by the way this ſeems very ſtrange, if it were true, as they of *Rhemes* told *Cæſar*, that *Divitiacus* King of the *Soiſſons* had a little before held *Britain* alſo under his dominion; beſides the *Belgian* Colonies, which he affirms to have named and Peopled many Provinces there, as alſo what he tells us in the Sixth Book of his Commentaries, that thoſe who deſired to know the *Druids* Diſcipline went thither Yearly on purpoſe to learn it.

But be this as it will, he thought it neceſſary before he expoſed his own perſon, to ſend *Ca. Voluſenus* thither with one Galley to diſcovet theſe things, commanding him to return as ſoon as this could be effected, whilſt he with all his Forces marched towards the Country of the *Morini*, now the Province of *Picardy*. Becauſe thence was the ſhorteſt cut into *Britain*; hither he draws together his Ships from all parts of the neighbouring Provinces, as alſo that Fleet which he had built laſt Summer for the *Armorican* War, in the mean time when his deſign was made known, being carried over by the Merchants into *Britain*, Ambaſſadours came to him from divers Princes and States of this Iſland, who promiſed to give Hoſtages, and to obey the *Roman* Empire: All which being heard, *Cæſar* as largely promiſing and exhorting them to continue ſtill in that mind ſent them back; and with them *Comius* of the *Atribates* (now called the Country of *Arras*,) whom upon the conqueſt thereof he had made King, and of whoſe Courage and Fidelity *Cæſar* was very well aſſured: him he enjoyns, that he ſhould go to as many of the States as he could, and perſwade them to come into the *Roman* Intereſt, and ſhould alſo inform them that he himſelf would ſpeedily come over thither. But *Voluſenus* having only ſurveyed the Country at a diſtance (which was all he could do, ſince he durſt not go out of his Ship, nor truſt himſelf with theſe *Barbarians*) on the Fifth day return'd to *Cæſar*, and related to him whatſoever he had there obſerved.

Cæſar having ſettled the *Morini* by taking Hoſtages of them, then gathered together about Eighty Ships of burthen, which he judged ſufficient for the tranſporting of two Legions; but all his Gallies he diſtributed to his Quæſtor and Lieutenants; there were alſo Eight Ships of burthen more, which lay Wind bound at a place Eight Miles diſtant, ſo that they could not reach the ſame Port; Theſe he appointed for the Horſe, the reſt of the Army he committed to Q. *Titus Sabinus*, and L. *Aurunculus Cotta*, with orders to march into the Country of the *Menapii*, and into thoſe Towns of the *Morini*, from whence Ambaſſadours had not yet come to him. But *P. Sulpicius Rufus* his Lieutenant he commands to keep the Port with a ſufficient Garriſon. All things being thus diſpatched, and having now got a fair Wind, about the the Third Watch, he ſet Sail, commanding the Horſemen to march to the further Port, and thence to go on board and follow him, which orders proved too ſlowly executed. But he himſelf together with the firſt Ships about Four a Clock in the Afternoon reached *Britain*, where he found divers ſtrong Troops of the Enemies lodged on the Hills; the nature of which * place was ſuch, theſe Hills hanging ſo ſteep over the Sea, that a Dart might be caſt from the higher ground to the Shore; therefore judging this no fit place to Land his Men, he lay at Anchor till Nine of

* *'Tis ſuppoſed by* Mr. Somner *to have been near* Dover.

the Clock, that the reſt of the Navy could come up to him: in the mean time calling a Council of his Lieutenants and Tribunes, he communicates thoſe things he had learn'd from *Voluſenus*, and alſo what he would have done; telling them that the Nature of all Military (and eſpecially Maritime) Affairs, having a ſudden and unconſtant motion, all things ſhould be executed by his orders, and that in due time. Theſe being diſmiſſed, and having got the Wind and Tide both with him, the ſignal being given, and the Anchors weighed, he ſailed again forward about Eight Miles from that place, to an open and plain Shore, where he came to an Anchor. But the *Britains* knowing the *Roman*'s deſign, having ſent their Horſes and Charioteers before (which they were chiefly wont to uſe in Fight) followed with the reſt of their Forces, and hinder'd the *Romans* from landing: The difficulty of which was great in theſe reſpects, becauſe the Ships by reaſon of their great bulk were not able to ride, but in a deep Sea; whilſt the Souldiers having their hands taken up with their Arms, were yet in unknown places, not only to Leap down from the Ships and to withſtand the Billows, but alſo at the ſame time to Fight their Enemies; whilſt they either fighting on the Shore, or elſe marching but a little way into the Water, and having their hands free, fought in places where they were well acquainted, and boldly ſpurr'd on their Horſes already managed and uſed to it; but the *Romans* being terrified with theſe things, and altogether unskill'd in this ſort of fighting, did not ſhew the ſame briskneſs and courage, as they were wont to expreſs in Land Service; which when *Cæſar* perceived, he ordered the long Ships or Gallies (as both unuſual to theſe *Barbarians*, and more ready for uſe) to fall off a little from the Ships of burthen, and to be rowed towards the Shore, and being laid againſt the naked ſide of the Enemies, to drive them back with Slings, Darts, and other Engines; which ſtood the *Romans* in good ſtead, for the *Britains* being terrified with the ſtrange ſhape of their Gallies, the motion of their Oars, and thoſe unuſual kind of Engines, firſt ſtood ſtill, and then began a little to retreat: But the *Romans* ſtill delaying, becauſe of the depth of the Sea, the Enſign of the Tenth Legion firſt invoking the Gods, that this action might prove fortunate and ſucceſsfull, cried out, Leap down fellow Souldiers, unleſs you mean to betray this * Eagle to the Enemies, for I will certainly perform my duty to the Commonwealth, and to the General: When he had ſpoke thus with a loud Voice, he caſt himſelf into the Sea, and began to carry the Eagle towards the Enemy; Then the *Roman* Souldiers encouraging one another not to ſuffer ſo great a diſgrace as the loſs of their Enſign, all leap'd out of the Ship, whom when the others from the next Ships had beheld, they alſo followed them, and quickly reaching the Shore, preſſed upon the Enemy.

* *Note the* Roman *Enſigns were then all Eagles, tho afterwards they took the Figures of other Animals.*

The Fight was ſharp on both ſides, but the *Romans* were not able either to keep their Ranks, nor get any firm footing, nor yet to follow their Enſigns: So that every Man being forced to joyn himſelf to the firſt Enſigns he met with, they were hard put to it, whilſt the Enemies acquainted with all the ſhallows, when ever from the Shore they beheld any marching from the Ships, immediately ſpurring on their Horſes, they charged them at diſadvantage, many encompaſſing a few, whilſt others aſſaulting them on the * unarmed ſide, caſts Darts againſt the reſt; which when *Cæſar* perceived, he commanded the Long Boats of the Gallies, and ſmaller Veſſels to be mann'd with Souldiers, and ſent them

* i. e. *that ſide which was unarmed by their Shields.*

to

to the assistance of those whom he beheld most distressed. The *Romans*, as soon as they got on Shore, making head, all together charged the Enemy, and put them to flight, yet could not pursue them far for want of Horse; this only was deficient to *Cæsar*'s wonted Fortune.

The *Britains* being worsted in fight, as soon as they got together again, presently dispatched Messengers to *Cæsar* desiring Peace; promising that they would give him Hostages, and do whatever he injoyned; together with these Ambassadours came *Comius* of *Arras*, whom (as I have before shown) had been already sent by *Cæsar* into *Britain*; him, as soon as he came out of the Ship, and had related the General's Message, they laid hold on, and put into bonds; but the fight being over they sent him back, and Petitioning for Peace, cast the blame upon the common People; and desired that because of their Ignorance this fault might be pardoned: but *Cæsar* complained, That when they had of their own accord, by their Ambassadours sent to him into the Continent desiring Peace: Yet that they had without any Cause made War; But (he said) he would pardon their Folly, and therefore again injoyned them to send Hostages, part of whom they gave him presently, the residue they promised (being to be sent for from places more remote) to send him within a few days, whereupon their Princes came from all parts, and commended themselves and their States to *Cæsar*.

Peace being thus concluded, within Four days after his arrival in *Britain*, the Eighteen Ships which are already mentioned to have taken in the Horse, sailed from the farther Port on the opposite Shore with a gentle Gale, but when they drew near the Island, and could be now discern'd from the Camp: So great a Tempest suddenly arose, that none of them could hold their course; but some were driven back to the same place from whence they set forth, whilst others were carried to the further part of the Island lying toward the *West* with very great hazard; for casting out their Anchors they took in so much Water, that they were forced (tho in the Night) out to Sea again, and to Steer towards the Continent: It also happened the same Night that the Moon was at the full, which is wont to make the highest Tides in the Ocean; but was then unknown to the *Roman* Mariners: So that at the same time the Spring Tide had filled all those Gallies with Water in which *Cæsar* had transported his Army; though he had now drawn them on Shore; whilst the Tempest had shattered the Vessels of burthen which lay at Anchor, neither was it in their Men's power any ways to help them; so that many Ships being Wrack'd, the rest, their Cables, Anchors, and other Tackle being broken or spoiled, became unfit for Service; this caused a great Consternation in the Army, for there were not any other Ships left, in which they could be again transported, and all things necessary were wanting to refit them, nor was there any Corn provided for them to Winter in these parts; all which being known to the *Britains*, their *Princes*, though after the Fight they had agreed to perform those things which *Cæsar* had injoyned; yet when they understood that the *Romans* wanted Horses, Ships, and Provisions, and had also judged of the paucity of their Souldiers from the small circuit of the *Roman* Camp, which seemed the less, because *Cæsar* had transported his Legions without any Baggage; they thought it the best course again to take Arms, and thereby to hinder the *Romans* from fetching in Corn or other Provisions, and so to protract the War till Winter came on, for they thought if

these were once vanquish'd and cut off from ever returning into *Gaul*, none of them hereafter would again presume to transport an Army into *Britain*; Therefore the Plot being thus laid, they began by little and little to steal out of the Camp, and privately to draw their Men out of the Fields.

But *Cæsar* although he did not then know their design, yet from the late disaster of his Ships, as also from their neglecting to send in their Hostages, suspected what would happen, therefore provided for the worst, for he every day brought in Corn out of the Fields into the Camp, and as for those Ships that were most shatter'd, he made use of their materials to refit the rest, and what things were farther necessary he ordered to be brought from the Continent, all which being executed by his Souldiers with the utmost labour and diligence, only twelve Ships being lost, he fitted out the rest ready to go to Sea: Whilst these things were in action, the seventh Legion being by course sent out to Forrage, and that there was at that time no appearance of War, whilst great part of their Men remain'd in the Fields, and others of them went, and came between that and the Camp, those Souldiers who kept guard at its Entries, gave notice, that there appear'd a greater dust than was usual in that part of the Country toward which that Legion had marched; whereupon *Cæsar* suspecting that the *Britains* were undertaking some new design, commanded those *Coherts* which were then upon the Guard, to march with him towards that Quarter, ordering two more to take their places, and the rest to Arm, and immediately to follow him; when he had marched some distance from the Camp, he perceived his Souldiers to be overcharged by the Enemy, and hardly able to sustain their assault, and that the Legion being drawn up close together, Darts were cast at them from all quarters; for the Corn being cut and carried away in all other parts, one piece was left, and the Enemies guessing that the *Romans* would come thither for it, had laid in ambush in the Woods, and suddainly assaulting them, being then without their Arms, and busie in reaping, killing some, thereby routed the rest, being then out of their Ranks, hemming them in both with their Horse and **Chariots*: For in their Battles they make use for the most part of Chariots, with which they first of all scowre through all parts, casting Darts as they go, and so by the terror of their Horses, and ratling of their Chariot-wheels, they often break the *Roman* Ranks, and when they have got in among the Troops of Horse they leap down from their Chariots, and Fight on Foot, in the mean time the Charioteers retire a little from the Battle, and so place themselves, that if they should be pressed by any number of their Enemies, their Masters may find an easie retreat; by which way of fighting they had both the speed of Horse-men, and the steadiness of Foot Souldiers; and had so enured themselves by daily use and Exercise, as that they were able to stop their Horses in full speed, though running down steep places; as likewise they had been used to turn their Chariots in a narrow compass, to run along the **Pole*, to sit upon the † *Toke*, that joyn or couple the Horses together, and from thence quickly to return into their Chariots. The *Romans* being much astonished with this new way of Fighting; *Cæsar* in a lucky moment came to their rescue: At whose approach the Enemies stopped, and the *Romans* began to recover themselves, which thô done, yet *Cæsar* thinking it no fit time further to provoke the Enemy, nor then to renew the Fight, kept his ground and

Esseda *a sort of open Waggons.*

* *Temo.*

† *Jugum.*

and preſently led back the Legions to the Camp; whilſt theſe things were doing, the *Britains* who where in the Fields alſo retired.

During many days following there happned continual bad weather, which both kept the *Romans* in the Camp, and hindered the Enemies from attempting any thing againſt them.

But in the mean time the *Britains* ſent Meſſengers into all parts, publiſhing abroad the ſmall number of the *Roman* Forces; and how great a booty they were like to get, that this was the time of freeing themſelves for ever, if they could but take the *Roman* Camp: Upon which great numbers of Horſe and Foot being now drawn together came to the Camp: *Cæſar* although he foreſaw the Event by that which had happen'd before, and that the Enemies if once ſtoutly repulſed, would avoid the danger by flight; having got about Thirty Horſe, whom *Comius* of *Arras* had brought over with him at his coming into *Britain*, drew out the Legions in Battle before his Camp, which when joyned, the Enemy being not able to bear the aſſault of the *Roman* Souldiers, turned their backs; whom *Cæſar* followed as long as his Men's ſpeed and ſtrength would permit: After a great ſlaughter, and burning of the Villages round about, but they return'd to their Camp. The ſame day Meſſengers came from the *Britains* to treat of Peace, from whom *Cæſar* demanded double the number of Hoſtages, which he had before enjoyned, commanding them to be brought over to him to the Continent; becauſe the *Equinox* approaching, he did not think a Winter Voyage was to be undertaken with ſuch weak, crazy Veſſels; therefore having now got a convenient Seaſon, a little after midnight he hoiſted Sail, ſo that all the Ships got ſafe to the Continent.

It is not pertinent to our Hiſtory to relate here how *Cæſar*'s Men as ſoon almoſt as they came on Shore, were ſet upon by the *Morini*, whom he had before left in peace, and whom notwithſtanding he routed, and killed a great number of them till they were quite ſubdued.

But it ſeems the *Britains* had no great Opinion of *Cæſar*'s Power, for only Two States of all *Britain* ſent him Hoſtages, the reſt neglecting it. Theſe things being thus performed upon the reading of *Cæſar*'s Letters, Twenty days ſupplication to the *Gods* was decreed by the *Senate*.

Thus far we have given you *Cæſar*'s own account of his firſt Expedition into *Britain*, of which he had no great cauſe to boaſt; ſince, had it not been for his own good conduct, aſſiſted by the timorouſneſs of the *Britains*, he had never return'd to make this relation; but this much is to be acknowledged, that his landing here is a noble monument of his ſkill in Military affairs, for *Cicero* writing to his friend *Atticus*, tells him in one of his Epiſtles, that the acceſſes to the Iſland were wonderouſly fortify'd with ſtrong works, or banks.

But *Valerius Maximus*, as alſo *Plutarch* in his Life of *Cæſar*, have given us a noble Example of the *Roman* Courage, as well as diſcipline, who both relate that in the confuſed fight which happen'd at *Cæſar*'s firſt, landing, *Sceva* a *Roman* Souldier having preſſed too far among the Enemies, and being beſet round, after incredible valour ſhewn, ſingle, againſt a Multitude, ſwam back ſafe to his General, and in the very place that rung aloud with his praiſes earneſtly deſired pardon, for his raſh adventure againſt Military diſcipline; which modeſt confeſſing his fault after no bad event for ſuch an action, wherein Valour and Ingenuity

outweighed

outweighed the transgreſſion of Diſcipline, eaſily gain'd him pardon and preferr'd him to be a Centurion: this was that *Scæva* who afterwards gave good occaſion to have his name remembred at the Battle of *Dyrachium*, between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, whoſe ſide he had then took.

Th s is all we can find concerning *Cæſar*'s firſt Expedition into *Britain* either from himſelf or others, more than that *Oroſius* in his Hiſtory from ſome accounts that are now loſt, tells us that moſt of *Cæſar*'s great Ships which were to bring over his Horſe, were caſt away in that violent Storm, he hath already told us of.

The Winter following *Cæſar* returned into *Italy* as his Caſtome was, for ſome Years before; but upon his return thence finding that moſt of the *Britains* had neglected to ſend him their Hoſtages according to their former agreement, he reſolved to make a freſh deſcent upon them, and in order to this (in the Fifth Book of his Commentaries) he tells us that upon his going into *Italy* he had commanded his Lieutenants, whom he had ſet over the Legions, that they ſhould take care to build as many new Ships as poſſibly they could that Winter, and to repair the old ones, ſhewing them the model of thoſe that he would have built: And, for the more ready taking in of Men and Horſes, to be of ſomewhat a lower make, than thoſe that are uſed in the Mediterranean Sea; and for the more ſpeedy lading and unlading them, to be alſo ſomewhat broader and flatter bottomed than ordinary, as well for the tranſporting of the Horſes as baggage, but to be all made to be rowed with Oars, to which purpoſe their low building contributed much, but all things neceſſary for the rigging out of theſe Ships he ordered to be brought out of *Spain*.

Cæſar upon his return from *Italy*, having ſettled all things in the hither *Gallia*, made a ſhort Expedition into *Illyricum*, and having ſettled affairs there, return'd into *Gaul*; where he found built by the extraordinary induſtry of his Souldiers, about Six hundred Veſſels of that kind already deſcribed, (notwithſtanding the great ſcarcity of all neceſſary materials) together with Twenty Eight Gallies, all which did not want much of being ready to be launched within a few days; ſo having much commended his Souldiers, and Overſeers of the Work, he then commanded them all to meet at the Port called *Itius*, from which (he had already known) was the moſt convenient paſſage into *Britain*, being about Thirty Miles from the Continent.

Concerning which Port, give me leave to ſay ſomewhat by the bye, ſince there are ſo many ſeveral Opinions whether it be ſtill in being, or elſe is deſtroyed by the Sands; and indeed there is ſuch a great difference about this Port, that there is ſcarce a Haven, or Creek upon all the Coaſt of *Flanders* and *France*, from *Bruges* to *Bulogin*, but ſome Writer or other would make to be this *Portus Itius* now mentioned by *Cæſar*; but ſince there can be but Three places on this Coaſt, *viz. Calice*, *Whitſand*, and *Buloign*, that can with any probability pretend to have been this *Portus Itius*, I ſhall neglect to ſpeak of any of the reſt, except theſe Three.

As for the firſt of theſe, though it be the neareſt cut between *France* and *England*; yet it is not likely to have been that Ancient Haven: For though it be the ſhorteſt, yet it was not the moſt convenient paſſage in *Cæſar*'s time; both which are to be taken notice of, ſince he himſelf in his former Book calls it the ſhorteſt; but in this, the moſt convenient paſſage, and therefore

therefore cannot answer the distance from *Calice* to *Dover*, which is but Twenty Miles; whereas *Cæsar* describes this Port to be about Thirty Miles distant from *Britain*, nor was this place so much as known in *Cæsar*'s time, being never used as a Port, till of latter Ages that *Whitsand* was quite stopped up by the Sands driven into it. Nor was *Calice* ever commonly used for a Port till *Philip* Earl of *Bulogn* built and walled this Town, before which time there is little mention made of it: But as for *Whitsand*, though it had much fairer pretences than *Calice*, as having been the ancient Port from whence Men usually passed from *France* into *England*, for above Five hundred Years before; till it was at last about the Fourteenth Century become utterly unserviceable for the Reason already given; Yet that this could not be the *Portus Itius*, is proved by the learned *Cluverius*, in his Geography, nor was it any ancient Port, being seldom or never made use of as such in the *Roman*'s time; none of the Military ways leading at all to it.

And therefore only *Bulogn* can with any probability pretend to be this *Portus Itius*, as being the antient *Gesseriacum*, from whence the *Romans* most commonly passed into *Britain*, and best agrees with the distance that *Cæsar* here sets down, being also proved by the above cited *Cluverius*; and by our Learned Antiquary Mr. *Somner*, to have been the true *Portus Itius*, by many unanswerable Arguments and Authorities. And as for the only Objection made against it, that it is not likely that one Place should have so many several Names: It signifies not much, since the same Place might be called by several Names in different Ages. That which was *Portus Itius* in *Cæsar*'s Time, being afterwards, (when a Town came to be Built there,) called *Gesseriacum*, which in after-times was named *Bononia*, and now *Bulogne*. But whosoever desires to know more concerning this Matter, may consult the said *Cluverius*'s *Antient Germany*, as also his *Geography*; but especially that * Treatise of Mr. *Somners*, wherein he proves against Monsieur *Chifflet*, that neither St *Omers*, nor *Mardick*, could be the *Portus Itius* mention'd by *Cæsar*: Which Treatise, together with another of the Learned Monsieur *Du Fresne*'s upon the same Subject, hath bin lately Publish'd in *Latin* by my worthy Friend Mr. *Edmund Gibson*, of *Queen*'s College, *Oxon*, together with an Ingenious Dissertation of his own upon the same question. But to return to the Matter in Hand, from which we have too much digressed.

* *De Portu Itio.*

Cæsar in the Fifth Book of his Commentaries tells us, That having found a fit time, he had Commanded his Souldiers again to Embarque for *Britain*, when there happen'd a Mutiny rais'd by *Dumnorix* with his *Æduan* Horse, who would have left the Expedition and gone home; but he being kill'd by some of *Cæsar*'s Souldiers, whom he had order'd to do that Execution, all those Horsemen return'd again to him. Things being thus settled, *Labienus* was left behind on the Continent with Three Legions and Two Thousand Horse to defend that Port, and to provide Corn, as also to observe the Motion of the *Gaul's*.

Anno ante Christ. LII.

Then *Cæsar* with Five Legions, and an equal Number of Horse, to what he had left behind, about Sun-set weigh'd Anchor, and sailed on with a gentle Southern Gale; but about Mid-night the Wind falling, he could not hold on his Course; but Day coming on, found he had bin carried away by the Tide, and that he had left *Britain* too much on his Left Hand: But then again taking Advantage of the Change of the Tide,

he

Anno ante Chriſt. LII. he endeavour'd, by the help of Oars, to reach that part of the Iſland, where he had found before to be the beſt Landing the laſt Year; wherein the Souldiers deſerved a great Commendation, who made the heavy Tranſport Ships, by the conſtant Labour of Rowing, keep almoſt equal ſpeed with the Gallies. About Noon they arriv'd at *Britain* with all their Ships, but there was not any Enemies to be ſeen in that Place; for, as *Cæſar* learn'd afterwards from the Priſoners, the *Britains* had been there with great Forces, but were terrified with the vaſt Multitude of the Ships, which, with Veſſels of Proviſion and others upon private Accounts, amounted to above Eight Hundred; ſo that the *Britains* had quickly left the Shore, and retired into Places more remote. *Cæſar* having Landed his Army, and choſen a fit Place for his Camp, as ſoon as he learn'd from the Priſoners in what Place the Enemy's Forces were Encamped, about the Third Watch of the Night marched toward them, being not concern'd for his Ships, becauſe he left them at Anchor in a ſafe and bold Shore, with Ten *Cohorts*, and Three Hundred Horſe to guard them, under the Command of *Q. Atrius*. But Marching that Night about Twelve Miles (towards *Chilham* in *Kent*, as is ſuppos'd) he at laſt ſaw the Enemies Forces, who with their Horſe marching down to the River *Stoure*, lying between them, began [from the higher Ground] to aſſail the *Romans*, and to give them Battel; but being repulſed by the Horſe, they convey'd themſelves into the Woods, where having a Place ſtrongly Fortified, as well by Art as Nature, and which it ſeems they had before provided during their own Domeſtick Wars; for all the Avenues to it were clos'd up with Trees laid overthwart the Paſſages. The *Britains* fought ſtraggling out of the Woods, and hinder'd the *Romans* from entring within the Fortification: But the Souldiers of the Seventh Legion making a * *Teſtudo*, did by a Mount rais'd againſt their Fortification ſoon take it, and drove them out of the Woods, having themſelves receiv'd very little Loſs; but ſince they fled, *Cæſar* forbad to purſue them too far, becauſe he was ignorant of the Place; and a great part of the Day being ſpent, he would employ the reſt of it for the Fortifying of his Camp.

(* i. e. *A kind of an Arch made with their Shields clap'd cloſe to each other, like the back of a Tortoiſe, from whence it had its Name.*

The next Day, early in the Morning, he ſent his Foot Souldiers and Horſemen, being divided into Three Bodies, upon another Expedition, that they might now purſue thoſe that fled: But before they had march'd any great diſtance of Ground, the Enemy being in ſight, ſome Horſemen came from *Q. Atrius* to *Cæſar*, telling him, that a great Tempeſt having riſen the Night before, almoſt all the Ships were ſhatter'd and caſt on Shore, neither the Anchors nor Cables being able to hold them, nor could the Maſters of the Veſſels nor Mariners withſtand the Force of the Tempeſt; ſo that by the Ships falling foul upon each other, great Damage was receiv'd; which when *Cæſar* knew, he return'd to his Ships, and he himſelf beheld what he had heard from the Meſſengers; ſo that about Forty Ships being loſt, the reſt might be refitted, though not without much Labour. Therefore he choſe ſome Carpenters out of the Legions, and Commanded others to be ſent for from the Continent, and he writ to *Labienus*, that he ſhould by the help of thoſe Legions he had with him, ſpeedily get ready as many Ships as he was able, whilſt he himſelf (although it was a buſineſs of great Toyl) thought it was moſt convenient to have all his Ships haled on Shore, and to encloſe them within the ſame Fortification with his Camp; in which Work he ſpent about

about Ten Days without any Intermiſſion of Labour Day or Night. The Ships being thus drawn up, and the Camp ſtrongly Fortified, he left the ſame Forces to guard them as before, whilſt he himſelf marched forward to the ſame Place from whence he had laſt return'd: When he came thither, he found much greater Forces of the *Britains*, there aſſembled from all Parts. The Chief Command for managing this War being by their common Conſent committed to *Caſſibelan*, whoſe Territories the River *Thames* divided from the Maritime States, being about Eighty Miles diſtant from the Sea. There had been in former Times perpetual Wars between him and the Neighbouring Cities. But the *Britains* being now terrified by this ſecond Invaſion, had given him the Supreme Command over them all. *Anno ante Chriſt.* LII.

Now from hence you may ſee the Falſhood of *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, who makes this Iſland to have bin a Monarchy before *Cæſar*'s coming, and *Caſſibelan* to have bin the Sole King; whereas we find him only to have been a ſmall Inland Prince, and the reſt of the Iſland divided into many Petty States or Principalities. The reſt of what *Cæſar* here tells us concerning the Manners of the *Britains*, as alſo the Situation of this Iſland, theſe being either already related, or elſe needleſs, as ſufficiently known, I ſhall paſs over, and return to *Cæſar*'s Actions, as he relates them in the ſame Book.

In this March the *Britiſh* Cavalry and Charioteers fought ſharply with the *Roman* Horſemen, yet nevertheleſs theſe were Superior in all Places, and drove them to the Hills and Woods, many being ſlain; but the *Romans* purſuing them too eagerly, loſt ſome of their own Men. Some time after this the Enemy on a ſuddain ſallied out from the Woods, the *Romans* not being aware of them, (being buſie in Fortifying their Camp) and charged briskly upon thoſe who were upon the Guard before the Camp. But two Cohorts (the chief of two Legions) being ſent by *Cæſar* to their aſſiſtance, whilſt they made a halt, as being ſurpriz'd with their new way of Fighting; the Enemy boldly charg'd back again through the midſt of them, without the loſs of a Man: So that Day *Quintus Laberius Durus*, a Tribune, was kill'd; but the Enemy, upon the ſending out of freſh Cohorts, were repell'd, and forc'd to ſave themſelves by flight.

This Skirmiſh thus fought before the Camp, and in the Eyes of all Men, made it evident, that the Legionary Soldiers, being neither able, for the weight of their Arms, to purſue thoſe that retreated, nor yet daring to go far from their Enſigns, were no equal Match for ſuch a kind of Enemy; and that the Horſe fought with much greater Danger, becauſe the *Britains* oftentimes retired on purpoſe, and when they had drawn the *Romans* a little from the Legions, leap'd from their Chariots and fought on Foot, to the great Diſadvantage of the *Romans*. But the manner of their Cavalries fighting brought the ſame or equal Danger to thoſe that retir'd, as to thoſe that purſu'd: To which you may add, that they never fought in cloſe Order, but ſcatter'd, and at ſome diſtance, and had their Men ſo Poſted, that they could eaſily Succour each other, freſh Men ſtill relieving thoſe that were wounded or weary.

The next Day the Enemies made a ſtand upon the Hills at a diſtance from the Camp, and began to ſhow themſelves leſs frequently, being not ſo forward to Skirmiſh with their Horſe as they were the Day before; but about Noon, when *Cæſar* had ſent out the Three Legions with *C. Trebonius*,

Anno ante Christ. LII.

bonius to Forage, they ſuddenly on all ſides ſet upon the Foragers, and charg'd up after them to the very Legions and Enſigns, whilſt the *Romans* charging them with great Courage, repell'd them. Nor made they an end of chaſing them, until the Horſe, who were ſupported by the Legions behind them (and not giving them time either to ſtand ſtill to rally, or to get down from their Chariots as they were wont) had ſlain a great many of them. After this Rout the *Britiſh* Auxiliaries which had come from all Parts return'd home; and from that time the *Britains* never fought the *Romans* again with their whole Forces: But *Cæſar* gueſſing their Deſigns, drew his Army toward the River *Thameſis* into the Confines of *Caſſibelan*'s Territories, which River was only fordable (and that very hardly) in one place: At his arrival he found great Forces of the Enemy's there Encamp'd, and the Bank Fortify'd with ſharp Stakes, and many of the ſame ſort were alſo fix'd under Water, which being made known by the Priſoners and Fugitives, the Horſe being ſent before, he order'd the Legions immediately to follow; but the Soldiers march'd with that Courage, that, though their Heads only appear'd above Water, yet the Enemy, not enduring the Force of the Horſe and Legions, quitting the Banks committed themſelves to flight. This Ford is ſuppos'd by Mr. *Cambden* in his *Britannia*, to have been at *Coway-Stakes* near *Lalam* in *Middleſex*, where the remainder of thoſe Piles plac'd by the *Britains* were of late Times ſtill to be ſeen, being bound about with Lead, and of the thickneſs of a Man's Thigh; and ſome of them have been of late Years pull'd up, as hindring the Paſſage of the Barges.

Caſſibelan having now loſt all hopes of doing any good by downright Fighting, having diſmiſs'd the greater part of his Forces, retain'd only about Four Thouſand Charioteers, who obſerv'd the *Roman* Marches; and going a little out of the way, hid themſelves in woody and intricate Places, driving away the Men and Cattle into the Woods: But in thoſe Parts of the Country where he knew the *Romans* were to march, whilſt the Horſe were diſperſed abroad into the Fields, either for Forage or Booty, he ſent out his Charioteers from the Woods, by all the known ways, and there fought the *Roman* Horſe-Men, putting them in great hazard; whereupon *Cæſar* ſtrictly commanded them not to march too far from the Legions, and that they ſhould only burn and deſtroy the Country as far as the Legionary Soldiers alone could ſafely perform it in their Marches. In the mean time the *Trinobantes*, being one of the ſtrongeſt States of all thoſe Parts, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, promiſing to ſubmit themſelves to him, and perform his Commands, deſiring that he would defend *Mandubratius* from the Injuries of *Caſſibelan*, and would ſend him to them, that he might receive the Supreme Authority of their State. This *Mandubratius* being a young Prince, had fled to *Cæſar* in *Gallia*; for his Father *Immanuentius* had been King of that Country, but having been ſlain by *Caſſibelan*, his Son avoided the like Fate by flight. Whereupon *Cæſar* ſent him to them, enjoyning them to give him Forty Hoſtages, and Corn for his Army; they ſpeedily perform'd his Commands, and ſent him that number of Hoſtages, as alſo the Corn. The *Trinobantes* being defended from the Violence of the Soldiers, the * *Segontiaci*, *Anacalites*, *Bibroci*, and *Caſſi*, having alſo ſent Embaſſies, ſubmitted themſelves to *Cæſar*: By theſe he underſtood that the Town of *Caſſibelam* (ſuppos'd to be *Verulamium*) was not far off, being ſtrongly Fortified with Woods and Bogs, in which a great number of Men and Cattle was got together.

* *I ſhall not undertake to Engliſh theſe Names, becauſe they are very uncertain.*

You

You may here alſo obſerve *Cæſar*'s Deſcription of a *Britiſh* Town: The *Britains*, ſays he, when they have taken in ſome woody Place, and enclo- *Anno ante Chriſt.* LII.
ſed it with a Ditch, or Rampire, call it a Town, to which, to avoid the Incurſions of their Enemies, they are wont to retreat, But thither *Cæſar* marched with his Legions, and found the Place ſtrongly Fortified both by Art and Nature; yet when he began to Storm it on both ſides, the Enemies not enduring the Aſſault of the *Roman* Legions, threw themſelves out from another Part of the Town, and ſo made their Eſcape, whilſt many were kill'd as they fled: Here *Cæſar* found great Multitudes of Cattle.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, *Caſſibelan* ſent Meſſengers into *Kent*, in which Parts were four petty Princes, (whom *Cæſar*, for his own Glory, calls Kings,) *viz. Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus* and *Segonax*; theſe he orders, that with all the Forces they could make, they ſhould aſſault upon the ſudden, and take the *Romans* Naval Camp. Theſe Princes, with their Forces, marching to the place, the *Romans* ſallying out upon the *Britains*, killed many of them, and taking *Cingeterox*, a noted Leader, Priſoner, returned again to their Camp without any Loſs. *Caſſibelan* hearing of the Succeſs of this Fight, having had his Borders thus waſted, and received ſo conſiderable Loſſes, but being chiefly terrified with the Defection of ſo many States, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, by the Mediation of *Comius* of *Arras*, to treat about a Submiſſion: *Cæſar* being reſolved to paſs the Winter in the Continent, becauſe of the ſudden Commotions in *Gaul*, and that there was not much of the Summer left, and which might be eaſily ſpun out, demanded Hoſtages, and ſet how much yearly Tribute the *Britains* ſhould pay to the People of *Rome*; and having farther forbad *Caſſibelan*, either to moleſt *Mandubratius*, or the *Trinobantes*, Hoſtages being taken, *Cæſar* marched back his Army to the Sea-ſide, where he found all his Ships re-fitted; but becauſe he had a great number of Priſoners, as that alſo ſome of his Ships were loſt by the Tempeſt, he reſolved to tranſport his Army at two ſeveral Returns; yet it happen'd, that out of ſo great a number of Ships, in ſo many Voyages to and fro, neither in this, nor the former Year, any Ship that carried the Soldiers was wanting; whereas, of thoſe which were ſent him empty from the Continent, and which afterwards *Labienus* had taken care to have new-built, (being to the number of Sixty) very few reached the Port; almoſt all of them being loſt, or driven back; Theſe when *Cæſar* for ſome time had in vain expected, leſt he ſhould be debarr'd from going over by the Seaſon of the Year, becauſe the *Æquinox* now approached, he was forced to crowd his Soldiers the cloſer together; and having found a calm Seaſon, about the Second Watch of the Night he ſet Sail; and by Break of Day reached the Continent.

This is the Account which *Cæſar* himſelf gives us of both theſe Expe- *M.*
ditions: Howbeit, other Ancient Writers have ſpoken more doubtfully of *Cæſar*'s Victories here, and that in plain Terms he fled from hence; for which that noted Verſe in *Lucan*, with divers Paſſages here and there in *Tacitus*, are alledged. *Paulus Oroſius*, who took what he wrote from an Hiſtory of *Suetonius*, now loſt, writes, That *Cæſar* in his firſt Journey being entertained with a ſharp Fight, loſt no ſmall number of his Foot; and by Tempeſt, nigh all his Horſe: But be it as it will, *Pliny* tells us, That at his Return to *Rome*, as from a glorious Enterprize, he offered to *Venus*, the Patroneſs of his Family, a Breaſt-plate embroider'd with *Britiſh* Pearls.

Anno ante Christ. XL. I shall not much trouble you with the Relation of *Cassibelan*'s Actions after *Cæsar*'s Departure, since we have no other Account of them, but from *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*: But, according to his Relation, *Mandubratius* (whom he calls *Androgeus*) was not restored to the Kingdom of the *Trinobantes*; whether through the ill Will of *Cassibelan*, or the general Hatred the People had to him, is uncertain: So that leaving *Britain*, he again betook himself unto *Cæsar*, and attended him to *Rome*, where he was entertain'd as King of *Britain*, and a Friend to the *Roman* Commonwealth. *Cassibelan*, after the Departure of the *Romans*, is said to have reigned Ten Years; which Time he employed in revenging himself upon the Cities and States that had revolted from him during the Wars with *Cæsar*.

After whom, until the Time of the Emperor *Claudius*, the *Britains* were free from the *Roman* Yoke, living under their own Kings, and being govern'd by their own Laws: So that for a while we must take our Farewell of the *Roman* History, collecting it only as we find it scatter'd here and there, and follow the Succession of the *British* Kings, according to *Geoffrey*.

Then *Theomantius*, or *Tenantius*, Nephew of *Cassibelan*, is said by him to have succeeded his Uncle, having before enjoyed the Principality of *Cornwall*; far remote from the Troubles of these Times, and by that means not engaged in the Quarrel, was not obliged, either to take into the *Roman* Interest; or by aiding *Cassibelan*, to justifie his Violences; by which indifferent Carriage, by the general Applause of the People he is said to come to the Crown.

Anno ante Christ. XL. In this King's Reign it is supposed, that *Octavius* (the Grand-child of *Julia*, *Cæsar*'s Sister) obtain'd the Empire of *Rome*: But before he had fully possessed himself of it, *Geoffrey* relates, That *Tenantius* sent his Son *Kynobelin* to attend him in his Wars; hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with *Augustus*, and obtain a Relaxation of the imposed Tribute: And that *Kynobelin* so well behaved himself, that he grew into special Favour with the Emperor, and accompanied him to *Rome*, where he was saluted by the Name of *FRIEND of the Commonwealth*; and that during his Residence there, *Tenantius* paid no Tribute at all; which (as the *British* Historian relates) was in respect of his Son's great Favour with *Augustus*. But the *Roman* Authors seem rather to make the Troubles of the Empire, and the Bandyings of the Factions against each other, after the Death of *Julius Cæsar*, the Causes of the Quiet of the *Britains* during those Civil Dissentions.

But *Augustus Cæsar*, who succeeded his Uncle *Julius* in the Empire, either contemning this Island, as a place of no Importance, and whose Enmity or Friendship conduced nothing to the good or ill Fortune of the Empire; or as *Tacitus*, in his Life of *Agricola*, relates, because of the Civil Wars that had lately happen'd, caused a long Quiet to *Britain*: * Yet we find *Augustus* once advanced as far as *Gallia*, in order to the Reducing of *Britain* under his Obedience; and had not a Revolt in † *Pannonia* diverted him, he had certainly attempted it. Yet about Seven Years after, with the same Resolution, he once more drew down into *Gallia*; but the *Britains* hearing thereof, sent their Ambassadors thither to him, to beg Peace; which for the present he accepted of, because it required some Time to settle his Affairs in *Gaul*, which were then much out of order: The Year following, he again resum'd his Resolutions of making an Expedition into *Britain*, because they had not perform'd their Articles with

* *Dion. Cas. l.* 49.

† *Ibid. l.* 23.

with him; but he was again hinder'd by freſh Inſurrections in *Spain*. The *Cantabrians* and *Aſturians* being revolted, *Tenantius* having re gned in *Britain* Thirty two Years; then dying, was ſucceeded by *Anño ante Chr.* XIV.

* *Kymbelein*, or *Kynobelin*, who, if he was not educated at *Rome*, yet the good Correſpondence between the *Romans* and *Britains* about theſe Times, gave fair Occaſion to the *Britiſh* Writers to feign it: For now, it ſeems, the *Britains* began to learn the *Roman* Arts, to flatter for Advantage, and by Gifts to appeaſe a powerful Prince, and buy off a War. So they ſent their Tribute to † *Auguſtus*, with Offerings and Sacrifices to the *Roman* Gods, to be offered in the *Capitol*; where, in the Temple of *Mars*, they ſwore Fidelity to the Senate and and People of *Rome*. Which Obſequious Addreſſes, as I ſuppoſe, gave Occaſion to ‖ *Horace* to write thus: * *Geoff. Mon.* † *Dion. ibid.* ‖ Car. Lib. III. Od. 5.

Though we believe that thund'ring Jove
In Heaven reigns, yet here below
Auguſtus *we a God do prove*;
Since Britains, *and proud* Perſians *too*,
Are to his Empire made to bow.

Cœlo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare: præſens divus habebitur
Auguſtus, adjectis Britannis
Imperio, gravibuſque Perſis.

Nay, ſo conformable to the *Roman* Cuſtoms was this *Kynobelin* himſelf, that he cauſed Coins to be ſtamped after the manner of the *Romans*, ſome of which are ſtill to be ſeen; whereas before, all Payments among the *Britains* were made with Rings of Iron, and Plates of Braſs, of a certain Weight: And his Image was made after the manner of the Emperors; and on the Reverſe is *CAM:* ſignifying *Camolodunum*, (now *Maldon*) his Royal Seat: And it is to be ſuſpected that Tribute was paid with it; for in a Coin of his, *TASCIO* is found in Great Letters, with a Man on the Reverſe, ſitting Hammering of Metal: Which Word implieth Tribute, as you may find in that Collection of Coins before Mr. *Camden*'s *Britannia*.

The Emperor *Tiberius*, who ſucceeded *Auguſtus*, being given up to Eaſe and Luxury, thought it beſt to obſerve * *Auguſtus*'s Advice, of contracting, rather than enlarging the Bounds of the Empire: So that as he had no Deſire to trouble the *Britains*, they had alſo as little to provoke him; though 'tis certain that they ſtill paid their uſual Cuſtoms and Tolls for thoſe Commodities they tranſported to the *Romans*, into *Gaul*; and exchanged with them Things wrought in Ivory, for Chains and Trinkets of Amber, which they wore for Pendants and Bracelets. The *Roman* Cuſtomers collected them at firſt after a precarious manner; and (as *Strabo* writes) not daring to compel them. Beſides, their Courteſie to *Germanicus*'s Soldiers, who had been Ship-wrack'd on the *Britiſh* Shore, and had been by them ſent back to their General, produced a like kind Return from the *Romans*. *Anno Dom.* XIV. * *Suet. in Aug.*

Caius Caligula, who ſucceeded *Tiberius*, being a Prince of a cruel Nature and fantaſtick Humour, having paſſed the † *Alpes*, and come into *Gaul* and *Belgium*, to peel thoſe Provinces, and having received into his Protection *Adminius*, the Son of *Kynobelin*, (above mentioned,) who being expell'd by his Father, fled to *Caligula*, and excited him to invade *Britain*. Whereupon, as if the whole Iſle had been yielded up to him, he ſent magnificent Letters to *Rome*, giving a ſtrict Charge to the Couriers, that they ſhould drive their Chariots into the *Forum*, to the very *Curia*; and ſhould not deliver their Letters, but in the Temple of *Mars*, and *Anno Dom.* XXXVII. † *Sueton. in Calig.*

Anno Dom. XXXVII. and in a full Assembly of the Senate. But *Caligula*, after this, marched his Army to the *Belgick* Shore, making as if he would pass over into *Britain*; but being (as is suppos'd) assur'd that the *Britains* were ready to oppose his Landing, if he should attempt it, * thereupon he thought it safer to let them alone: Yet however, he put out to Sea in a Galley; and after he had row'd a little distance from the Shore, return'd again to Land; and then mounting on an high Tribunal, ordering the Trumpets to sound a Charge, gave his Soldiers the Signal of Battel; then all on the sudden commanded them to gather their † Helmets and Laps full of Cockles, Muscles, and other Shells: Having gotten these Spoils (as he call'd them) of the Ocean, (as wanting others to adorn his Trophies,) he grew as proud as if he had conquer'd the Ocean it self; and rewarded his Soldiers for this great Victory, with a Donative of an Hundred *Denarii* a Man, bidding them all depart *Rich and Happy*. After which, he erected an high Tower on the *Belgick* Shore, out of which, as from a *Pharus*, Lights might direct Mariners to steer their Course by Night; the Ruins of which *Pharus* are supposed, even to this Day, to be seen at very low Tides, on the Coast of *Holland*; being call'd by the Inhabitants, to this Day, *Britten Huis*. Nor did *Caligula* stop here; but was so vain, as to carry these Shells to *Rome*, (together with the Galleys in which he went out to Sea;) where, when he had required a Triumph for this noble Enterprize, finding the Senate averse to it, he had Thoughts of murthering them all for refusing him Triumphal Honours; but he was not long after murther'd himself.

* *Dion. l.* 15.

† *Suet. ibid.*

Anno Dom. XLIII. But that we may return again to the Affairs of *Britain*, which remain'd in Peace till the Reign of *Claudius*; and then *Cynobelin* (according to *Geoffrey*) after Threescore Years happy Reign, died, (not long before the *Roman* Invasion.) This Prince had many Sons; (*viz.*) *Adminius*, who, as we have already heard, was banish'd by his Father: As also, *Togodumnus*, who is thought to be the same with him whom *Geoffrey* calls *Guidar*, or *Guinder*; and whom he supposes to have reign'd, some say Four, and others Eight and Twenty Years; in whose Reign, *Claudius* the Emperor invaded *Britain*. But * *Dion Cassius* makes no Mention of this Prince, and only names *Togadumnus* and *Caractacus*, being Brothers, to have reign'd in this Island; but whether with Equal, or Subordinate Authority, he does not mention; only gives us an exact Relation of the Invasion by *Claudius*, the Occasion of which he thus relates: That one *Bericus*, (though what he was, he doth not further say) having been driven out of this Island by a certain Sedition, and highly resenting it, was the Man who excited *Claudius* to invade his Country: And that the *Britains* being provok'd at the Receipt of these Fugitives, and their not being given up when demanded, thereupon forbad all Commerce with the *Romans*. So a War being resolv'd on, *Plautius*, then Prætor in *Gaul*, was immediately order'd by the Emperor to transport those Legions he had with him, into *Britain*: But the Prætor, who was to carry over this Army, could very hardly get them out of *Gaul*; being much concern'd that they were to make War (as it were) in another World; spending a great deal of Time in Delays, before they would yield to go along with him. But when *Narcissus*, (*Claudius*'s Freed-Man) being sent by him to persuade the Army to march, had ascended the Tribunal, and went about to make a Speech to them, the Soldiers being inflam'd with Indignation, began presently to cry out, *Io Saturnalia*; (for in the Feast of the *Saturnalia*, it is

* *Lib.* 60.

is the Cuſtom for Slaves to act the Part of their Maſters:) Yet nevertheleſs, they were at laſt perſuaded to follow *Plautius*, and go on Shipboard. But the Forces being divided into Three Parts, leſt coming all to one place, they ſhould be hinder'd from Landing, were kept back in their Paſſage by contrary Winds, and ſuffer'd great Hardſhip: Yet, taking freſh Courage, becauſe a Meteor had ſhot from Eaſt to Weſt, (the very Courſe they were to ſteer,) they at laſt reach'd the Iſland, no body hindring them; for the *Britains* not believing the *Romans* would have come over, (for the Reaſons you have already heard,) had prepar'd no Forces to prevent them; and therefore, not drawing together, had hid themſelves in the Woods and Marſhes, with Hopes of drawing on the *Romans* by Delays, as had before happen'd under *Julius Cæſar*: So that *Plautius* ſpent much Time in finding them out; but after he had once found them, he overcame firſt *Caractacus*, and afterwards *Togadumnus*, the Sons of *Kynobelin*, (their Father being dead ſome time before:) For the *Britains* did not enjoy a Popular Liberty, but were then ſubject to divers Kings: Yet all theſe being put to flight, he receiv'd a part of the *Boduni* into his Subjection, who before obey'd the *Catuellani*; and a Garriſon being left there, he march'd to a certain River which the *Britains* ſuppos'd the *Romans* could not paſs over without a Bridge, and ſo lay there the more carelefly encamp'd on the other ſide: Wherefore *Plautius* ſent over the *Germans* firſt, who being accuſtom'd in their Armour to ſwim over the ſwifteſt Rivers, ſet upon the Enemy on a ſudden, but kill'd none, only wounded the Horſes which drew their Chariots; wherewith they were ſo gall'd, that they would not endure their Riders. Then *Plautius* ſent *Flavius Veſpaſian*, (who afterwards was Emperor,) together with *Sabinus*, his Brother, as his Lieutenant; who alſo paſſing the River, kill'd many of the *Britains* at unawares; yet did not the reſt, for all this, run away, but the next Day renew'd the Fight with doubtful Succeſs, until *C. Sidius* (tho' he had like to have fallen into the Enemy's Hands) ſo routed them, that although he had never been Conſul, he had nevertheleſs Triumphal Honours beſtowed upon him. *Anno Dom.* XLIII.

From hence the *Britains* retired to the Mouth of the River *Thames*, and eaſily paſs'd it, knowing all the Fords and Shallows; whither the *Romans* following them, were in great danger: But when the *Germans* had again ſwum over, and that ſome others had likewiſe paſs'd by a Bridge that lay higher, the *Britains* being every where routed, they made a great Slaughter of them; though purſuing the Reſidue too raſhly, they fell into the Marſhes, and many were loſt. For theſe Reaſons, and becauſe the *Britains* were not, by the Death of *Togadumnus*, (who was kill'd,) at all diſcourag'd, but rather more eager to revenge his Death, *Plautius* doubting the Succeſs, would not proceed farther; but putting Garriſons into thoſe Places he had conquer'd, ſent notice to the Emperor *Claudius*, who had before order'd him to do ſo, if any thing extraordinary or unexpected ſhould happen.

Claudius having receiv'd this Meſſage, immediately got all things ready (together with divers Elephants) for this Expedition; and being now the Third Time Conſul, and having choſen *Britain* for his Province, he committed the Care of the City and Soldiers to *L. Vitellius*, his Collegue, (who was Father to *A. Vitellius*, afterwards Emperor.) But *Claudius* ſailing from *Oſtia*, landed at *Marſeilles*, though by the way † he had like, by foul Weather, to have been caſt away, firſt on the Iſlands *Stæchades*, and then *Anno Dom.* XLIV.

† *Sueton. in Claudio.*

Anno Dom. XLIV. then on the Coaſt of *Liguria*; yet landing, he paſs'd through *Gaul*, as far as *Geſſoriacum*, (now *Bologne*;) where again embarking, he paſs'd over into *Britain*, and joyn'd his Forces that expected him near the *Thames*; then paſſing over the River, he fought with the *Britains* in a pitch'd Battel, and obtain'd the Victory; taking *Camolodunum*, the Royal Seat of *Kynobelin*, together with many Priſoners, ſome by Force, and ſome by Surrender. For theſe Exploits, he was oftentimes by his Soldiers ſaluted *Imperator*, or *General*, though againſt the received Cuſtom of the *Romans*; for it was not lawful before to aſſume that Title more than once in the ſame War. *Claudius* having thus diſarm'd the *Britains*, left them to the Government of *Plautius*; ordering him to ſubdue thoſe that remain'd unconquer'd: But as for thoſe that ſubmitted, he remitted the Confiſcation of their Eſtates; which ſo oblig'd the *Britains*, that they built him a Temple, and ador'd him as a God. But whilſt he return'd towards *Rome*, his Sons-in-Law *Pompeius* and *Silanus* were ſent before with the News of his Victory, which was accompliſh'd in Sixteen Days. For no longer ſtay'd he in *Britain*, and that with ſo little Noiſe, that it gave occaſion to *Suetonius* (thô erroniouſly) to write, that he ſuddu'd *Britain* without ever a Battel, or any Blood-ſhed.

Claudius returning thus Triumphantly to *Rome* (from whence he had been abſent but Six Months in all) the Senate decreed his Son the Sirname of *Britannicus*, to himſelf a Triumph, and annual Games, with two Triumphal Arches, one in the City, the other in *Gaul*, from whence he had paſſed into *Britain*. In his Triumph (performing all things according to Cuſtom) he aſcended the Stairs of the *Capitol* on his Knees, his two Sons-in-Law ſupporting him on each ſide; he then beſtow'd on thoſe who had ſerv'd with him in this Expedition (not only ſuch who had been *Conſuls*, but even bare *Senators*) Triumphal Ornaments. I ſhall not trouble you with the reſt of this Solemnity, ſince it is not much to the Matter in hand, and alſo tranſacted out of this Iſland, only I ſhall Remark, That it appears this Conqueſt of *Britain* was look'd upon as ſo conſiderable, that the Senate thought fit to Decree as high Honours to the Emperor, who had now ſubdu'd but part of this Iſland; as they had done for any former Conquerors, and the Sirname of *Britannicus*, was eſteem'd as Glorious as that of *Germanicus*, *Africanus*, or *Aſiaticus*: And even in the heighth of the *Roman* Grandure it was eſteem'd ſo conſiderable a part of the Empire, that it was held not Inferior to any of the forementioned Provinces, and coſt more Legions in gaining and preſerving it than all *Aſia*, and was never forſaken by the *Romans*, but in their laſt Extremity.

I ſhall now by the way take a little notice of *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*'s Relation of this *Britiſh* War, which is much different from the *Roman* Accounts of it, he making *Claudius* to Land at *Portcheſter* in *Hampſhire*, and to have Beſieg'd that Town, to the Relief whereof *Guiderius*, or *Guider* (the above-mention'd King of the *Britains*) quickly came, and that a Battel enſuing it went on the *Britains* ſide; until *Hamo*, a *Roman*, diſguiſing himſelf like a *Britain*, ſlew the King; whereupon *Arviragus* his Brother, (leſt the *Britains* ſhould be diſcourag'd) conceal'd the King's Death, and arming himſelf in his Armour, continued the Battel, and ſo obtain'd a great Victory, and then ſucceeded his Brother *Guider*. But ſince none of the *Roman* Hiſtorians make any mention of theſe Kings, nor of *Hamo* (who is here ſuppos'd to have kill'd *Guider*) it is probable, that

that their very Succeſſion is as Fabulous as *Arviragus* his Encounters with *Hamo*; and his Marriage with *Genuiſſa*, a ſuppoſed Daughter of *Claudius*; as likewiſe his Treaty with that Emperour and homage done to him; Therefore leaving ſuch Fables, we will come to what the *Romans* performed in this Iſland after *Claudius* his departure to *Rome*. Which is thus related by *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*. *Anno Dom.* XLIV.

Aulus Plautius being left by *Claudius* as his Lieutenant in *Britain*, after the Emperour's departure, diligently proſecuted the War; and ſo behav'd himſelf in quieting the revolting Countries, and gaining new Conqueſts as far as the Weſtern parts of the Iſland, that *Claudius* allow'd him an * *Ovation*, and at his Entrance into *Rome*, himſelf went to meet him, giving him the Right hand both in going and coming. Neither were the Actions of *Veſpatian* (afterwards Emperour) leſs remarkable in this War; for partly under the Conduct of *Claudius* himſelf, and partly of *Plautius*, he fought Thirty Battles with the *Britains*, and brought two moſt powerful Nations, and above Twenty Towns, together with the Iſle of *Wight*, under his Subjection; for all which noble Actions he received Triumphal Ornaments, and a little while after two Sacerdotal Dignities, together with the Conſulſhip: His Son *Titus*, then ſerving under him in the quality of a *Tribune*, was much renowned for his Valour and Diligence; he had alſo the good fortune to reſcue and relieve his Father: And his modeſt Behaviour was as ſignal, as his Courage; as appears by many Inſcriptions, under his Image, diſperſed through divers Provinces. *Tacitus Annal. Lib.* XIII. c. 32. * *A ſort of petty triumph performed on foot.* *Sueton, in Veſpaſ.*

Oſtorius Scapula ſucceeded *Plautius* in the Quality of *Prætor*, a Man no leſs experienced in Martial Affairs: At his firſt entrance into his command he met with many Commotions and Troubles; for that part of *Britain*, which was not yet ſubdued broke in upon their Neighbours, who had entred into League, or made any ſubmiſſion to the *Romans*, waſting their Country; and with ſo much the more Vigour, for that they thought this new *General* (as not yet aequainted with his buſineſs, nor having Experience of his Army) would not be ſoon able to revenge it; eſpecially conſidering that Winter was near, and that a Seaſon unfit for Action: but *Oſtorius*, knowing that the firſt Succeſs makes the greateſt Impreſſion of Fear, or Confidence, reſolved to put a ſtop to their Inroads betimes, before they proceeded too far; and for that end he quickly took with him ſome of his lighteſt Cohorts, and unexpectedly leting upon them, killed many, following thoſe that fled ſo cloſe, that he gave them no time to rally; and leſt for the future a treacherous unſtable Peace might prove more dangerous, and troubleſome, as well to himſelf as his Souldiers; he diſarmed all whom he ſuſpected moſt likely to revolt, and ſet Garriſons on the two Rivers, *Severn* and *Antona* (now *Avon*,) thereby to hinder the Incurſions of the *Britiſh* Army: By this means he reduced the moſt Southerly parts of the Iſland into the form of a Province; having alſo planted there a Colony of *Veterane* Souldiers, and to ſecure his Conqueſt the better, he gave ſeveral Cities to *Cogidunus*, to be held as Tributary to the *Roman* Empire, under the Title of King: by which he ſtrongly engaged him to its intereſt; it being an antient and received Policy of that State (as *Tacitus* well obſerves) to make Kings the Inſtruments of it's Ambition, as well as of their own Servitude. *An. XXV. Id. Annal. Lib. XII.* c. 31.

Anno Dom. XLIV. But the *Iceni*, (who Inhabited what we now call *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntington-ſhires*) a potent Nation and not yet waſted by War, becauſe they had voluntarily entered in allianee with the *Romans*; not brooking theſe proceedings of *Oſtorius*, took Arms, and by their Example encouraged many of their neighbouring Nations to do the like: this done, they encamped in a place choſen for that purpoſe, caſting up a Rampire of Earth; leaving a very narrow Entrance, for fear, leaſt the Enemy's Horſe ſhould break in upon them.

Oſtorius, although he had not his Legions, but only his Auxiliaries with him; yet reſolved, if he could, to break down this Fence, which he perceived was but rudely thrown up, and ſetting all his *Cohorts* to work, the Horſe alſo alighting to that Service, he himſelf giving the Signal, at once they flung down the Works, and drove the Enemy from their Fortreſs: But the *Britains*, as well through the Conſciouſneſs of their Rebellion, as becauſe all ways of eſcaping were blocked up, made a notable Defence: In which Battel, *M. Oſtorius* the Son of the Lieutenant, gained the honour of having ſaved a Citizen.

Tacit. An. lib. 12. cap. 32. The *Iceni* thus overcome; the other *States*, who hitherto ſtood in a doubtful Poſture between War and Peace, were confirmed in their Obedience by their ſufferings. After this Succeſs, *Oſtorius* marched into the Country of the *Cangi* (who they were is not well known) where he plundered and laid waſte their Fields, they not daring to give him Battel; and if at any time they ventur'd out of their Coverts to fall on his Rear, they always met with ſharp entertainment: At laſt he approached near the *Iriſh* Sea, where news was brought him of ſtirs among the *Brigantes*, (ſuppoſed to have been the Inhabitants of *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, and the other *Northern* Countries). Upon this he reſolves to return, intending not to attempt any new Deſign, till he had fully quieted thoſe Commotions behind him: and indeed the *Brigantes* were ſoon quieted; thoſe few who took Arms being all Slain, and the reſt pardoned. But the Nation of the *Silures* (the Inhabitants of the now South *Wales*) were not to be won by Clemency, or terrified by Severity; but would needs have a War, and if ſubdued, were to be kept in obedience by Garriſons of Legionary Souldiers.

† *Ib. cap.* 33. So he marched againſt theſe *Silures*, who, beſides their natural Fierceneſs, were much exalted with the Opinion they had of the Courage and Conduct of *Caractacus*, who by many doubtful, and ſome Fortunate Attempts, had raiſed himſelf to a greater Reputation in Arms than any of the *Britiſh* Generals: he finding himſelf over-matched in Strength made uſe of Policy: he knew his Advantage lay in choice of Ground, to that end he transferr'd the War to the rough unacceſſible Country of the the *Ordovices* (now thoſe of *North Wales*) chuſing for the Seat of the War, a place, whoſe Avenues were moſt difficult to the *Romans*, and eaſieſt of Acceſs to themſelves: there he raiſed a Fortification with great Stones on the tops of the Mountains: and where a River running near made a dangerous and uncertain Ford, placed a range or breaſt-work of larger Stones to defend the paſſage: which place (as Mr. *Camden* Conjectures) has ſtill from him the Name of *Caer Caradoc*, lying on the Weſt edge of *Shropſhire*: *Caradoc* being in the *Britiſh* Tongue ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Caractacus* in the *Latin*. *Oſtorius* having drawn hither all his Forces (ſince *Caractacus* reſolved here to Fight it to the laſt) the Officers went about

about, encouraging their Men, diminiſhing their Fears, and enlivening their Courage by all the Rhetorick of War. But *Caractacus* notably beſtir'd himſelf, and with quick motions going from place to place, *Cryed out, this was the Day, and this the Field, which would be either the recovery of their Liberty, or the beginning of a new and perpetual Slavery: and then invoked the Names of his glorious Anceſtors, who had driven out* Cæſar *the Dictator; and by whoſe Valour they had hitherto been freed from the* Roman *Axes and Tributes; and ſtill kept their Wives and Children preſerved from diſhonour.* *Anno Dom.* XLIV.

At theſe, or ſuch like Speeches, the Army teſtified their Joy by loud Shouts and Acclamations; and every one, according to his Country Superſtition, bound himſelf by Oath, that neither Force nor Wounds ſhould make them yield.

This Couragious alacrity in the Enemy ſtartled the *Roman* General: eſpecially when he deſcried the River before him, and the Rampire made upon its Banks, both of great difficulty to be paſſed; whilſt the ſteep Hills full of Armed Men hanging over their heads, gave a diſmal proſpect, and made a terrible Scene of War: but the Common Souldiers being eager for Battel required the Signal; *Crying out, nothing was impregnable to Valour:* This impatience was increaſed by the *Prefects* and *Tribunes*, who were of the ſame Opinion. Then *Oſtorius* having firſt tried which Fords were paſſable, and which not, led them on as inſenſible of Danger; who with no great difficulty wading through the River, when they were come near to the Rampire, and that it came to be diſputed with Darts and Javelins, greater loſs followed on the *Roman* than *Britiſh* ſide: So that not being able longer to endure it, the Legionary Souldiers joyning cloſe together made a Teſtudo; whereupon this rude Fortification of rough Stones being thrown down, and the *Romans* meeting with them hand to hand, the *Barbarians* ſoon fled to the tops of the Mountains: but thither alſo the heavy as well as the Light-Armed Souldiers quickly followed them; whilſt the *Britains* aſſaulting them with their Darts, theſe received them in cloſe order, whereby their Ranks were ſoon broken, who made uſe of no defence, either of Breſt-plates or Helmets: So that, if they could have reſiſted the Auxiliaries, yet they were beat down by the Swords and Darts of the Legionary Souldiers; and if they turned from theſe, they were again routed by the broad Swords and Spears of the Auxiliaries. The Victory was very remarkable, the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus* being taken Priſoners, and his Brethren ſubmitting to Mercy. *Tacit. An. lib. 12. cap. 35.*

But though he had committed himſelf to the Fidelity of *Cartismandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, (yet as unſafe Counſels prove commonly unfortunate) he was by her, delivered bound to the *Victors* in the Seventh Year (according to *Tacitus*,) but indeed in the Ninth Year after this War was begun in *Britain*. Nevertheleſs *Caractacus* his Fame being carried through all the Neighbouring Provinces, was alſo Celebrated as far as *Italy*, and they deſired to ſee the Man that had for ſo many Years deſpiſed the *Roman* Forces: ſo that the name of *Caractacus* became famous at *Rome* it ſelf; and *Cæſar* whilſt he extoll'd his own Victory, added glory to the conquered; for the People being ſummoned as to ſome ſolemn Spectacle, the *Prætorian Cohorts* ſtood to their Arms in the Field, which lay before their Camp; The King's Servants marched before, *Ib. cap. 36*

Anno Dom. XLIV. bearing his Gold Chains and other Ornaments, with what ever elſe he had gained in Foreign Wars; preſently after came his Brethren with his Wife and Daughters, and laſt of all He himſelf: The behaviour of others, through fear was mean and degenerate; he only neither in Countenance, Word, or Action, appeared dejected: But ſtanding at the Tribunal of *Cæſar*, Spoke to this purpoſe.

If my mind, O Cæſar, *had been as moderate in the Heigth of Fortune, as my Birth and Dignity was Eminent, I might have entred as a Friend, rather than a Captive into this City; nor couldſt thou have diſliked one for a Confederate, ſo Noble by Deſcent, and Ruling ſo many Natinos. My preſent Eſtate, tho to me diſgraceful, to thee is Glorious: I had once Riches, Horſes, Arms, and Men; no wonder if I was not contented to loſe them, but if you will extend your Empire over all others; then of neceſſity all others muſt obey you: If I ſooner had been brought to yield, my Mi fortune had been leſs notorious, your Conqueſt leſs renowned: but by a ſevere treatment of me, both will be ſoon forgotten: if you grant that I may Live, I ſhall live a laſting Monument of your Clemency.*

Cæſar mov'd at ſo ſad a Spectacle of Fortune, but eſpecially at the Nobleneſs of his bearing it, gave him Pardon, as alſo to his Wife and Brothers; they being all unbound went alſo to do the like Reverence to the Empr ſs *Agrippina*; who ſat not far off on another Throne, no leſs conſpicuous: a new indeed, and unwonted ſight, far different from the Manners of the ancient *Romans*, to ſee a Woman in her *Feminine* Pride, preſiding over the *Roman* Enſigns; but indeed ſhe looked upon her ſelf as a Companion, and Sharer of the Empire obtained by her * Anceſtors.

* *As being the Daughter of* Germanicus.

The *Senators* being then alſo ſummon'd, made long and pompuous Diſcourſes upon this taking of *Caractacus*; ſaying, it was no leſs famous than when *P. Scipio* ſhewed *Scyphax*, or *L. Paulus*, *Perſeus*, or any other *General*, who had expoſed Captive Kings to the view of the *People* of *Rome*; ſo that they decreed to *Oſtorius* all the Enſigns of a Triumph.

Tacit. An. lib. 12. cap. 38.

After this, Affairs continued ſome time proſperous; but preſently after became more doubtful: either becauſe that *Caractacus* being now remov'd, he thought the *Britains* as good as ſubdued, and ſo the Wars was leſs eagerly purſued; or whether the Enemy in Compaſſion of ſo great a King burnt more fiercely with Revenge; for they had beſet the Governour in his Camp, and fell upon the Legionary *Cohorts*, who had been left to build Forts among the *Silures*; and unleſs Aſſiſtance had come in to them ſpeedily from the Neighbouring Garriſons and Caſtles, the whole Army had then periſhed; nevertheleſs the *Governour* with Eight *Centurions*, and the moſt forward Souldiers of each Company were cut off, and not long after they routed thoſe that were Forraging, as alſo ſome Troops ſent to their Relief.

Then *Oſtorius* drew forth his Light Armed *Cohorts*, nor had he thereby put a ſtop to his Mens flight, unleſs the Legions had alſo engaged in the Fight, by whoſe Force it firſt became equal, and at length quite turned the Scale; for the Enemies fled, thô with ſmall Loſs, becauſe the Day was declining; afterwards followed frequent Skirmiſhes, more like Robberies than Fights, they often meeting in the Woods or Marſhes, as Deſign or Chance gave them opportunity; often commanded, ſometimes without

Ib. c. 39.

without any command: all which proceeded from the remarkable obſtinacy of the *Silures*, whom that common ſaying of the *Roman General* had much provoked, *That as the* Sicambri *had been formerly deſtroyed, ſo alſo the very name of the* Silures *ought wholly to be extinguiſhed.* Therefore they intercepted two Auxiliary *Coborts*, who through the Avarice of their Officers were too ſecurely pillaging: and beſtowing the Priſoners and Spoils on certain neighbouring Nations, drew them alſo into a Revolt: When *Oſtorius* being now worn out with Cares and Troubles ended his Days. The *Britains* rejoycing, that thô not a Battle; yet a lingering War had taken off ſo great a Souldier. *Anno Dom.* XLIV.

But *Cæſar* underſtanding the Death of his Lieutenant, leſt the *Province* ſhould remain without a *Governour*, ſent *A. Didius* in his room, who quickly arriving there, found Affairs but in an ill Condition; for in the mean while there had happened an unſucceſsful Engagement of that Legion over which *Manlius Valens* commanded: the Fame of which Exploit being alſo much increaſed by the Enemy's reports, that thereby they might terrifie the new *General*, which was alſo much increaſed by himſelf, that if the War were well ended he might win the greater Glory, or if otherwiſe, he might gain the eaſier pardon. But the *Silures* had already done much miſchief, and made Incurſions all abroad, until by *Didius*'s meeting of them they were repelled; which being one of the laſt Actions that happened in *Claudius*'s Reign, I ſhall only take notice that he lived about Three Years after his ſending *Didius* hither, and died (as is ſuppos'd) of Poyſon given him by his Wife *Agrippina*; therefore ſince by his Conqueſt of ſo great a part of *Britain*, he is accounted by moſt Authors as the *Sovereign* power thereof; I ſhall for the future give you the Names of all the *Roman* Emperors his Succeſſours, that ruled here, till their quitting of this *Iſland*, whether they were here in Perſon or not. *Claudius* was ſucceeded by

Nero his Wive's Son by Birth, and his own by Adoption, of whoſe Reign I ſhall ſay nothing, but what relates to the particular Hiſtory of this Iſland. Therefore ſince *Tacitus* tells us, that thoſe things, which were done under the two Prætors, *Oſtorius* and *Didius*, for the ſpace of many Years, he had for their better remembrance put all together; It plainly appearing, that moſt of thoſe things he there treats of, are to be refer'd to *Nero*'s Reign; I ſhall make bold to place in the beginning of his Time that long War between the *Romans* and *Venutius*, which *Tacitus* thus relates. *Anno Dom.* LV. *Annal. XII.*

After *Caractacus* was gone, *Venutius* a Prince of the *Jugantes*, was the moſt remarkable for Military ſkill, having continued faithful hitherto; being defended by the *Roman* Arms, as long as he kept Queen *Cartismandua* for his Wife; but a Quarrel happened between them, and preſently after a War; in which he at laſt took up Arms againſt the *Romans*, to which *Tacitus* tell us in another place, he was highly provoked, not only upon the account of his natural Fierceneſs, but by the injuries of the Queen his Wife; who, being proud of her Nobility, had increaſed her power, after her taking of *Caractacus*, as you have heard; ſo that abounding in Wealth, and wallowing in Luxury, ſhe deſpiſed her Husband *Venutius*, and made *Vellocatus* his Armour-bearer the partner of her Bed and Kingdom: So that upon this, immediately the whole State became divided; on the Husband's ſide were the inclinations of the Nation; for the Adulterer, the Queen's Luſt and Violence; from whence proceeded *Id. Ibid.*

a Civil

Anno Dom. LV. a Civil War among themſelves; for *Cartismandua* by her Stratagems had intercepted the Brother and Kinſman of *Venutius*: whence thoſe of his party were the more provoked; meer ſhame egging them on, leſt they ſhould be ſubject to the command of a Woman: whereupon a ſtrong Party of the choiceſt Troops Invade her Kingdom, which being foreſeen; and certain *Cohorts* being ſent to her aſſiſtance, they fought a ſharp Battel, whoſe beginning though doubtful, yet the Concluſion proved proſperous, thô the Legion which *Ceſſius Naſcia* Commanded, fought with different Succeſs.

Hiſtory III. But *Tacitus* tells us in another place, that *Venutius* ſending for more Supplies (I ſuppoſe from his own Kingdom,) as alſo by a general defection of the *Brigantes* themſelves, brought *Cartismandua* into extream hazard; ſo that ſhe was forced to ſeek Aid of the *Romans*, whoſe *Cohorts*, though in diverſe Battels they freed the Queen from danger, yet was the Kingdom ſtill left to *Venutius*, and the War continued on the *Romans*: I ſuppoſe *Tacitus* means this, during the times of all other Lieutenants, though not expreſly mentioned by him; for he tells us in his Life of *Agricola*, That *Veranius* ſucceeded *Didius*, and dying within the Year, that then *Suetonius Paulinus* found affairs proſperous for the firſt Two Years: yet it ſeems could not drive *Venutius* out of his Kingdom. But thô *Tacitus* afterwards in the Third Book of his Hiſtories relates this Story of *Cartismandua*, as if it had fallen out in the time of *Vitellius*, and that the Diſcord and Civil Wars which then happened in the *Roman* Empire, had encouraged the *Britains* to take Arms under the Command of *Venutius*; yet it is evident from what he hath already ſaid in his *Annals*, that this War with *Venutius* muſt have been begun in *Nero*'s time, ſince *Didius* was the firſt Lieutenant in *Britain*, who ſent any aſſiſtance to *Cartismandua*; and who muſt be ſuppoſed to have been dead, or remov'd ſome time before the Death of *Nero*; or elſe there would be no room left for his two Succeſſors above mentioned; the latter of which ended his Government with the Reign of *Vitellius*.

Annal. LXIII. But to return to our Hiſtory, it is certain that *Veranius* the Succeſſor of *A. Didius* did little, except his waſting the *Silures* by many ſmall Incurſions; being hindred by Death from carrying the War any further. A Man of great reputation for his Diſcipline, but, as appears by his laſt Words in his Teſtament, guilty of manifeſt Vanity and Ambition; for after many things ſpoken in Flattery of *Nero*, he ſaid that he would have ſubjected all, *viz. Britain*, to him, if he might have lived but two Years longer.

Ibid. c. 38. After him *Paulinus Suetonius* governed *Britain*, being in Reputation and Military Skill a Commander equal to *Corbulo*; but ſince in *Paulinus*'s Time the *Romans* received ſo great a blow in *Britain*, Let us take *Tacitus*'s account of it.

Anno Dom. LXIII. This General deſiring to equal *Corbulo*'s glory in recovering *Armenia*, by taming the *Britiſh* Rebels; endeavoured to Conquer the Iſland *Mona* (now called *Angleſey*), ſtrong in People and a Receptacle of Fugitives. To which end he built many flat bottomed Veſſels, for that ſhallow and uncertain Shore: his Foot thus wafted over, his Horſe waded or ſwom, where thick upon the Strand ſtood ſeveral groſs bands of Men well Armed; many Women like Furies running to and fro in diſmal Habits, with their Hair hanging looſe about their Shoulders, held Torches in their Hands: The *Druids* (who were their Prieſts, of whom we have

ſpoken

ſpoken in another place) with Hands liſt up to Heaven, ſtood uttering direful Imprecations: All which ſo aſtoniſh'd the Soldiers with the Novelty of the Sight; that at firſt they yielded themſelves, without any Reſiſtance to their Enemies Blows; but then being encourag'd by the Exhortations of their General, and encouraging one another, that they ſhould not fear this Womaniſh, Phanatick Rout, they led on the Enſigns; and routing all they met, overturn'd them into their own Fires. After this, a Garriſon was impos'd upon the Conquer'd; and the Groves, ſacred to their cruel Superſtitions, were cut down; for they look'd upon it as piece of Religion to ſacrifice Captives, and to conſult the Gods by inſpecting Humane Entrails. But whilſt *Suetonius* was thus in Action, Word is brought him, that a ſudden Defection had happen'd in his Province; the Occaſion of which is thus farther related by our Author. *Anno Dom.* LXIII.

* *Praſutagus*, King of the *Icenians*, abounding in Wealth, had left *Cæſar* Co-heir with his two Daughters, thereby hoping to have ſecur'd from Wrong both his Kingdom, and his Family; which fell out far otherwiſe: For, under Colour to Overſee and take Poſſeſſion of the Emperor's new Inheritance, his Kingdom became a Prey to the Centurions; his Houſe to ravenous Officers, his Wife *Boadicia* being violated with Stripes, and his Daughters raviſh'd: And, as if the *Romans* had gotten the whole Kingdom as a Legacy, the cheifeſt Men of the *Icenians* are turn'd out of their ancient Eſtates, and thoſe of the Royal Family treated like Slaves. By which Indignities, and for fear of greater Evils when they ſhould be reduc'd into the Form of a Province, they took Arms. The *Trinobantes* were alſo moved to rebel, whilſt others who were not as yet reduced to Servitude conſpir'd with thoſe that were, to regain their former Liberty. This proceeded from a cruel Hatred againſt the Veterane Soldiers, who being planted in the late Colony of *Camalodunum*, drove Men from their Houſes and Eſtates in the Country, calling them Slaves and Captives: The other Soldiers alſo encouraging this Violence of the Veteranes, as well through a Likeneſs in Manners, as through an Hope of the ſame Licenſe. To which may be alſo added, That the Temple dedicated to *Claudius* was look'd upon as a Badge of their Eternal Slavery; and the Prieſts ordain'd for it, under a Shew of Religion, ſeiz'd upon divers Men's Eſtates. Nor did it ſeem difficult to deſtroy a Colony, defended by no Fortifications; which was but little fore-ſeen by the *Roman* Commanders, who rather had ſtudied their Pleaſure, than Safety. * Tacit. lib. 12.

To all which Provocations, † *Dion* alſo adds, That *Catus Decianus* the Procurator, endeavour'd to bring all Men's Goods under the Compaſs of a new Confiſcation; by diſavowing the Remiſſion of *Claudius* himſelf. Laſtly, *Seneca* (only in his Books a Philoſopher) having drawn in the *Britains* to borrow of him vaſt Sums, upon fair Promiſes of an eaſie Loan; and for Re-payment, to take their own Time; all on a ſudden compell'd them to pay both Principal and Intereſt at once, with great Extortion: Which you will find in * *Tacitus*, expreſſed at large, in a long Speech by the injur'd *Britains*. † Lib. LXII. * *In Vita Agric.* cap. 14.

Thus provok'd by the heavieſt Sufferings, and invited by Opportunity in the Abſence of *Paulinus*, the † *Icenians*, and by their Example the *Trinobantes*, and as many more as hated Servitude roſe up in Arms; but of theſe enſuing Troubles many foregoing Signs appear'd, among which the Image of *Victory* at *Camalodunum* fell down of it ſelf, with the Face backward, as if ſhe had turn'd to the Enemy: And certain Women, in a kind † *Annal.* Lib. XIV. Cap. 31.

Anno Dom. LXIII. kind of Ecſtaſie, foretold great Calamities to come: In the Council-Houſe by Night, ſtrange Noiſes were heard; and in the Theatre, hideous Howlings; but in the River *Thames*, horrid Appearances were ſeen, as of a *Colony* deſtroy'd, but what theſe were, *Dion* tells us more plainly, *viz.* That in that River there were diſcover'd the Ruins of Houſes under Water: Beſides, the Ocean ſeem'd of a bloody hue, whilſt at the Ebb appear'd the Shapes of human Bodies left upon the Sands: All which as it rais'd in the *Britains* new Courage, ſo in the *Romans* it cauſed unwonted Fears: Therefore ſince *Suetonius* was now far off, they deſired from *Catus Decianus* ſome Aſſiſtance; but he ſent them ſcarce above Two Hundred Men, and thoſe ill Arm'd.

There was within the Town a moderate Garriſon of Soldiers, who truſted in the Strength of the Temple; but ſome who were conſcious of the intended Rebellion, had perplex'd their Councils, and hindred them from drawing any Line about the Place; nor were the Old Women and Children turn'd out, and the Fighting Men (as they ought to have done) only left behind. Thus the *Romans* being ſecure, as in the midſt of Peace, were circumvented by a Multitude of Barbarians, ſo that all Places were quickly Spoil'd and Burnt at the very firſt Aſſault; the Temple, in which the Soldiers had gotten together, held out Two Days, but was at laſt taken. The *Britains* being thus Victors, marched out to meet *Petillius Cerialis*, Lieutenant of the Ninth Legion, then coming to their Succour, they routed his Legion, and killed all the Foot; but *Cerialis* with the Horſe eſcaped into the Camp, which was defended by the Trenches. *Catus Decianus* the Procurator, whoſe Covetouſneſs, and the hatred of the Province that enſued upon it, had been the Cauſe of this War, fled like a Coward into *Gaul*.

Ibid. cap. 33. But *Suetonius* not diſmay'd with this ſad News, marched through his Enemy's Country to *London*, which, thô not honoured with the Title of a *Colony*, yet was then famous for the great Concourſe of Merchants, and plenty of all Proviſions; where being arriv'd, he was doubtful whether or no he ſhould make it the Seat of War; but having conſidered the ſmall number of his Soldiers, and taking warning from *Cerialis*, he reſolved to preſerve the whole by the loſs of this one City: So that he was not moved by the Crys and Tears of thoſe who implored his Protection, from giving his Men the Signal of Departure; only taking thoſe into his Army, who would or could march along with him; they who, through weakneſs of Sex, or Age, or love of the Place, ſtay'd behind, were deſtroy'd by the Enemy, as was alſo *Verulam*, a *Roman Municipium*, or Free City: For the Barbarians omitting Forts and Caſtles, pillag'd the richeſt Places firſt, and then went eaſily forward to others more eminent for Strength: So that, as it afterwards appear'd, about Seventy Thouſand Citizens with their Confederates in the Places above-mentioned, loſt their Lives: None might be ſpared, none ranſom'd; but they endeavour'd by Gibbets, Fire, Croſſes, and all other ways of Slaughter, to return thoſe Puniſhments they had ſuffered, and prevent any Revenge that was to be taken upon them.

Dion here alſo adds, That the *Roman* Wives and Virgins being hung up naked, had their Breaſts cut off and ſow'd to their Mouths, that even dead they might be ſeen to eat their own Fleſh; whilſt the *Britains* Feaſted in the Temple of *Andate*, their Goddeſs of *Victory*.

† *Suetonius*

† *Suetonius* having then with him the Fourteenth Legion, with the Standard Bearers of the Twentieth, which, together with the Auxiliaries, made in all about Ten Thousand Men; resolving to lay aside all Delays, prepar'd to joyn Battel, having chosen a Place accessable, only by a narrow Lane, and defended behind by a Wood; knowing well enough that the Enemies could do nothing but upon his Front, and that the open Plain was without danger of an Ambuscade: he drew up the Legionary Soldiers in close Order, and being defended on each side with the light Arm'd Men, and the Horse that made both the Wings. But the *British* Forces being drawn up here and there in smaller Companies and Squadrons, appear'd a great Multitude; being so fierce and confident of Victory, that they carried their Wives along with them in Wagons to behold it, which were placed in the outward Borders of the Field. *Anno Dom.* LXIII. *Tacit. Ibid. chap.* 34.

Let us here also add what * *Dion* says of *Boadicia*, the Widow of *Prasutagus*, who chiefly stired up and perswaded the *Britains* to make this War upon the *Romans*. *Boudicia* (says he) was a *British* Lady of a Royal Race, who did not only Govern with great Authority in Peace, but also order'd the whole War: Her Disposition was more Masculine than became a Woman, being of a tall Stature, and a severe Countenance, having a harsh Voice and yellow Hair, which being let loose, hung dishevel'd below her Waist, wearing a great Gold Chain about her Neck, and having on a loose Coat wrought with divers Colours, and a thick Mantle button'd over it, holding a Spear in her Hand. Having now gotten together an Army of an Hundred Thousand Men, which were drawn up ready to fight, the Queen getting up on a high heap of Earth, made a Speech to her Soldiers, which, since it is tedious and most likely to be made only to set out the Eloquence and Invention of the Author, I shall pass over, and shall rather give you what she is suppos'd to have said, out of ‖ *Tacitus*; as being shorter and more to the Purpose; who relates it thus. * *Ibid.* ‖ *Ibid. cap.* 35.

Boudicia carried her Daughters with her in a Chariot, in which being driven about to every Nation that compos'd her Army, she spoke to this Effect: "That since it was no new thing for the *Britains* to make a "War under the Conduct of a Woman, therefore for her part, tho' "descended of Noble Ancestors, she sought not so much to Revenge "the loss of her Kingdom and Treasures, but rather (as one of the "Common People) the loss of her Liberty, the bruising her Body with "Stripes, and the violated Chastity of her Daughters. That the *Roman* Lust was such, that they did not leave either old Age or Virginity undefil'd: That the Gods had hitherto favour'd her just Revenge, "one Legion being already cut off, which dared to fight; the rest having hid themselves in their Camps sought how to run away, as not "being able to endure the Shouts and Clamours of so many Thousands, "much less their Power: So that if they would but consider their own "great Forces, they ought either to overcome or die in that Battel.

* Neither was *Suetonius* silent in so great a Danger; and although he trusted much in his Soldiers Valour, yet thought good to give them some Encouragement, to this effect; That they should despise the empty, noisy Threats of those Barbarians; That they beheld more Women, than Fighting Men among them; That being unwarlike, and unarm'd, they would presently give way, as soon as they felt the sharp Swords and Valour of their Conquerors, by whom they had been so often routed; and * *Ibid. cap.* 36.

Anno Dom. LXIII. That of ſo many Legions, a few would ſerve to gain the Victory; and that it would be an Addition to their Honour, if ſo ſmall a Force could obtain the ſame Glory as if it were an entire Army. His Advice then was, That they ſhould keep cloſe together; and having caſt their Darts, ſhould afterwards continue the Slaughter with their Pikes and Swords, not minding the Spoil, ſince the Victory once obtain'd, all would be their own. The Soldiers were ſo encouraged with this Speech, that the Veterane Soldiers, experienc'd by many Battles, urged *Suetonius* to give the Signal.

† *Tacit.* c. 37. † Yet all the Legion ſtood unmov'd, keeping that ſtrait Entrance as a Defence before them: But when the Enemy had approached nearer, and had ſpent their Darts, the Legion ſallied forth all at once upon them, in the form of a Wedge. The like Aſſault was alſo made by the Auxiliaries; whilſt the Horſe, with their Spears, routed all that ſtood before them: The reſt turn'd their Backs and fled, but could hardly eſcape, becauſe their own Wagons had cloſed up all the Avenues: But the Soldiers gave no Quarter, not ſo much as to the Women; and the very Draught-Cattel being run thorough, increas'd the Heap of the dead Carcaſes. This Victory was very eminent; and the Glory of it equall'd thoſe of Ancient Times, ſince it is related, that not leſs than 80000 *Britains* were then ſlain; but of the *Roman* Soldiers, not above 400, and about as many wounded. *Boadicia* ended her Life by Poyſon: And *Pœnius Poſthumus*, the Commander of the Second Legion, when he heard the good Succeſs of thoſe of the Fourteenth and Twentieth, ſince he had defrauded his own Men of the like Glory; and had alſo, contrary to the Rules of War, refuſed to obey the Orders of his General, run himſelf through with his own Sword.

The Army, after a general Review, ſtill kept the Field, to make an end of the War; and *Suetonius* increaſed his Forces with 2000 Legionary Soldiers, and 8 Cohorts of Auxiliaries, together with 1000 Horſe ſent out of *Germany*; by whoſe coming, the Ninth Legion was recruited: Whereupon, all thoſe Cohorts, with ſome others, were put into Winter-Quarters: Whatſoever Nations continued either Enemies, or Neuters, were now deſtroy'd with Fire and Sword. But nothing afflicted them ſo much as Hunger; having been careleſs to ſow Corn, becauſe they reckon'd upon the *Roman* Proviſions as their own; all their Hands being employ'd in the War. But theſe fierce Nations were the leſs inclin'd to treat of Peace, becauſe *Julius Claſſicianus*, who ſucceeded *Catus*, differing with *Suetonius*, their private Animoſities hinder'd the publick Good; the former giving out, that a new Lieutenant was to be expected, without the Rancour of a Conqueror, and who would treat thoſe that ſubmitted to them with Mercy and Clemency: Having alſo written to *Rome*, that there was no End to be expected of this War, unleſs *Suetonius* were remov'd; attributing all Miſcarriages to his ill Conduct; and any happy Succeſs, to the good Fortune of the Commonwealth.

* Ibid. cap. 39. * *Polycletus* therefore, one of *Nero*'s Freed-men, is ſent to inſpect the State of *Britain*, with great Hopes that he might by his Authority, not only procure an Agreement between the Lieutenant and the Procurator, but alſo work the Minds of the Barbarians to a Peace. *Polycletus*, after having been burthenſome, both to *Italy* and *Gaul*, with his great Retinue and having croſs'd the Ocean, did not omit to become terrible alſo to the *Roman* Soldiers. This gave Matter of Sport to the Enemy, who then enjoying

enjoying Liberty, had not yet known the Power of theſe Freed-men; but wonder'd that ſo great a General, and an Army who had fought ſuch Battels, could obey Slaves. But though all things were ſoften'd, and fairly repreſented on the General's behalf; yet becauſe (whilſt he was otherwiſe employ'd in Affairs) he had loſt a few Galleys near the Shore; he was commanded, though the War yet laſted, to deliver up the Army to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who was then juſt out of his Conſulſhip; who, neither provoking the Enemy, nor being provoked by them, gave his own Slothfulneſs the honourable Title of Peace. *Anno Dom.* LXIII.

* But *Tacitus* alſo, in the Life of *Agricola*, having given a ſhort Relation of this War with *Boadicia*, (whom he there calls *Voadicia*) owns, that *Britain* had been loſt if *Paulinus* had not ſpeedily come to its Aſſiſtance, moſt of which he reſtor'd by one Battel to its ancient Subjection; though many ſtill continued in Arms, whom either the Guilt of Rebellion, or the Fear of the Lieutenant, ſtill kept out; who, though he was a worthy Man, yet carried himſelf too haughtily toward thoſe that ſubmitted; and, as a Revenger of his own Injuries, impoſed too hard Terms upon the Vanquiſhed: Therefore *Petronius Turpilianus* was ſent in his ſtead, as being more exorable; who, as one altogether ignorant of the Enemy's Failings, would be more eaſie to their Repentance; but all former Differences being compoſed, he durſt do nothing farther; and ſo deliver'd the Province to *Trebellius Maximus*; who being a Man of an unactive Temper, and no Experience in Military Affairs, govern'd the Province by a Softneſs and Complaiſance; yet nevertheleſs, he continued ſtill in the Government till the Reign of *Vitellius*. * Cap. 16.

But † *Tacitus* here farther tells us, That the *Britains* had now learnt to approve of the pleaſant Vices of the *Romans*, whilſt the Intervention of their Civil Wars gave them a juſt Excuſe for their own Cowardice. *Anno Dom.* LXIX. † Ibid.

But one thing is by no means to be paſſed by without particular Notice; that it was in the Reign of one of theſe Emperors, either *Claudius*, or *Nero*, though uncertain in which, that *Gildas*, as do divers other later Authors, ſuppoſes the Goſpel to have been firſt preached in the Iſland; though by whom, is alſo unknown, no ancient Church-Hiſtorian making any mention of it: And indeed, there is much difference in the Accounts of latter Writers about it; ſome attributing it to St. *James*, the Son of *Zebedee*; ſome of the Modern *Greek* Eccleſiaſtical Writers, to *Simon Zelotes*, or St. *Peter*; others of them, to St. *Paul*, who is ſaid to have Ordain'd one *Ariſtobulus*, (afterwards a Martyr) to be a Biſhop in *Britain*; as you may ſee at large in the firſt Chapter of Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s *Antiquities of the* Britiſh *Churches*. But though he there underſtands thoſe Paſſages in *Gildas*, where he ſpeaks of *Chriſt*, the true Sun's affording his Rays, *i. e.* the Knowledge of his Precepts, to this Iſland, then ſhivering with Icy Cold, as if it refer't'd to the very firſt Preaching of the Goſpel, in the Reign of *Tiberius*; yet the learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, now Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*, hath very ingeniouſly ſhewn us in his learned Work, called * *Origines Britanicæ*, that the Word *interea*, *in the mean time*, (with which *Gildas* begins this Diſcourſe) is to be referred to the Times before-mention'd by him, (*viz.*) that fatal Victory over *Boadicia* and the *Britains*, by *Suetonius Paulinus*; and the Slavery they afterwards underwent in *Nero*'s Reign. So that the Doctor ſuppoſes *Gildas* to ſpeak of a double Shining of the Goſpel; one more general to the *Roman* World, the other more particular to this Iſland: The former, he ſays, was in the End of * Cap. 1.

Anno Dom. LXIX. *Tiberius*'s Reign, the latter was *interea*, in the time that is between *Plautius*'s coming over in the Time of *Claudius*, and the abovementioned Battel between *Boadicia* and *Suetonius*; and *this* the *Dr.* thinks to be moſt probably the Time which *Gildas* has there pitched upon, for the firſt Preaching of the Goſpel in this Iſland. Since therefore there is ſo great a difference between thoſe Authors, who have taken upon them exactly to aſſign the time when it was firſt Preached (as you may find by the Citations given us by the ſaid Archbiſhop, it were to no purpoſe croud this Hiſtory with thoſe uncertain Relations, and therefore I ſhall refer you to the ſaid Learned Work, if you ſhall deſire any further Satisfaction.

To which period of Time may be alſo referred the Story of *Joſeph* of *Arimathæa*'s and his Twelve Companions coming to Preach the Goſpel in *Britain*, which, thô it wholly depends upon ſome Legends and Traditions of the Monks of the Abbey of *Glaſtenbury*, for no ſuch thing is to be found in *Gildas*, *Nennius*, or any ancient *Britiſh* Author; yet ſince they have been ſo commonly receiv'd, it deſerves a particular Notice, thô the ſaid *Archbiſhop* in the * Book but now cited alſo tells us, That he believes thoſe Stories to be not antienter than the coming in of the *Normans*, as ſmelling plainly of the Superſtition of thoſe latter Ages: For *Will.* of *Malmsbury* in his Treatiſe concerning the Antiquities of the Church of *Glaſtenbury*, is the firſt that mentions it; when drawing its Hiſtory from the *Apoſtles*, he relates, that St *Philip* coming into *France* to Preach the Goſpel of Chriſt, and being willing to ſpread it further, choſe Twelve of his Diſciples, over whom he ſet his dear Friend *Joſeph* of *Arimathæa*, and ſent them to Preach the Word in *Britain*; and that coming over hither in the Sixty-third Year after Chriſt's Paſſion, he faithfully Preach'd the Goſpel; but a *Britiſh* King (whom he does not name) hearing things ſo new and unuſual, utterly refus'd to hearken to their Preaching, nor would change the Traditions of his Forefathers: yet becauſe they came from far, and ſhew'd great Simplicity of Life, he granted them a certain Iſland to inhabit, encompaſſed with Woods and Marſhes, called by the Inhabitants *Iniſwitrin*; where, by a Viſion of the Angel *Gabriel*, they built a ſmall Church, making the Walls with Wattles, in Honour of God and the Virgin *Mary*, where theſe Twelve Holy Men ſpent their Time in Devotions to God and the *Bleſſed Virgin*, by Faſting and Praying. Theſe things he ſays he had received from a Charter of St. *Patrick*'s, as alſo from the Writings of the Antients; but that Charter is by the Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* prov'd to be a meer Forgery of the Monks of *Glaſtenbury*: And as for ancient Writers, thô *Malmsbury* there cites *Freculphus* as an Author, who relates *Philip*'s ſending *Joſeph* hither, yet the Archbiſhop there ſhews us, that this Author whom *Malmsbury* cites, had only taken a Paſſage from *Iſidore*'s Book concerning the Fathers of both Teſtaments: But in both thoſe Authors it is only thus, That *Philip* Preached *Chriſt* to the *Gauls*, and Converted many Barbarous Nations lying near the Sea, to the Knowledge of the Goſpel; but ſays not one word of *Joſeph*'s coming hither. So that, thô Cardinal *Baronius* hath placed this coming over of *Joſeph* in his Annals, and ſays, That he took it from a Manuſcript Hiſtory of *England*, which was in the *Vatican* Library; yet the Archbiſhop proves in another Place, that Hiſtory to have been written in Modern Times. So that all the *Romiſh* Writers on this Subject have borrow'd their Legends one from another, as the firſt of them did from our *William* of *Malmsbury*.

* *Chap. III.*

The

The ſaid Archbiſhop there likewiſe tells us, as does alſo Sir *Henry Spelman* in the Firſt Volume of his *Britiſh* Councils, That in their time there was kept at *Wells*, in the Houſe of Sir *Thomas Hughs*, Knight, a brazen Plate, which was formerly faſtned to a Pillar of *Glaſſenbury* Church, wherein was Engraven this Story with divers Additions, too long to be here ſet down: Therefore I refer you to the ſaid Authors Works, where you may find it word for word, with the draught of it, as it was taken from the Original, where you may alſo ſee that he there concludes from the modernneſs of the Character, as well as divers other Circumſtances in the Inſcription it ſelf, that it could not be above Three Hundred Years old, and ſo plainly betrays the Forgery of thoſe Monks, who ſet it up, and contriv'd the Story of St. *David*'s Hand being pierced through with our Saviour's Finger, as it ſtands related in the ſaid Inſcription. But whoſoever is not ſatisfied with this, that is here ſet down, but deſires farther Satisfaction in the uncertainty of this Story of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, may, if they pleaſe, conſult the ſaid Doctor's above-cited Treatiſe; where you will find all the Authorities that have been further made uſe of for this Story, learnedly confuted. *Anno Dom.* LXIX.

The ſhort Reign of *Galba* affords us nothing relating to *Britiſh* Affairs, no more than that of *Otho*; only, that during this laſt Emperor's Reign, * *Tacitus* relates, That whilſt *Trebellius Maximus* govern'd *Britain*, he fell into the Hatred and Contempt of his Army, for his ſordid Covetouſneſs; and that this Averſion againſt him, was heightned by *Roſcius Cælius*, Legate of the Twentieth Legion, an old Enemy of his, inſomuch, that oftentimes by flight and hiding himſelf, he eſcaped the Fury of his Army: and that thus debaſing himſelf in a mean and abject manner, he exercis'd a precarious Authority, as if he and his Army had had agreed, that they ſhould enjoy a Licentiouſneſs of Living, and he his own Eaſe and Safety. But when the Civil Wars broke out between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, then began *Trebellius* and *Cælius* to fly into greater and more open Diſcords: *Trebellius* laying to *Cælius*'s Charge the ſpreading of Sedition, and drawing the Soldiers from their Diſcipline and Obedience; whilſt on the other ſide, *Cælius* upbraided him of defrauding and Pillaging the Legions. Amidſt thoſe ſhameful Contentions, the Modeſty of the Army was ſo Corrupted, and their Inſolence grown to that height, that the Auxiliary Forces ſtuck not publickly to ſpeak ill of their General, and moſt of the Cohorts openly deſerting him, went over to *Cælius*. *Trebellius* being thus forſaken, preſently fled to *Vitellius*, who being then Emperor, received him but coldly, without Reſtoring him to his Command. After his Departure the Province remain'd for a time quiet, though without a Lieutenant; the Commanders of the Legions Governing with equal Authority; yet *Cælius* was moſt powerful, becauſe moſt daring. *Anno Dom.* LXIX. *Ibid.*

But *Vitellius* not long after he came to the Empire, ſent hither *Vectius Bolanus* to ſucceed *Trebellius*: And it alſo appears by ſeveral paſſages in *Tacitus*, that no ſmall number of *Britiſh* Forces were Commanded over Sea, to ſerve in thoſe Bloody Civil Wars between *Otho* and *Vitellius*; eſpecially when he and *Veſpaſian* contended for the Empire; and particularly the Fourteenth Legion, called the Conquerors of *Britain*, having been removed from hence by *Nero*, to the *Caſpian* War; were again ſent into *Britain* by *Vitellius*, but recalled by *Mutianus*, on the behalf of *Veſpatian*. *Anno Dom.* LXX.

† *Tacit. Hiſtor. Lib. II. c. 65. Id. vit. Agricolæ, circ. fin.* 16.

But

Anno Dom. LXX. But *Bolanus* during the Civil Wars, was not able to keep the diſcipline, much leſs to attempt any thing upon the *Britains*; ſince the Factions continued as great in the Army, as in the time of *Trebellius*; only with this difference, that *Bolanus* was Innocent, and not hated for any publick Vices; and carried himſelf ſo obligingly, that though he had not the Authority of a General, yet he Ruled by the Affections of the Souldiers. But now *Vitellius* fearing the power of *Veſpaſian*, whoſe Forces began daily to encreaſe; wrote to *Bolanus* for ſupplies: but he deferred it, partly becauſe the *Britains* were not ſufficiently quieted; but taking the advantage of theſe diſſentions among the *Romans*, raiſed continually new Commotions, by the inſtigation of *Venutius*; who had hitherto carried on the War againſt the *Romans*, ever ſince they took part with his Wife *Cartismandua*; but chiefly becauſe the Souldiers of the Fourth Legion being incenſed againſt *Vitellius*, had ſent over privately Letters of Submiſſion to *Veſpaſian*: In this condition was *Britain*, during the Government of *Bolanus*, when *Vitellius* was depoſed about the Tenth Month of his Reign.

Anno Dom. LXXI. *Veſpaſian* ſucceeded him, and as ſoon as he was declared Emperour, his great Reputation eaſily brought over the Legions in *Britain* to his Intereſt; for he had ſerved from a Youth in the *Britiſh* Wars, and being Lieutenant of the Second Legion, under *Claudius*, had fought many Battles, and taken many Towns from the *Britains*.

Tacit. vi à Agricol. 17.

But as ſoon as *Veſpaſian* was acknowledged in *Britain*, as well as in the reſt of the Provinces; Famous Generals and great Armies were ſent hither, whereby the Enemies hopes were quite defeated: For the Emperor preſently ſent into *Britain*, *Petilius Cerialis* one of Conſular Dignity, as his Lieutenant; under whom Valour found not only a room to ſhow it ſelf, but alſo an Example in himſelf: For in the firſt place, he attack'd the State of the *Brigantes*, which is counted the moſt Populous in the whole Iſland, in which Expedition many Skirmiſhes happen'd, though ſometimes not without much Blood-ſhed; he taking in a great part of their Country by Conqueſt: But when *Cerialis* had indeed both eclips'd the Fame, as well as prevented the Care of a Succeſſor; *Julius Frontinus* ſucceeded him, who did as worthily ſuſtain that great Charge, being a very brave Man; he ſubdued the *Silures*, overcoming both the difficulties of Places, and the Valour of the Enemies.

Anno Dom. LXXVII. In this State was *Britain*, when the Emperor ſent hither *Agricola* as his Lieutenant, who had learned his firſt Principles of War in *Britain*, under *Paulinus* a Mild, yet diligent General, who made him his Tent-fellow; neither did *Agricola* after the manner of ſome Young Men, turn Warfare into Wantoneſs, or made uſe of the Command of a *Tribune*, only for Pleaſure and Luxury; but made it his buſineſs to know the Province; to be known to the Army; to learn from the more Skillful; to imitate the Beſt; to undertake nothing for Vain Glory; to refuſe nothing for Fear; but at once to Act both Cautiouſly and Stoutly. For *Cerialis*, had from the beginning enured him to Labours and Dangers; and at laſt communicated a ſhare of Reputation often times for a Tryal, giving him the Command of ſome part of the Army, and ſometimes encouraging his former Succeſs, by giving him the Command of greater Forces.

This

This is the Character, which *Tacitus* gives us of this Great Man, whoſe Daughter he had Married, and this was the State of Affairs in *Britain*, when *Agricola* came over about *Midſummer*: When the Soldiers having laid aſide all thoughts of any Expedition, were grown ſecure, and the *Britains* on the other ſide were as watchful for Advantages, the *Ordovices* a little before the coming of this new General, had lately almoſt deſtroyed a whole Squadron of Horſe, that was Quarter'd in their Country, few eſcaping; whilſt thoſe *Britains*, who were deſirous of War, approved the Example; and others of them rather obſerved the Temper of the new Lieutenant: Then *Agricola*, although the Summer was ſpent, and the Souldiers diſperſed into their Winter Quarters, expecting nothing but Eaſe for the reſt of the Year; and though he conſidered the difficulties of beginning a War at that Seaſon; (moſt of his Officers thinking it ſufficient to defend what was weakeſt, and leaſt to be defended; yet he reſolved rather to obviate danger, than to expect it; ſo he gathered together ſome of the chief Legionary *Cohorts*, with a ſmall band of Auxiliaries. But becauſe the *Ordovices* durſt not come down into the Plains; he Lead the Army againſt them himſelf; that by expoſing his own perſon toequal Dangers, he might make them all a like Couragious: and having fought the *Ordovices*, he almoſt cut off their whole Nation. *Anno Dom.* LXXVIII.

But *Agricola*, knowing that reputation is chiefly gained by ſucceſs; and that as this firſt Enterprize ſucceeded, ſo it would give a countenance to thoſe that followed; He reſolved therefore to ſubdue the Iſle of *Mona*; from the Conqueſt of which *Paulinus* was recalled by the revolt of the *Britains*, as you have already heard; but wanting Ships for this Expedition, which was undertaken on the ſudden: He uſed this Policy for the Tranſporting his Men; he commanded them all to lay aſide their Baggage, ſending over firſt the chief of the Auxiliaries; who were acquainted with their ſhallows, and whoſe Countries uſe had taught them to Swim, govern their Horſes, and Fight all at once, which was executed ſo on the ſudden, that the *Britains*, who expected Fleets, and thought without Shipping nothing could attack them, were now ſurprized and daunted; ſince they believed nothing was difficult or invincible to Men, ſo reſolutely prepared for War; whereupon they deſired Peace, and delivered up the Iſland.

This ſudden Succeſs gained *Agricola* a great Reputation; eſpecially ſince he employed even his firſt Entrance into his Province, in labour and War; which by other Governours was ſpent in Ceremonies, or beſtowing of Commands; nor did he make uſe of his Proſperity for Oſtentation, or call this Expedition a Conqueſt; but only that he had reduced thoſe to Obedience, who had been before ſubdued; neither did he ſo much as adorn his Letters to *Rome* with Laurels: (as the cuſtom was) Yet even by this, ſlighting of Fame and Reputation, he at the ſame time encreaſed it; all Men admiring that, having ſuch great preſumptions of future ſucceſs, he could thus conceal ſuch noble Actions. *Ibid. cap.* 19
Having thus overcome the *Britains*, the next thing he ſet himſelf about, was to underſtand the Minds and Inclinations of the People; having learned by long experience, that little good was to be done by force, whilſt open injuries and oppreſſions were permitted; therefore he reſolved to cut up this War by the very Roots, ſo beginning with his Domeſticks, he firſt of all reformed his own Family, which is not leſs difficult to ſome than to Govern a Province; he acted nothing of publick concern by

Anno Dom. LXXVIII. by his Freedmen or Servants; nor did he nominate his Officers by his own private inclinations; nor on the bare recommendations, or intreaties of others; but ſtill choſe the moſt Vertuous and Faithful; he would both know and do all things himſelf; as for ſmall faults he pardoned them, but puniſhed great ones; nor was he always ſatisfied with puniſhment, but more often with Repentance; putting into Offices and Commands, rather ſuch who would not offend at all, than puniſh them when they had: He alſo rendered the payment of Corn and other Tributes more eaſie by the equality of the Taxation; cutting off thoſe exactions which were invented for private gain, and which were often more grievous, than the Taxes themſelves: for the People had been compelled to attend at the publick Granaries, which were on purpoſe kept locked againſt them; and when opened, the Publicans obliged them to take greater quantities of Corn than their neceſſities required, and that an at extravagant rate, and which they were often conſtrained to ſell again at a lower price to make Money for other neceſſaries, or the payment of their Tribute; the Purveyors alſo commanding them, when they pleaſed to carry it not to the neareſt but remoteſt Markets, compounding with ſuch as would be excuſed: thus cauſing a ſcarcity where there was none indeed, they made a particular gain to themſelves: the reforming theſe abuſes in the very Firſt Year of his Government, brought Peace into Reputation; which either by the careleſneſs or connivances of his Predeceſſors, had hitherto been not leſs dreadful than War.

Geoffrey of *Monmouth*, and thoſe that follow him do about this time make *Arviragus* a *Britiſh* King, ~~who~~ to have reigned in ſome part of this Iſland; and then dying, that he was ſucceeded by one *Marius*, whom ſome will have to be the ſame with *Gogidunus*; all which being as uncertain, as whether there was ever any ſuch a Man or not; I ſhall not trouble my ſelf to diſpute, ſince this *Arviragus*, whom they ſuppoſe to have been his Father, lived in the Reign of *Domitian*, as I ſhall prove when I come to it.

Anno Dom. LXXIX. About this time dyed the Emperor *Veſpaſian*, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Titus*, who rather exceeded, than equal'd his Father in Valour and Worth: He continued *Agricola* in the Government of *Britain*: who when *Ibid. cap.* 20. Summer was once come drew together his Army, praiſing the good Diſcipline of his Souldiers, whilſt they keept cloſe to their Enſigns, and puniſhing the Straglers; he himſelf always chuſing the places whereon to Encamp; and before hand ſearched the Woods, and Sounded the Fords they were to paſs; by which means he not only hindred the Enemy from taking any reſt, but ſo continually allarmed them with freſh Excurſions, that he prevented the pillaging of the *Roman* Territories: Having thus ſufficiently terrified them; he then began by ſparing them to *Ib. c.* 20. ſhow them ſome allurements to Peace; by which means many Cities that before ſtood upon Terms, now laid down their Arms, gave Hoſtages, and received Garriſons; which were all placed with ſuch care and foreſight, and in ſuch places of advantage, that never any of them were attempted; whereas before no new fortified place in all *Britain* eſcaped unattacked.

The following Winter was wholly ſpent in a wiſe and profitable deſign; for to the end, that the *Britains* who then lived rude and ſcattered, and ſo apter to make War, might be accuſtomed to pleaſure, and living at eaſe; he privately encouraged, and publickly promoted the building of

of Temples, Houſes, and Places for Publick Aſſemblies; commending the Readineſs of ſome, and quickening the Slowneſs of others, whilſt Emulation of Honour wrought more than Compulſion among them. He alſo cauſed the Noble-Men's Sons to be inſtructed in the Liberal Sciences: And by commending the Wits of *Britain* before theſe of *Gaul*, he brought them, who before hated the *Roman* Language, to grow in love with the Latin Eloquence. And now came the *Roman* Garb to be in faſhion; and the Gown no Stranger among them. Thus came in by degrees all the Allurements of Vice and Voluptuous Living; as Porticoes, Baths, with the Luxury of Banquets; which was by the Ignorant called Good Breeding, and Civility; when, indeed, it was but a Badge of their own Slavery. *Anno Dom.* LXXIX.

†In the Third Year's Expedition, *Agricola* diſcover'd new Nations waſting the Countries as far as the Frith called the *Taus*. Thus by the Terrour of his Marches he ſo aw'd the Enemy, that though his Army was much haraſs'd by bad Weather, yet durſt they not attack him; ſo that he had time enough to build Forts: And thoſe that were skilful took notice, that no other General did more prudently chuſe Places fit to be fortified. So that no Caſtle of *Agricola*'s was ever taken by Force, or deſerted: But from theſe, being well provided with Proviſions for a Years Siege, his Men made frequent Sallies. So that the Enemy, who before uſed in Winter to re-gain what in Summer they had loſt, were now alike in both Seaſons ſtraitned and kept ſhort. Neither did *Agricola*, as too covetous of Honour, attribute to himſelf things done by others; ſince every Officer or Centurion had him for an impartial Witneſs, as well as Judge of his Actions; And though he were taxed by ſome, as too bitter in his Reproofs, yet muſt it be granted, that as he was gentle to the Good, ſo he was moroſe to the bad; but his Anger did not laſt long: Nor needed one to have fear'd his Silence, or Reſervedneſs; for he thought it much better to diſpleaſe a Man, than hate him. *Anno Dom.* LXXX. † Ibid. cap. 22.

The Emperor *Titus*, for theſe great Atchievments of *Agricola*, was fifteen times ſaluted *Imperator*, or General: And the Honour he got by the Actions of ſo great a Commander, he rewarded with Triumphal Ornaments. Not long after which, *Titus* (ſtiled for his Goodneſs, *Delicia humani generis*, *The Delight of Mankind*) dyed (as was ſuſpected) by Poyſon.

Domitian, his Brother (a Man as wicked as the other was vertuous) ſucceeded to him. It was now the Fourth Year of *Agricola*'s Government in *Britain*; which was alſo ſpent in ſecuring what the Summer before had been gotten in this Iſland: And had the Courage of his Soldiers been anſwerable to the Conduct of the General, and the Fortune of the Commonwealth, he had now reach'd the utmoſt Bounds of *Britain*; for *Glota* and *Bodotria* (now *Dunbritain* and *Edinburgh*-Fryths) running from both Seas, far into the Continent, and being diſ-joyn'd by a narrow Neck of Land; theſe, together with all the Creeks and Havens on this ſide of the *Streight*, were held by *Roman* Gariſons, and the Enemies, as it were, confin'd in another Iſland. *Anno Dom.* LXXXI.

* In the Fifth Year of his Government, and as ſoon as the Seaſon would admit paſſing over the *Bodotrian* Frith, he ſubdued divers Nations, (until then unknown) in frequent and proſperous Battels; placing Gariſons in that part of *Britain* that lies over againſt *Ireland*, though more in hopes of a new Conqueſt, than for fear of any Invaſion: For *Ireland* lying in the midſt, between *Britain* and *Spain*, lies convenient for the *Anno Dom.* LXXXII. * Ibid. cap. 24.

Anno Dom. LXXXII. *Gallick* Sea, and would have united the vaſt Members of the Empire, and render'd them highly uſeful to each other. This Iſland, if compared to *Britain*, is much leſs; yet exceeds all the Iſlands of the *Mediterranian* Sea: The Soil and Climate, together with the Diſpoſitions and Mannners of the Inhabitants, being not much different from thoſe of the *Britains*; but its Havens are better known to Traders, by reaſon of its greater Commerce. *Agricola* had receiv'd one of the petty Kings of this Nation, who had been expell'd by a Domeſtick Sedition; and retain'd him under a Shew of Friendſhip, till a fit Occaſion. *Tacitus* further ſays, That *Agricola* told him, that he believ'd *Ireland* might be both conquer'd and kept with only one Legion; and that it might be uſeful even againſt *Britain*, if the *Roman* Arms were extended thither, and Liberty were once, as it were, baniſh'd quite out of ſight.

This, though it be a Digreſſion from our Hiſtory of *Britain*, yet I thought good not to omit, becauſe it gives the beſt and moſt particular Account we have in any ancient Hiſtorian concerning *Ireland*: As alſo, the Reaſon why ſo great a General as *Agricola* thought it worth his Conqueſt.

Anno Dom. LXXXIII. † But the next Summer, which was the Sixth Year of his Command, he firſt diſcover'd by his Fleet thoſe large Countries lying beyond the *Bodotrian* Frith; and Incurſions of all thoſe Nations lying beyond it, were much fear'd by him. This Fleet was by *Agricola* alſo made uſe of, to aſſiſt his Land-Forces; and therefore ſtill follow'd him, making a dreadful Shew as it ſail'd along. The War was thus carry'd on, both by Sea and Land; Nay, often in the ſame Camp, the Foot, with the Horſe-men, and Marine Forces, would meet, and make merry together; where each in his Turn would extol their own Feats and Adventures; comparing the Dangers of the Woods and Mountains, with the Accidents and Hazards of the Waves and Tempeſts; and that as the *Britains* by Land, ſo the Ocean it ſelf was by them ſubdued: Thus they boaſted in a Soldier-like way. But, as *Agricola* afterwards heard from ſome Priſoners, the Sight of his Fleet ſo much diſhearten'd the *Britains*, as that the utmoſt Secrets of their own Seas being now diſcover'd, the Conquer'd had even loſt their laſt Refuge. But then the *Caledonians* made great Preparations for War, though with greater Fame than Reality; as it is uſual for it to relate too much of things unknown, giving out, as if they had aſſaulted and taken ſome *Roman* Fort. This News made ſome afraid, who being Cowardly, under the Shew of Prudence, took upon them to adviſe the General, that they ought to retreat to the other ſide of the *Frith*; and that they ſhould rather do it voluntarily, than by conſtraint. But when *Agricola* knew that the Enemy would invade him in many diſtinct Parties, leſt he ſhould be environ'd by Numbers far exceeding his own, he himſelf divided his Army into Three Detachments.

† Ibid. cap. 24.

* Which, when it was known to the Enemy, changing their Deſign on a ſudden, they in one entire Body broke in by Night upon the Ninth Legion, as being the weakeſt, and killed the Centinels between ſleeping and waking; and now they fought in the very Camp. When *Agricola*, having by Scouts learnt the Enemy's March, follow'd them at the Heels, and commanded the ſwifteſt of his Horſe and lighteſt Foot-men to charge upon their Rear, whilſt the whole Army preſently ſeconded them with Shouts. The *Britains* hearing the Enemy behind them, were diſhearten'd; eſpecially when the Day appearing, diſcover'd the glittering Enſigns of the

* Ibid. cap. 26.

the *Romans*, who then took heart, and renew'd the Fight; not as Men doubtful of Victory, but ambitious of Honour: For now might be ſeen ſome of the *Roman* Soldiers getting into their own Camp, whilſt others fought to get out; both contending, which ſhould have the moſt Glory; the one, in bringing a timely Aſſiſtance; the other, in not ſeeming to have needed it. In this Fight the *Britains* were routed; and had they not betaken themſelves to their old Refuge, the Woods and Bogs, that Day had put a Period to the War. *Anno Dom.* LXXXIII.

* By this conſtant Succeſs, the Army gain'd freſh Courage; and they now all cried out, *That nothing was impoſſible for their Valour*; *that* Caledonia *was to be paſſed through*; *and that at laſt they would fight their Way to the utmoſt Bounds of* Britain: And they who were lately ſo wiſe and cautelous, now ſeem'd as forward, and talk'd as big, after this Succeſs, as the beſt. And this, indeed, is the hard Fate of War; All challenge a Share in the Succeſs, whilſt Misfortunes are laid upon a ſingle Perſon. However, the *Britains* would not own themſelves beaten by the Courage of the *Roman* Soldiers, but by the Cunning and Conduct of the General; and therefore they had no meaner Thoughts of themſelves than before, but made new Levies, in order to proſecute the War; and beforehand carried their Wives and Children into Places of Safety, ſending about, through all their Cities, to enter into new Confederacy; which was afterwards ratified with ſolemn Rites and Sacrifices: And ſo their Spirits being thus heightned, they at preſent return'd home. * Ibid. cap. 27.

The ſame Summer, a Cohort of *Veſpaſian*'s, raiſed in *Germany*, and ſent into *Britain*, having ſlain a Centurion, and other Soldiers that were appointed to exerciſe them, deſerted, and went to Sea in three Pinnaces; and having kill'd two of the Maſters whom they ſuſpected, the other they conſtrain'd to do his Duty. Having thus eſcaped, and none knowing what was become of them, and having no Pilates, they were carried at random, as the Tides and Winds drove them to and fro. Thus compaſſing the Iſland, they practis'd Piracy where they landed; and often fighting with the *Britains*, who defended their Goods, were ſometimes Victors, and ſometimes worſted; till at laſt they were driven to that great Extremity for want of Proviſion, that firſt they devour'd the weakeſt of their own Men; and then drew Lots, who of them ſhould be eaten afterwards. Thus having floated round *Britain*, and loſt their Ships for want of Skill to ſteer them, getting on Shore, they were taken, and ſold as Pirates, firſt by the *Suevians*, and afterwards by the *Friſians*, till at laſt they were ſold into *Britain*; where the ſtrangeneſs of the Accident render'd this Diſcovery of the Iſland more famous.

† But *Agricola* having in the beginning of this Summer loſt a young Son, made uſe of War as a Remedy to vent his Grief; therefore he ſent his Fleet before, which by ſpoiling many Places on the Coaſt, ſtruck a greater Terror into the Enemy: He himſelf with a flying Army conſiſting chiefly of *Britains*, whoſe Courage and Faith he had long experienced, following it, marched as far as the *Grampian Hills*, upon which the Enemy had Poſted themſelves; for the *Britains* nothing daunted with the ill Succeſs of the laſt Fight, and expecting nothing but Revenge or Slavery from their new Leagues and Confederacies, were got together Thirty Thouſand ſtrong, more being daily expected; nay, the aged themſelves would not be exempted from this Days Service, but as they had been brave Men in their time, ſo every one of them bore ſome Badge or Mark *Anno Dom.* LXXXIV. † Ibid. cap. 28, 29.

Anno Dom. LXXXIV. of his youthful Atchievements. Among these was *Galgacus*, chief in Authority and Birth; who when the Army cry'd out for the Signal of Battel, is brought in by *Tacitus*, making a long yet noble Oration; which thô it is likely he never spoke, and that it is contrary to my Design to stuff these Annals with long Speeches, yet since there is a great deal of good Sense and sharp Satyr expressed in it against his own Nation, I shall contract some part of it, and render the rest word for word. "In the first place having set forth the Occasion of making War upon the *Romans*, from the Necessity of avoiding Slavery, as being the last People of *Britain* that were yet unconquer'd, and that beyond them there was no more Earth nor Liberty left: That now the utmost Bounds of *Britain* were discovered, and no other Nations but them left to employ the *Roman* Armies, whose Pride they might seek to please in vain by Services and Submissions; those Robbers of the World, who having left no Land unplunder'd, ransack even the Ocean it self. If the Enemy be Rich, they are greedy of his Wealth; if Poor, they covet Glory; whom neither the *East* nor *West* could ever satisfie; the only Men in the World who pursue both the Rich and the Needy with equal Appetite: To Kill and Plunder, they call Governing; and when they have brought Desolation on a Country, they term it Peace. That Nature, by neerest ties, had link'd their Children and Relations to them, yet even these were taken away and pressed into their Service: That their Wives and Sisters, if they escap'd their Violence, yet could not avoid Dishonour; since when they came as Guests into their Houses, they were sure to Debauch them: Their Goods and Fortunes they made their Tributes; their Corn, ~~their~~ Provisions to supply their Granaries; and wore out their Bodies in cutting down Woods, and draining Fens, and paving Marishes; nay, and all this amidst a Thousand Stripes and Indignities: That Slaves who are born to Bondage, were sold but once, and afterwards kept at their Masters Charges; but *Britain* daily bought its own Bondage, and maintain'd it too.

Ibid. c. 30, 31, 30. Galgacus *his Speech to the* Britains.

He then proceeds to exhort them to be tenacious of their Liberty, lest (like the last Slave in a private Family, who is the Sport and Scorn of his Fellows when conquer'd) they should be flouted by those who had been used as Drudges long before, advising them to take Courage and Example from the *Brigantes*, who under the Conduct of a Woman had almost quite destroyed the *Romans*, and might have driven them out of *Britain*, had they not failed in the Attempt by their too great Security and Success. Then magnifying the Valour and Strength of his own Nation, and lessening that of the *Romans*, as made up of divers Nations, who unwillingly served them, and as soon as they durst would turn against them; he concluded with shewing what Advantages they had above the *Romans*, to make them hope for Victory, and the miserable Slavery they were like to undergo if they were vanquished; and therefore going now to Battel, advised them to remember the Freedom of their Ancestors, as well as the Danger of Slavery to themselves and their Posterity.

‖ *Ibid. c.* 33, 34.

‖ The *Britains* received this Speech with great Testimonies of Joy, such as Songs and confus'd Clamours, after the Custom of their Country; all which shew'd their Approbation, and now their Arms began to glitter, and every one to put himself in Array, when *Agricola*, scarce able to repress the Heat of his Soldiers, yet thinking it convenient to say something

thing to them, made a Speech to this Effect, (for, being ſomewhat long, I ſhall make bold to Contract it:) Firſt he told his Soldiers, That this was the Eighth Year that their Valour, protected by the Fortune of the *Roman Empire*, had ſubdu'd the *Britains* in ſo many Battels, and that as he had exceeded his Predeceſſors in Succeſs, ſo they had all former Armies. That *Britain* was now no longer known, only by Fame and Report; and that as they have had the Honor to diſcover, ſo likewiſe might they to ſubdue it: That he had often heard them ask, *When they ſhould meet the Enemy?* but now they had their Deſires, now was the time to ſhew their Valour, and that as every thing would happen as they could wiſh if they Conquer'd; ſo all things made againſt them, if they were overcome. That if it was Great and Noble to have Marched ſo much Ground, to have paſt ſo many Woods, and both the *Friths*, yet if they fled, the very ſame things would be their Hindrance and Deſtruction: That as for his part he had been long ſince ſatisfied, that to run away was neither ſafe for the Soldier nor General; and that a Commendable Death was to be preferr'd before the Reproaches of an Ignominious Life; that Safety and Honour were now inſeparably conjoyned: And let the worſt happen, yet how glorious would it be to die in the utmoſt Bounds of the World and Nature? Then putting them in mind of their late Victories, and repreſenting theſe *Britains* they were now to fight with, as the Meaneſt and moſt Raſcally of all the Nations they had Conquer'd, ſo he doubts not but they will afford them an occaſion of a memorable Victory. Then concludes, in adviſing them to make an end of the War, and to Fifty Years Labours add one great concluding Day, by which means they ſhould approve themſelves to their Country; and that it ſhould never be juſtly laid to their Charge, that they had Protracted the War, nor let ſlip any Opportunity of compleating their Conqueſt. *Anno Dom.* LXXXIV. *The Subſtance of* Agricola's *Speech.*

Whilſt *Agricola* was yet ſpeaking, the Soldiers expreſſed great Signs of their Eagerneſs and Reſolution, but the Concluſion of his Speech was received with loud and joyful Acclamations, whilſt every Man ſtood to his Arms, and ſhewed his Impatience to march on. *Agricola* order'd the Battel after this manner; his Main Body was made up of Eight Thouſand Auxiliary Foot, and Three Thouſand Horſe were placed in the Wings, the Legions being ſet in the Rear before the Camp, for the greater Glory of the Victory, if it could be won without any loſs of *Roman* Blood; if otherwiſe for Succour and Aſſiſtance.

The *Britiſh* Army, for the greater ſhew and Terror, was drawn upon a riſing Gound; the firſt Battalion ſtood on the Plain, the next a degree higher, as the Hill aſcended, the Field rang with the Clattering Noiſe of Chariots and Horſemen rangeing up and down. *Agricola* perceiving the Enemy exceeded him in numbers, and fearing leſt they might attack him in the Front and Flanks at once, ſtretch'd out his Front in length; and although by that means his Van-guard was ſomewhat thin, and that many Councelled him to take the Legions into it, yet he ſtood firm to his firſt Reſolution, and alighting from his Horſe, placed himſelf at the head of the Foot before the Enſigns.

*The Fight began at a diſtance, with miſſive Weapons, wherein the *Britains* ſhew'd wondrous Skill and Conſtancy, for with their broad Swords and ſhort Targets they either avoided the Darts, or ſhook them off, and in return liberally beſtow'd whole Showres of their own; *Agricola* perceiving this Diſadvantage, commanded Three *Batavian* Cohorts, and *Ib. cap.* 36.

Two

Anno Dom. LXXXIV. Two of the *Tungrians*, that they ſhould bring it ſpeedily to dint of Sword, which they eaſily performed, as being fitted for it by long exerciſe, but the *Britains* on the other ſide having little Targets, and huge unwildy Swords without points, lay under a great diſadvantage, nor could endure a cloſe down right fighting; ſo that when the *Batavians* came to exchange blows with them, and to make at their Faces with the Pikes of their Targets, they eaſily bore them down, and proſecuting their Victory, advanced to the ſide of the Hill; the reſt of the Cohorts being ſpurr'd on by Emulation, and ſtriking at all that were near them, run on in the ſame courſe, leaving for haſt many behind them, ſome half Dead, others untouch'd; in the mean while as the Horſe-men fled, the Chariots brake in upon the Foot; ſo they who had lately terrified others, were now diſtreſſed themſelves, being penn'd in by their own cloſe Ranks, as well as the unevenneſs of the Ground.

But the manner of this Battel was not like a looſe skirmiſh of Horſemen, but all keeping their Ranks, endeavoured by the weight of their Horſes to bear down the Enemy, and now might be ſeen Chariots without Drivers, and the affrighted Horſes running to and fro, without Riders, overturning all that met them, or thwarted their way.

Ibid. 38. But when thoſe *Britains*, who had not yet engaged but on the tops of the Hills deſpiſed the paucity of the *Romans*, began to draw down by degrees, and taking a compaſs to fall upon them in the Rear; *Agricola* having foreſeen their deſign, with Four Squadrons of Horſe, which he had reſerved for ſuch a purpoſe, oppoſed their Deſcent, and driving them back with as great haſt as they had come forward, put them totally to flight; ſo that now this project of the *Britains* was turned upon themſelves; ſome Troops of Horſe being by the General's order taken from the Front of the Battel, and ſent to charge the Enemy in the Rear; then might have been ſeen in the open Plain a great and diſmal Scene of War, ſome purſuing, wounding, taking, and then killing thoſe that were taken; when other freſh ones came in the way; now whole Regiments of the *Britains*, according to their ſeveral diſpoſitions, though Arm'd, and more numerous turning their backs, whilſt others though unarm'd ran deſperately upon the Swords of their Enemies; the whole field was covered with ſcattered Arms, Dead Bodies, with mangled Limbs and Blood; whilſt many wallowing in their own gore, ceaſed not to give ſome proofs of their laſt Anger and Revenge: But when the *Britains*, by running away, had got nearer the Woods, rallying again, they circumvented thoſe that purſued them, as being unwary and ignorant of thoſe places: *Agricola* (who was every where) prevented this by ſending out ſome Light Arms, yet ſtrong *Cohorts*, and as alſo by Commanding ſome of his Horſe-men to alight, and ſcoure the thickeſt parts of the Wood; theſe might have ſuffered conſiderably for their raſhneſs: But when the *Britains* once ſaw that the *Romans* followed the purſuit cloſe, and in good order, they all fled, thô not as before in whole Troops and Companies; but diſperſed and ſtragling into remote and by-places until Night, and the ſatiety of ſlaughter put an end to the chaſe: Of the *Britains* Ten Thouſand were Slain: Of the *Romans* Three Hundred and Forty; amongſt which was *Aurelius Atticus*, Commander in chief of a *Cohort*; who through Youthful heat, and the over-much mettle of his Horſe, was carried into the midſt of the Enemy. The Night was ſpent with

Ib. 38. Joy by the *Romans*; being now fluſh'd with Victory and Spoil; but the

Britains

Britains ran wandring up and down; Men and Women howling together, some lug'd on the Wounded, whilſt others cryed for help, to thoſe that were not hurt; ſome forſook their Houſes, and of their own accord ſet Fire on them, ſearching out holes to hide themſelves in for ſafety, which they as quickly left, to find out others; ſometimes in conſult together they entertained ſome glimmerings of hope, and then again fell into deſpair, being ſometimes diſpirited, and ſome enraged at the ſight of their deareſt Relations; and it is certain, that many out of a cruel compaſſion laid violent hands on their Wives and Children to ſecure them from the cruelty of the *Romans*: But Day appearing gave a plainer proſpect of their Victory; every where reign'd deſolation and ſilence; the Hills being forſaken, and the Cottages ſmoaking afar off: when the Scouts brought word that no body appear'd, only that they found the uncertain Footſteps of their flight. Whereupon *Agricola*, becauſe the Summer was far ſpent, and that no fit Seaſon to divide his Forces; brought them in an entire body into the borders of the *Horeſti*: (ſuppoſed to be the Inhabitants of *Eske-Dale* in *Scotland*) where having received Hoſtages, he Commanded the Admiral of his Fleet to Sail round about *Britain*; furniſhing him with all things neceſſary, but the terrour of the Navy was gone before, whilſt he with ſlow and eaſie marches, to the end he might ſtrike the greater terrour into the new Conquer'd Nations, arrived at his Winter Quarters, whilſt the Navy with proſperous Winds and good Succeſs, ſafely arrived at the Port *Trutulenſis* (ſuppoſed by Mr. *Somner*, to be *Richborough*, near *Sandwich*) from whence it had ſet out, and coaſting along the neareſt ſide of *Britain* returned thither again. *Anno Dom.* LXXXIV.

And now the *Romans* firſt diſcovered the Iſles of *Orkeney*, which others, with leſs Reaſon following *Oroſius*, aſcribe unto *Claudius*.

Agricola, having ſent a plain account of theſe Tranſactions (and that without any vain Glory or Amplification) the Emperor, as his manner was, received them with a ſhew of Joy, thô with an inward Trouble of Mind; for he was Conſcious to himſelf, that his own Counterfeit Triumph over the *Germans* was a ridiculous piece of Pageantry (to ſet out which, for want of real Captives, he was forced to buy ſuch as by their Hair and Attire might perſonate them); whereas the great and real Victorys of *Agricola*, where ſo many Thouſand were Slain, being applauded by all Men, would give him a vaſt Reputation: Thinking it therefore dangerous, that the Glory of a private Man ſhould Eclipſe that of his Prince, He ſecretly deſign'd his Ruine, thinking it in vain to have ſuppreſſed the Study of Oratory, and other Liberal Arts, thereby to depreſs other Mens Fame; if he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be thus ſurpaſſed in the Art of War, which he eſteemed the peculiar honour of an Emperour, being daily tormented with theſe Cares, and much alone in his Cloſet (which was always with him ſtill a ſign of ſome enſuing miſchief) he thought it beſt for the preſent to hide his reſentments, till the noiſe of *Agricola*'s Victory, as well as the Love of the Army towards him, was a little abated; he continued him therefore in his Command for ſome time, and with all ſhews of acknowledgments for ſo great Services, and ordering the *Senate* to decree him Triumphal Ornaments, with the honour of a Statue; himſelf ſpeaking highly in his Favour. *Ib. ch.* 39. *Dion. l.b.* 67. *Ib. c.* 40.

He alſo cauſed a Report to be ſpread abroad, that the Province of *Syria*, then void by the Death of *Attilius Rufus*, and reſerved for Perſons

of

Anno Dom. LXXXIV. of the higheſt Rank, ſhould be beſtowed upon *Agricola*; and it was alſo commonly believed, that a Freed-man imployed in the Emperours moſt ſecret Services, was ſent to *Agricola* with a Commiſſion for the Government of *Syria* with private Orders, if he were then in *Britain*, that it ſhould be delivered: But that the Meſſenger meeting *Agricola* at Sea, never ſo much as ſaluting him, returned again to *Domitian*; whether this were true or only feigned (as agreeable to the humour of this Prince) is uncertain.

Anno Dom. LXXXV. However, *Agricola* delivered the Province peaceably and quiet to his Succeſſour; and leaſt his entrance into the City ſhould be too remarkable, by the croud of thoſe that might go out to meet him, he came (as he was ordered) by Night into the Palace, where being received with a ſhort ſalute, and no particular diſcourſe, he preſently drew off amongſt the croud of attendants.

But tho' it is not to our preſent Deſign, give me leave to wait on this Great Man to his Grave, and give you *Tacitus*'s laſt Account of him, ſince he is ſo great an Example of Moderation in Proſperity, as well as of Patience under the Slights and Affronts of an inſolent Tyrant.

Ibid. 41, 42. * But *Agricola*, though he thus ſtriv'd to leſſen his own great Reputation, which is ever grievous to thoſe that are lazy and unwarlike, yet by his Retirement he increaſed his own Glory, as well as his Vertues; ſtill continuing modeſt in his Garb, eaſie of Acceſs, and never accompanied with more than one or two Friends: So that moſt People, who are accuſtom'd to eſteem Great Men only by Titles and outward Appearances, when they ſaw *Agricola* thus private, wonder'd at his great Reputation, and few underſtood his Vertues. And though, not long after, when abſent, he had been accuſed to *Domitian*, yet he was alſo acquitted; there being no Crime alledg'd againſt him, unleſs it were to have liv'd under a Prince who was an Enemy to all Vertue. Beſides, Had thoſe worſe ſort of all Enemies, Flatterers prevail'd; there happen'd afterwards ſuch Times which would not permit *Agricola*'s Fame to be conceal'd, ſo many Armies being loſt in *Germany*, *Pannonia*, and other Provinces, through the Raſhneſs or Cowardice of the Commanders, that *Agricola* was again deſir'd by all Men to command, comparing his Conſtancy and Experience in War with the Sloth and Cowardice of others. Which Diſcourſes coming often to the Ears of *Domitian*, whilſt ſome of his Freed-men fairly repreſented his Merits, and others of the worſt ſort, through Envy and ill Will, as much miſrepreſenting them, it provoked this Prince, too apt of himſelf to do evil: So that *Agricola*, by his own Vertues, as well as the Vices of others, was often near Ruin. And though ſome time after, when the Proconſulſhip of *Africa* was void by the Death of *Civica* lately ſlain, the Command of this Province was ſeemingly offer'd him, whilſt ſome were privately to offer their Aſſiſtance in making his Excuſe; and others, more bold and open, both perſuading, and alſo terrifying him, brought him into *Domitian*'s Preſence; who being already prepar'd to diſſemble, haughtily (though willingly) accepted his Excuſes; nay, ſuffer'd himſelf to be thank'd for his Accepting them; nor bluſh'd at his own Envy of ſo ſmall a Benefit; nor did he ſo much as beſtow upon *Agricola*, ~~who~~ the wanted Salary, which had been uſually allow'd to thoſe that had been Proconſuls; as either being offended that it was not asked him, or out of Guilt leſt he ſhould ſeem to have bought that which he did not deſire; ſince it is the Property of too many

many Mens Natures to hate thoſe that have too much oblig'd them; yet *Domitian*, though prone to Anger, and (by how much the more hidden, ſo much the more dangerous) was nevertheleſs mollified by this rare Moderation and Prudence of *Agricola*, ſince he did neither augment his own Fame, by any vain Boaſting of his Merits; nor yet accelerate his Fate by Contumacy or Sullenneſs. So that all thoſe whoſe Cuſtom it is, only to believe things dangerous unlawful, may be convinc'd that great and good Men may often live ſafe under the worſt of Princes; and that Obſequiouſneſs and Modeſty, attended with Prudence and Induſtry, do far exceed all that Glory to which many by violent Courſes, but for no publick Benefit to the Commonwealth, and by a too much ſought for Fate, have endeavour'd to attain. However, thus much is certain, That not long after this, *Agricola* died, (whether by Poyſon, or not, is uncertain,) to the common Grief of his Friends, as well as Strangers; and even *Domitian* himſelf appear'd to be concern'd at his Loſs, though he could more eaſily diſſemble his Joy, than Fear. Thus died the famous *Agricola*, who carried the *Roman* Eagles to the utmoſt bounds of *Britain*; Conquering more Nations than all his Predeceſſours before had done, and had alſo ſubdued *Ireland*, had not the Jealouſie of *Domitian* too ſoon recalled him: If *Tacitus*, or ſome other faithful Hiſtorian had given us as exact an account of the Actions of theſe other Lieutenants, that were ſent into *Britain*, during the Reign of this Emperour and his Succeſſours, then we might have had a compleat Hiſtory of thoſe times; But we are now at ſo great an uncertainty, that we cannot tell, who it was to whom *Agricola* reſigned his Command; only we read in *Suetonius* of one *Saluſtius Lucullus*, to have been Legate of *Britain*, in the days of this Emperour; but nothing can be found of any others or of him, more than that he was ſlain by *Domitian*, for giving his own name to a ſort of Spears which he had invented.

Anno Dom. LXXXV.

Domitian.

But this ſeems more certain, that not long after *Agricola*'s departure; the *Britains* recovering freſh Strength and Courage, under the Conduct of *Arviragus*, rebelled againſt the *Romans*, as ſome gather from that Speech, which *Frabricius Veiento*, is ſuppoſed by *Juvenal* to ſpeak in flattery of *Domitian*:

Omen habes inquit, magni clarique triumphi;
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus———

———See the Mighty Omen, ſee,
He cries, of ſome Illuſtrious Victory;
Some Captive King, thee his new Lord ſhall own,
Or from his *Britiſh* Chariot headlong thrown,
The proud *Arviragus* come tumbling down.

As I find it Elegantly tranſlated in Mr. Dryden's *Juvenal.* lib. 1. Sat. 4. *v.* 125.

Dion alſo mentions *C. N. Trebellius* to have governed *Britain*, though in what time is uncertain; but *Tacitus* in his Proem, to his Firſt Book of Hiſtories, ſpeaks of *Britain*, as though formerly Conquer'd, but as then loſt; which though it might be true, yet that it was again recovered is alſo as certain; ſince during the Reigns of the ſucceeding Emperours, we find *Britain*, as far as the *Friths* of *Dunbritton* and *Edinburgh*, entirely reduced into the form of a *Roman* Province, which was not governed by any particular Prætor or *Proconſul*, but was eſteemed *Præſidialis*; that is, under the immediate protection and Eye of the Emperour, and held by his Gariſons, and thus it continued as long as *Britain* remained a Member of the *Roman* Empire.

Anno Dom. LXXXII. But about the end of *Domitians* Reign, *Arviragus* is ſuppoſed by *Geoffrey* to have deceaſed; and that his Son *Marius*, called by the *Britiſh* Hiſtorians *Meurig*, ſucceeded him.

I have no more to obſerve during the Reign of *Domitian*, than that in his time, *Claudia Rufina*, a *Britiſh* Lady, was the Wife of *Pudens* a *Senator*, and ſhe is famous in that Elegant Epigram of *Martial* for her Beauty, Wit and Learning; but more excellent was ſhe for her profeſſion of Chriſtianity, if ſhe were the ſame Woman St. *Paul* mentions in his Second Epiſtle to *Timothy*, as ſome of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians have (though without any great certainty) aſſerted, for it is certain that St. *Paul* wrote this Epiſtle to *Timothy*, in the Reign of *Nero*; and therefore it is not likely that this *Claudia* ſhould be ~~found~~ for her Beauty, in the latter end of the Reign of *Domitian*; or elſe of *Trajan*, above Twenty Years after, ſince by that time, ſhe muſt certainly have been a Woman of more Years than Beauty.

Anno Dom. XCVI. The ſhort Reign of the Emperour *Nerva*, affords us nothing of certainty, concerning the Affairs of *Britain*, only that in his Reign, as alſo in that of

Anno Dom. XCVIII. *Trajan* his Succeſſour, There were great Commotions in this Iſland, which may be alſo gathered out of *Spartianus*'s Hiſtory. But in the Reign of this Emperour, the *Britains* are ſaid by him to have Revolted; yet were ſoon reduced again to Obedience. To his Reign, we may alſo refer, that War which *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* mentions, to have been made by *Roderick* King of the *Picts*; who aiding the *Caledonians*, was overcome and Slain by this King *Marius* above mentioned; which Victory, although it be only related by this Hiſtorian; Yet Arch-biſhop *Uſher* in his above cited * Work, does not think it unlikely; ſince *William* of *Malmesbury*, before ever *Geoffrey* had publiſhed his Hiſtory, makes mention of this *Marius*, in theſe words, (There is in the City of *Luguballia* (now called *Carliſle*) a Room Arch'd with Stone, which can neither by Weather or Fire be deſtroyed, the Country is called *Cumberland*, and the Inhabitants *Cumbri*; and in the Front of this Room, there is to be Read this Inſcription, *Marii Victoria*; but though Mr. *Cambden* (ſpeaking of this place) ſays, he has found it written *Marti Victori* in ſome Copies, yet thoſe could not be true, as being quite contrary to *Malmesbury*'s meaning; who preſently after adds, *What this ſhould mean I much doubt, unleſs perhaps ſome part of the* Cymbrians *planted themſelves in theſe parts, after they had been driven out of* Italy *by* Marius: But *Ranulph* of *Cheſter* in his Polychronicon, doth thus rectifie this miſtake of *Malmesbury*, " As " who not having ſeen the *Britiſh* Hiſtory, attributed this Inſcription to " *Marius* the *Roman*; when it indeed belonged to *Marius* the *Britiſh* King. This Battel is ſuppoſed to have been fought in the great *Moore*, now called *Stanmore*, in *Weſtmoreland*; as a Monk of *Malmesbury*, in the Book called *Eulogium*, hath written.

De Eccleſ. Brit. Antiquitat.

We have nothing to Remark in the Reign of *Trajan*, unleſs it is what *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* relates to have been performed in *Britain* in his time: Which I ſhall here give you. The publick ways (ſaith he) *Trajan* repaired by Paving them with Stone, or raiſing Cauſeways, even ſuch places as were wet and boggy, or by grubbing and clearing ſuch as were rough and over grown with Buſhes and Woods; making Bridges over Rivers, where the way was too long; where by reaſon of ſome ſteep Hill, the way was difficult, he turned it aſide through more level places; or if it

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ran through Forreſts, Waſtes and Deſerts, by drawing it from thence, through places inhabited.

Ælius Hadrian, ſucceeded his Unkle *Trajan* in the Empire; he was alſo a *Spaniard*, and theſe two were the Firſt Emperours, who were not by birth *Romans*; he differed from *Trajan* in his policy of extending the Empire, and rather to imitate *Auguſtus* his Rule in reſtraining its limits to render it ſtronger and more united, in ſo much, that he excluded on the *Eaſt* all *Armenia*, *Media*, *Perſia* and *Meſopotamia*, being the Conqueſts of *Trajan*: yet excepted *Britain* alone from this retrenchment; which Province he by no means would part with, although he ſomewhat ſtreightned it, as ſhall be ſhewn by and by. Under him *Julius Severus* was Lieutenant, an excellent Soldier; and upon that account called away to ſuppreſs the *Jews* then in Rebellion. *Anno Dom.* XCVII. *Dion. Lib.* 68.

After his departure, the *Britains* till then kept in, had entirely revolted, had not *Hadrian* made a Journey hither in the Second Year of his Empire, being then thrice *Conſul*; where he reformed many things, and ſeems by Force of Arms to have reduced the *Britains* to Obedience; as Mr. *Camden* well obſerveth, from a piece of Money of his Coyning, where there is the Figure of that Emperor, with Three Soldiers on the Reverſe, whom he judges to repreſent the Three Legions, of which the *Roman* Army in *Britain* then conſiſted, and under them this Inſcription, *EXER: BRITANNICUS*, and another of the ſame Prince with this Motto, *RESTITUTOR BRITANNIÆ*; but the greateſt work done by him in this Iſland was the building of a Wall Fourſcore Miles in length, croſs the Iſland, from *Solway Frith* upon the *Iriſh* Seas to the Mouth of *Tine* by *New Caſtle*, on the *German* Ocean, laying the Foundation thereof with huge Piles, and Stakes driven deep into the Earth, and faſtned together in manner of a ſtrong Rampire or Mound; this he did to keep out the *Caledonians* from infeſting the *Roman* Province; who could not it ſeems be contained within thoſe farther Fortifications, raiſed by *Agricola*, between *Glota* and *Bodotria*, now the *Friths* of *Edinburgh*, and *Dun Britton*; by which the *Northern*, and more *Barbarous Britains* had more room to inhabit, and quitting thoſe colder Countries, incloſed only the warmer and richer parts of the Iſland; by which means the bounds of the Empire, as well in *Britain*, as the *Eaſt*, were reduced to more convenient compaſs. *Anno Dom.* CXX. *Spartian in Adriano.*

In the Reign of this Emperour, *Priſcus Licinius*, was alſo Proprætor or Lieutenant in this Iſland, as appeareth by an Antient Inſcription, lately found near this Wall; which mentions this *Licinius* to have been not only Proprætor of *Britain*; but alſo before of *Capadocia*, and to have been Præfect over the Fourth Legion, as alſo to have been honoured with a Military Banner, by *Hadrian* in his *Jewiſh* Expedition, as may be ſeen at large in this Inſcription in Mr. *Camden's Britannia*. I have nothing to add in this Reign relating to *Britain*, more than that *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* makes King *Marius* to have dyed, about the Year of our Lord 132, and to have left the Kingdom to his Son *Coil*, who loved the *Romans*, and was honoured by them; ſo that paying his Tribute, and receiving their protection, he filled up a long and peaceable Reign, governing *Britain* many Years.

To *Hadrian* ſucceeded *Antoninus Pius*, at whoſe firſt coming to the Throne that Law was made, whereby all the Subjects of the *Roman* Empire, were made free Citizens of *Rome*; by which Edict the Southern *Britains*, *Anno Dom.* CXXXVIII.

Anno Dom. CXXXVIII. *Britains*, within *Hadrians*'s Wall, as well as other Provinces, enjoyed that Priviledge; but the *Brigantes* ever leaſt patient of Foreign Servitude, breaking in upon *Genoani*; (which *Camden* gueſſes ought to be read *Guinethia*, or *North Wales*, (then part of the *Roman* Province) were with the loſs of much of their Territory, driven back by *Lollius Urbicus*, Lieutenant here, who drew another Wall made of Earth and Piles, beyond the former Wall of *Adrian*, and (as Mr. *Camden* proves) from *Capitolinus*) extending it ſelf between the *Friths* of *Dunbritton* and *Edinburgh*, kept out the Incurſions of the Northern *Britains*: for theſe Atchievements, this Emperor received the Sir Name of *Britannicus*; thô the War was managed by his Lieutenant, it is alſo recorded in the *Digeſt*, that *Seius Saturninus*, had then the charge of the *Roman* Navy on the *Britiſh* Shore.

Pauſan in Arcad.

Capitolin in Antonin. Pio.

Lib. 39.

Anno Dom. CLXII. *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* (called alſo the Philoſopher) ſucceeded *Antoninus Pius*, having been before, by him adopted and declared *Cæſar*; in whoſe Time, *Britain* impatient of Foreign Subjection, again raiſed new Commotions; for the appeaſing whereof *Calphurnius Agricola* was ſent Lieutenant; the Sir-name of *Agricola* no doubt, was terrible to the *Britains*, who could not but remember the great overthrows they had received formerly under a General of that Name; and indeed, theſe Commotions laſted not long after his arrival, but ſeemed to have been ended with Fortunate ſucceſs; for which it is likely there was made that Inſcription, *Ingratitude to the Syrian Goddeſs*, which has been of late Years dug up out of the Earth, near *Adrian*'s (now called the *Picts*) Wall; but this is more certain, that the glory of having diſpatched this War ſo ſoon, is by *Fronto* the *Roman* Orator, aſcribed to this Prince in a *Panegyrick* made in his Praiſe; where he tells him, that although ſitting at home, in his Pallace at *Rome*, he had given Commiſſion to another General for the War; yet like the Pilot of a Galley ſitting at the Stern, and guiding the Helm, he deſerved the Honour of the whole Expedition: Nothing elſe is recorded of *Britain*, during *Antoninus* his Reign, ſaving that *Helvius Pertinax*, afterwards Emperour, was employ'd in theſe Wars; being called hither from his Service, againſt the *Parthians*, and here for ſome time afterwards remained Lieutenant.

In Eumenius capitolinus.

About the end of this Emperours Reign (according to *Geoffrey*,) *Coil* the Tributary King of the *Britains* dying, left his Son *Lucius* for his Succeſſor, who by *Nennius* is called *Lhes*, and Sir-named by the *Britains Lever Maur*, that is, the Great Light.

Anno Dom. CLXXX. To *Marcus Aurelius* ſucceeded *Commodus* his Son, having before been made partner of the Empire with his Father, in the beginning of whoſe Reign King *Lucius* (above mentioned) is by *Bede* ſuppoſed to have ſent to *Eleutherius*, then Biſhop of *Rome*, deſiring that by his means he might be made a Chriſtian, the relation you may find more at large in Arch-Biſhop * *Uſhers De Brit. Eccleſ. Ant.* from the old Book of *Landaffe*, which relates this King ſent Two Embaſſadours to the Pope, beſeeching him, that by his means he might be made a Chriſtian, and he did not long after obtain his requeſt; and ſo the *Britains* till the time of *Dioclefian*, maintained the Chriſtian Faith without any diſturbance; this is the Account which *Bede* hath given us, though there are other, (but more Modern Hiſtorians) that take upon them to give a much different and larger relation of this matter; and do not only take upon them to tell us the Meſſage, but alſo who where the Meſſengers that carried it: The old Book of *Landaffe*, as alſo divers other Monkiſh-writers, call them *Eloanus*

Bede lib. 1.

* *Chap. III.*

and

and *Medwinus*; but *Will.* of *Malemsbury* in his Antiquities (lately printed at *Oxford*) of the Monaſtery of *Glaſtenbury*, calls them *Faganus* and *Derravianus*, and others *Faganus* and *Damianus*; yet though they differ about the Names of theſe Men, they all agree that theſe being ſufficiently inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith, and Baptized, were ſent back to Preach the Goſpel here; who at their return converted King *Lucius*, and his whole Kingdom to Chriſtianity; but as for the ſtory it ſelf, it is thought by ſeveral learned Men to be of very ſuſpicious Credit; for thô *Bede* places *Lucius* his writing to the Pope, in the Year of our Lord, 156: and in the Reign of *Marcus Antoninus*, *Verus* and *Aurelius Commodus* his Brother: yet it is certain from the beſt accounts in Chronology, that neither *Antoninus* then ſucceeded to the Empire, nor was *Eleutherius* choſen Pope, till near Twenty Years after that time; and beſides all this, there is ſo great a difference amongſt our Hiſtorians, as well Antient as Modern, about this matter, that Arch Biſhop *Uſher* has given us above Twenty different accounts, ſome whereof differ from this of *Bede*, as alſo from each other; ſome Twenty, ſome Thirty Years, nay ſome Forty, and others near Fifty Years; only this muſt be acknowleged, that they all agree that ſuch an Embaſſie was ſent by *Lucius*, in the Papacy of *Eleutherius*, and that the Pope returned ſuch an anſwer to it; now it is certain that he was not choſen Pope till the Year of our Lord, 171 at the ſooneſt; or according to *Euſebius*'s Chronicle, till 176, and ſo *Lucius*'s Converſion muſt have happened in the Time of *Marcus Aurelius*, to which time the Engliſh *Saxon Annals*, as alſo *Bede* himſelf, with divers others of our Ancient Hiſtorians, as well Foreign as Engliſh, do refer it; though *Roger* of *Wendover*, and other Authors about the ſame Age, refer it to *Anno Dom.* 184; which falls out in the Second or Third Year of the Emperour of *Commodus*, which ſeems moſt likely, if it were ever done at all. *Anno Dom.* CLXXX.

But that there was never any ſuch King, ſeems to ſome learned Men very probable; ſince *Gildas* makes no mention of any ſuch thing; but ſays the time of *Chriſt*'s being firſt Preached in this Iſland, was as early as the firſt Conqueſt of it by the *Romans*; beſides which the Monks (who have ſince new dreſt up this Story) not only make him to have been King of all *Britain*, but to have ſettled Chriſtianity in all parts of his Dominions; and inſtead of *Flamens* and *Arch-Flamens* in the chief Cities, as *London*, *York*, &c. to have placed the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops in their rooms, which is impoſſible to be true: ſince the Title of Arch-Biſhop was not then known in the Church; nor could *Lucius* ſettle Chriſtianity all over Britain, which was then either under the power of the *Romans*, or elſe what remained unconquered, was abſolutely Heathen and Barbarous at the time of this ſuppoſed converſion.

But however I think we may ſafely follow * Arch-Biſhop *Uſher*, and † Doctor *Stillingfleet*, in allowing the common Tradition of King *Lucius*, and that he had Regal Authority under the *Romans*, in ſome part of this Iſland; ſince the two Coins ſeen by the ſaid Arch Biſhop, the one of Gold and the other of Silver, with the Image of a King on them, and the Letters LVC, with a Croſs, do ſufficiently evidence it: But in what part of *Britain* he governed, whether as Succeſſour to *Praſutagus* among the *Iceni*, or elſe was King of the *Belgæ*, or was Succeſſor to *Cogidunus*, over the *Regni*, in thoſe parts that we now call *Surrey* and *Suſſex*; I will not take upon me to determine, thô I rather incline to the laſt, (being Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s Opinion) for the Reaſons and Conjectures, he gives us in

* *Vid. Eccl. Brit. Antiquit.*
† *Vide* his *orig. Britan. chap.* 2. *fol.* 62.

Anno Dom. CLXXX. in the same Chapter; but as for the Letters pretended to have been writ by Pope *Eleutherius* to King *Lucius*, thô they are inserted among the Laws of K. *Edward* the *Confessor*, and are also to be found in an old Book of the Constitutions of the City of *London*; I shall not trouble you with the Contents of them, since they plainly discover their Imposture to any Man at all versed in Antiquities.

I have no more to add concerning this King, but that the *Grisons* make him to have been their Apostle, and to have first preached the Gospel in their Country, and shew his Tomb at *Cloir* to this Day, which can by no means agree with our *British*, as well as *English* Historians; who all suppose that he dyed in his own Country without any Children.

Dion. Hist. lib. 72. about Anno Dom. CLXXXVII. But to return again to the civil History of *Britain*, we further find, that under the Emperour *Commodus*, *Britain* as well as other Countries was much infested with Wars and Seditions, for *Xiphiline* in his Epitomy of *Dion* relates, that the *British* War was the greatest of all others, because the *Britains* having broken through the Wall, which divided their Territories from that of the *Romans*, had laid wast many places, and had cut off the *Roman* General together with his Army; whereupon *Commodus* terrified with this Rebellion, sent *Ulpius Marcellus* against them, who was a sober and modest Man, and lived after the rate of a Common Souldier, he was also Stout and Magnanimous in his Warlike Expeditions, but thô he was not to be corrupted with Money, yet was not at all complaisant in his Conversation; but as for the other examples, this Author gives us of his great Vigilance and Temperance, they are so trivial, that they do not merit any particular relation; and I could have wisht that *Xiphilin* his Epitomator would have been more sparing in his Character, and larger upon the Actions of this great Man; for all he tells us further of him, is, that he did very great mischief to the Barbarous People in *Britain*, for which he was very near being made away by *Commodus*, because of his Vertue; yet that nevertheless he let him alone.

Britain being again brought to Obedience by so worthy a Commander, after he was recalled, began to fall into more dangerous Commotions; for *Ælius Lampridius* in his Life of this Emperour, tells us, That now stubbornness began to break into the *Roman* Camp, and the Military Discipline of the *British* Army, being relaxed, the Souldiers began to refuse to Obey *Commodus*, and would have set up another Emperour against him; for *Perennis*, who was than in highest power with his Prince, removing Senators, set Men only of the equestrial Order to Command the *British* Army; which being made known by their Lieutenant, *Perennis* was declared a publick Enemy by the Souldiers; for as *Dion* farther relates the Army in *Britain* mutinying against *Perennis*, sent no less than 1500 of their own number into *Italy*, to represent their Grievances at *Rome*, and being admitted to the Emperour's presence, they told him that the reason of their coming, was to let him know, that *Perennis* had conspired against him, and endeavoured to make his Son Emperour; to which *Commodus* giving credit, at the Instigation of *Cleander*, immediately delivered up *Perennis* (thô then *Præfectus Pretorii*) to the power of the *Prætorian* Bands, whom he then commanded, who soon dispatched him; but *Commodus* listed those 1500 (who were sent out of *Britain*) among those Bands, who were his Guards. *Perennis* being thus dispatched, *Commodus* sent *Helvius Pertinax* (afterwards Emperor) in to *Britain*, though he was then employ'd against the *Parthians*, who when he came hither, did what

Jul. Capitolinus in Pertin.

he

he could to hinder the Soldiers from Sedition; who would rather have had any other Man for their Emperor than *Commodus*, and especially *Pertinax* himself; yet he then underwent the Censure of an envious Person, because he was said to have accused *Antistius Burrhus* and *Aristius Antonius* to *Commodus*, of affecting the Empire; so that though he quell'd some Seditions in *Britain*, yet he escaped a great danger, being almost kill'd in a Mutiny of one of the Legions, and left for dead among the slain; which Fact, though *Pertinax* severely revenged it upon the Mutineer, yet afterwards he asked leave to be dismiss'd of his Government, alledging, that the Legions were displeased with him for holding them too close to Discipline: Having thus received a Successor, he was, after some time, made Proconsul of *Africa*. *Anno Dom.* CLXXXVII

After, *Pertinax Clodius Albinus*, a Man of great Birth and Valour, was made Lieutenant of *Britain*. He had before got himself a great Reputation, whil'st he govern'd *Gaul*; but routing the *Frisians*, and after his coming into *Britain*, *Commodus* would have created him *Cæsar*, and have given him the Honour of wearing the purple Robe, even in his presence, though without the Golden Embroideries; as appears by the Letters he wrote, recited at large in this Author. *Idem in Albino.*

Albinus, having received these Letters, yet knowing how odious *Commodus* was, because of his Vices, by which he not only destroyed the Common-wealth, but disgraced himself; fearing, lest the Emperor being killed, himself might Perish with him; he therefore prudently refused these Honours, saying, *That* Commodus *sought either who should perish together with him, or whom he might upon some jealous pretence destroy:* Yet however he still commanded the *British* Army; but hearing, by a false Report, that *Commodus* was slain, thereupon going out to the Soldiers, he made them a Speech to this effect:

"That if the Senate of *Rome* had still preserved its ancient Power, and "the Supream Authority had not been intrusted to a single Person, "the publick Management of Affairs had never come into the hands of "such as *Nero*, *Vitellius*, and *Domitian*: Then reckoning up the greatest "of his own Ancestors, the *Albini Posthumi*, under the Government "of Consuls; and setting forth the great Additions the Senate had made "to the *Roman* Empire by their Lieutenants, and that they maintained "their Authority to the days of *Nero*, whom they had not feared to con-"demn as a wicked Prince: And concluded, that he utterly renounced "the Name of *Cæsar*, which *Commodus* had profer'd him.

And yet this great Common-wealths Man, when time served, did not afterwards stick to assume the Titles and Honour, which now for private Reasons he refused, and against which he so much declaimed; and died in asserting to himself the Imperial Purple against *Severus*, the wearing whereof he now so much reproved. This Oration being brought to *Rome*, as it pleased the *Senate*, so it highly incensed the *Emperor*, who thereupon presently wrote Letters to all his *Pretors* and *Prefects*, wherein he let them know, "That he supposed they had heard, that it was given "out that he was slain by a Conspiracy: And had likewise seen that "Oration of *Albinus* to his Soldiers, wherein he so much ingratiated with "the *Senate*, and (says he,) not without Reason, for he who denies "that there ought to be one Prince over the Common-wealth, and asserts *S.* *Idem in Albino.*

"that

Anno Dom. LXXXVII. " that it ought wholly to be govern'd by the *Senate*, doth by them ſeek " the Empire for himſelf; therefore bids them beware of him, for they " knew the Man was to be voided both by the Soldiers and People. So *Commodus*, immediately upon this, ſent Orders to diſmiſs *Albinus* from the Government of *Britain*, and to deliver it up to *Junius Severus*.

Herod. l. 1. id. l. 2. But *Commodus* being not long after poyſoned by *Martia* his Concubine, *Helvius Pertinax*, was thereupon created Emperor, who is ſuppoſed to have confirmed *Albinus* in his Command of *Britain*; but being within the ſpace of Three Months, ſlain by the *Prætorian* Bands, *Didius Julianus* bought the Empire of them for ſo much Money, to be given each Souldier; but kept it but Two Months, and was then overcome, and ſlain by *Severus*; who upon the news of the Death of *Commodus*, had been ſaluted Emperor by the *Pannonian* Army; as was alſo *Peſcenius Niger* in *Syria*: ſo that *Albinus* in thoſe troubleſome times, under the ſhort Reigns of *Pertinax*, and *Didius Julianus*, found means ſtill to retain the Government of *Britain*, nor would ſurrender it to *Junius Severus*, whom *Commodus* had before ſent to take it, nor yet to *Heraclitus*, whom *Septimius Severus*, after he was ſaluted Emperor, ſent alſo hither to take poſſeſſion of it.

Capitolin in Albino. It is ſaid of *Albinus*, That the *Senate* made Addreſſes to *Pertinax*, that he would make him his Aſſociate in the Empire, which *Pertinax* refuſed; fearing his ſecret Ambition, and publiſhed that Letter which *Commodus* had before written to the *Prefects*, that he might thereby bring *Albinus* into hatred and diſgrace with the Souldiers; who hated a Common-wealth, by which action *Albinus* was ſo incenſed, that it is ſaid, he ſecretly excited *Julian* to Murder *Pertinax*, as hath been already related.

Spartianus in Nigro. But *Severus* having got poſſeſſion of *Rome* (the principal ſtrength of the Empire) and having now the Senate on his ſide, reſolved firſt to make War againſt *Peſcenius Niger*; but knowing himſelf too weak to contend both with him and *Albinus* at once, was reſolved at the preſent to keep fair with the latter, as knowing him to be a Man of great Riches and Power, fearing leſt he ſhould take *Rome*, whilſt himſelf was buſied in making War againſt *Niger* in the *Eaſt*; therefore he thought it beſt under a ſhew of Friendſhip to draw him to his Party, wherefore he gave him the Title of *Cæſar*, anticipating his Ambition, by this voluntary Communication of Power; and ſent him very ſmooth Letters, " beſeeching " him that he would take care of the Empire, which now ſtood in need " of ſuch a worthy Perſon in the prime of his Years; that as for himſelf he was now Old, and troubled with the Gout, his Sons being as " yet but Infants; to which fair Pretences *Albinus* giving Credit, joyfully received the Title of *Cæſar*, telling his Souldiers in a Speech, he made them upon this occaſion; " That though he had refuſed the " Title of *Cæſar*, when offered by *Commodus*, yet now muſt obey in this " the Emperour's Commands, as well as their own deſires; ſince it could " not be denied, but that the Common-Wealth might be well govern'd " by one ſingle, Valiant and Good Man: So much was his Mind charged by his Intereſt, ſo well was he pleaſed, that he had obtained his wiſhes, without any danger; but *Severus* to make what he did appear more credible, cauſed Statues to be erected, and Money coyned with the Image of *Albinus*, and alſo made what he had done to be confirmed by the *Senate*.

Capitol. in Albino.

After

After which he marched against *Niger*, and having overcome and slain him, he had now *Albinus* only left to deal with, and whom, as not thinking him for his turn, he was resolved by any means to remove out of the way; therefore in the first place he raised a Report that *Albinus* carried himself insolently, and ungratefully towards him; and that there were divers of the chief Senators, who had wrote to *Albinus*, to return and seize upon *Rome* in his absence: Nevertheless *Severus* thought it not the safest way to act against him by open War, especially when there appeared no sufficient grounds for it; and therefore he sent certain trusty Messengers to him, who were privately ordered, that when they had delivered their Letters, they should tell him, That they had something more to say to him in private: But as soon as they had him alone, that they should be sure to dispatch him; and besides, gave them Poyson, whereby they should make him away, if they could not succeed by open force. *Albinus* being warned of these treacherous Ambassadours, stood upon his guard, and would not admit them till they had laid aside their Swords; but when they desired to speak with him in private, he then seemed more suspicious, and having examin'd them by Torture, forced them to confess the whole design, and then having punished these Conspirators, he immediately declared War against *Severus*, and took upon him the Titles of Emperour and *Augustus*. *Anno Dom.* CLXXXVII. *Herod in Albino.*

Which as soon as *Severus* heard, he was extreamly incensed, and thought it not fit any longer to conceal his Anger; but having made a sharp Oration to his Army against *Albinus*, and which was received with great Acclamations; he presently began his Expedition against him, who to defend himself, with the flower of *Britain* entred *Gaul*, and marching as far as *Lyons*, he and *Severus* there met at the head of their Armies; when the Battle being joyned, *Albinus* had at first the better, the *British* Souldiers not yeilding to the *Illyrians*, either in strength or courage; so that part of the Army, which *Severus* Commanded, being routed, he himself was knocked down from his Horse, and casting away his Purple Robe, was for some time supposed to be slain; when *Lætus Severus* Lieutenant General, supposing him to have been killed, came in with fresh Forces, with an intention to gain the Victory for himself, for which treachery, he was afterwards by *Severus* put to Death: However, at present by his assistance, he won the Victory, and put his Enemies to flight, pursuing and killing them with great slaughter; whereupon the City of *Lyons* being taken, *Albinus* was forced to fly from thence; but being pursu'd by *Severus*'s Souldiers, and driven into a House near the River *Rhosne*, was there forced to run himself through with his own Sword; or (as others relate) caused one of his Servants to do that office for him; but however he was taken, and brought to *Severus* before he was quite dead, who quickly dispatched him, and cutting of his head, sent it to *Rome*, to be set over the place of publick Execution; but he let the Body lye before the *Prætorium* till it stunk, and was devoured by Dogs. A mean revenge, for so great an Emperour, to take upon so Valiant a Person. *Anno Dom.* CXCVIII. *Herod. l. 3.*

But now *Severus* having by this Victory, obtained the whole *Roman* Empire; and finding that *Britain* was a Province too great and powerful to be trusted in the hands of one Man, he divided it into two Governments; committing the North part thereof to *Virius Lupus*, as *Propretor* and Lieutenant (whom *Ulpian* nameth President of *Britain*) and to *Heraclitus* *Digest Lib. 28. Tit. 6.*

Anno Dom. CXCVIII.

clitus the Southern parts, as Mr. *Speed* gathereth by a Coyne of *Severus* Minted in his Second Conſul-ſhip, which fell in the Year of our Lord, 198, from whence it appears, that after the Death of *Albinus*, *Britain* was not reduced under the ſubjection of *Severus*, until he had won it by the Sword, the memory of which he left to poſterity in this Medal wherein is the Goddeſs of Victory repreſented, as ſitting upon ſpoils, with this Inſcription, *Victoria Britanniæ*; but this Victory muſt have been then won by his Lieutenant, and not by himſelf.

Herod. lib. 3.

But *Virius Lupus*, who had the Government of the Northern parts, was forced to buy Peace of the *Meatæ* at a great rate, becauſe the *Caledonians*, who had promiſed to check the Incurſions of the *Meatæ*, had not performed that Article of their Agreement: This Author likewiſe tells us, that the former of theſe Nations, lived next the Wall that divided the South of the Iſland from the *North*; ſo that *Lupus* finding himſelf unable alone to curb their Inroads, after great loſſes ſuffered from them, ſent for *Severus*, but he being at that time taken up with other Wars, *Lupus* was forced to buy this Peace of the *Meatæ*, as we have ſaid; only ſome *Roman* Priſoners were then ſet free: The Memory of this *Virius Lupus* is preſerved, in an Altar dug up, dedicated to the Goddeſs *Fortune*; upon the occaſion of his repairing a *Bath*, or Hot-houſe, at a Town called *Levatriæ* (now *Bows*) upon *Stanmoor*, in *Richmond ſhire*: This was done for the ſake of the *Thracian Cohorts*, who lay there in Garriſon with the *Romans*.

Vid. Camden Britan.

But *Lupus* hearing that *Severus* had at laſt put an end to his other Wars, he wrote him plainly the ſtate of things here, that the *Britains* of the North made War upon him, broke into the Province, and harraſſed all the Countries nigh them: that there needed ſuddenly either more aid, or himſelf to come in perſon.

Ibid. lib. 3.

Severus was not much diſpleaſed at this news, being in his own nature greedy of Glory, and being alſo deſirous after ſo many Victories in the *Eaſt*, to raiſe alſo new trophies for the *Britains*; and beſides he thought at beſt to withdraw his Two Sons from the pleaſures of *Rome*, and inure the Young Men to hardſhip and Military Diſcipline.

So this Emperour, though Old and much troubled with the Gout, yet with as great Courage as any Young Man, made this expedition into *Britain*; and taking his Journey for the moſt part in a Litter, ſtaid long in no place; ſo that having finiſhed his Journey by Land, and having croſſed the Sea ſooner than could be expected, he entred *Britain*, and having Muſter'd his Soldiers, and brought great Forces together, he prepared for War: But the Northern *Britains*, daunted with the Report of ſo great Forces brought over with him, and that more were preparing, ſent Ambaſſadours to treat of Peace, and to excuſe their former doings. The Emperour now loath to return home, without ſome memorable Action, whereby he might aſſume to his other Titles the addition of *Britannicus*, delay'd his Anſwer; but quickens his preparations, till in the end, when all things were in a readineſs to follow them, they were diſmiſſed without effect; when he arrived, his principal care was to have many Bridges and Cauſeways laid over Bogs and Moors, that his Souldiers might fight on firm ground, for many parts of *Britain*, were at that time over run with Bogs and Marſhes, (as *Ireland* was ſome Years ago) now the *Britains* uſed to wade through theſe Marſhes up to the middle, not valuing it, becauſe they went naked: But *Severus* prepared all things which might

might be of any uſe for the Souldiers, or a damage to the *Britains*: And when he found all were ready to his Mind, having his Younger Son *Geta* to govern the more *Southern* part of the Iſland, by the help of *Papinian*, the great Lawyer; taking his Eldeſt Son *Baſſianus* along with himſelf, he marched againſt the *Britains*, and having paſſed the Wall that divided their Territories, there only happen'd ſome tumultuary Skirmiſhes, in which thô the *Romans* were ſtill Conquerours, yet the *Britains* found an eaſie retreat, by hiding themſelves in the Woods and Bogs, which were well known to them, which contributed very much to prolong the War. Yet did not *Severus* deſiſt, till he had paſſed to the very fartheſt part of the Iſland, and had compell'd the Enemies to make Peace upon this Condition, That they ſhould give up great part of their Territory, although he loſt in this Expedition, by the ſudden Aſſaults and Ambuſhes of the *Britains*, as well as by *Diſeaſes*, near Fifty Thouſand Souldiers; which is alſo confirm'd by * *Dion*, who further tells us, That he fought no ſet Battel, nor yet ſaw any Forces of the Enemies in Battell Array; but that they did often leave their Sheep and Oxen on purpoſe, that the *Romans* going out of the way to ſeize them, might be the more eaſily taken and overcome: beſides all this, the want of Water much troubled the *Romans*, and Ambuſhes were laid for thoſe that went about ſtragling to find it: And when they were not able to march any further for want of it, they were killed by their fellow Souldiers, leaſt they ſhould be taken by the Enemy. *Anno Dom.* CXCVIII. * *Lib.* 76.

But in this Expedition, the wicked cariage of *Baſſianus* gave *Severus* perpetual trouble, not only becauſe he lived debauchedly, but alſo for that it was evident, as ſoon as he had Power he would kill his Brother; and had alſo made ſome attempts againſt *Severus* himſelf; for he ran once all of a ſudden out of his Tent, crying out that he was much injur'd by *Caſtor*, who was the worthieſt Man in *Severus*'s Court, and was privy to his moſt ſecret Councils, being the chief of his Bed-chamber, (the ſame with the Lord Chamberlain with us.) Now there were before ready prepared ſome Soldiers on purpoſe, who upon *Baſſianus*'s thus crying out came to his Aſſiſtance, and (as *Herodian* ſays) proclaim'd him *Auguſtus*; whereupon *Severus* immediately made himſelf to be carried to the *Tribunal*, and having order'd all thoſe Officers, and Souldiers who had been engaged in this Action, as alſo his Son (who had taken upon him the Name of *Auguſtus*) to appear before him, He commanded them all except his Son to be put to Death, when they all begging pardon for their offence, fell down proſtrate before him; upon which he pardon'd them, then touching his own Head with his Hand, ſaid, At laſt you'l find that it is a Man's Head, and not his Feet that Govern; but *Dion* ſays, he did put ſome of the moſt Seditious of them to Death; who alſo further relates, that at another time when both the Father and the Son were marching together into *Caledonia*, *Baſſianus* did openly endeavour to kill his Father, for as they rode at the head of the Army, the Enemies Forces being in ſight, he ſtopp'd his Horſe, and privately drew his Sword, that he might run his Father into the back; which when thoſe perceived who followed them, they preſently cryed out, at which *Baſſianus* being ſtartled ſtopt his blow; but *Severus* thereupon turning about, ſaw his Sword drawn, yet then ſaid nothing; but returning to the Camp, went into the *Prætorium*, and there called before him his Son (together with *Papinian* and *Caſtor*) then Commanding the naked Sword to be laid before them, he ſharply reproved him, that not

Anno Dom. CXCVIII. only now in the ſight of his Army; but alſo at other times he had attempted ſo great a wickedneſs, concluding thus, " if thou deſireſt to " kill me, kill me now, for thou art Younger and in full ſtrength, and " I am Old and can ſcarce ſtir, which if thou refuſeſt to do with thine " own Hand, here is *Papinian* our Prefect, whom thou may'ſt command to kill me, for he will do what ever thou bidſt him, ſince thou art already *Emperor*. Thô *Severus* ſaid all this, he did no more to his Son, notwithſtanding he had often blamed *Marcus Aurelius*, that he had not put his Son *Commodus* to Death; but *Severus*, ſaid this only in his paſſion, for his Son was dearer to him than the good of the Common-wealth, thô by this means he did as good as Sacrifice his Younger Son to the Elder: ſince he might eaſily gueſs what would happen when ever he ſhould die. *Herodian* confirms the ſame Story, and that though ſeveral Grave and Wiſe Men had perſwaded him to put his Son to Death, yet he refuſed it, too much indulging his paternal Affection.

The War being thus happily ended, *Severus* in Memory of theſe Victories, cauſed Coins to be Stamp'd with this Inſcription, *Victoria Britannica*: and upon the Frontiers of what he had now Conquer'd, built a Wall croſs the Iſland, from Sea to Sea, which our Author judges to have been the moſt magnificent of all his undertakings, and that he thence received the Stile of *Britannicus*. It was in length 132 Miles; *Oroſius* makes it fortified with a deep Trench, and at certain Spaces, by many Towers.

Spartianus in Severo, Eutropius, Oroſius lib. 7.

In Rege. XXVII. *Buchanan* in his Hiſtory of *Scotland*, will needs place it in *Scotland* between the *Friths* of *Bodotria* and *Glotta*, in the ſame place which *Lollius Urbicus*, and *Agricola* had fortified before, whilſt * Mr. *Camden* affirms it to be only *Hadrianus*'s Wall re-edified, and which paſſes through the higher parts of *Cumberland*, between the Rivers *Tine* and *Eske*; and brings very good Authorties for this Opinion out of the *Roman* Authors, as well as Inſcriptions near the ſaid Wall; in which the name of *Severus* is particularly mentioned: which Wall is called by the *Engliſh*, the *Picts Wall*, by the *Britains*, *Gual Sever*, and by the *Scots*, *Mur Sever*; all which denominations do manifeſtly denote the name of its Founder: whereas the name of *Greames Dike*, by which the preſent *Scots* call the Ruins of that Wall or Trench, which is ſtill to be ſeen in *Scotland*, doth no way denote *Severus* to have been its founder. There is alſo another Argument that this was the place where he built this Wall we now treat of; for between *Dun Britton*, and *Edinburgh Friths*, although there be many Ruins of continued Fortifications; yet are they not ſo viſible as this of ours: nor doth the Wall in *Scotland* ſeem to have been of that ſtrength and ſolidity, as this of *Severus* is related by all Authors, and as by its Ruines ſtill appears to be. But the former Wall or Trench ſeems to have been only faced with Stone about Two Foot thick, and then lined within with Earth: there are alſo divers other Arguments to prove it was the ſame with *Hadrian*'s there built before, as firſt the number of Miles, which *Spartianus* hath truly reckon'd to be Eighty; whereas between *Edinburgh*, and *Dunbritton* there is not half that diſtance; but if any ſhall object that *Eutropius* hath reckon'd the length thereof to be but Thirty Five Miles, and *Aurelius Victor* Thirty two; yet how even this can agree with the diſtance between the *Friths* of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*, let them conſider, who maintain this Opinion, ſince even that will not agree with the diſtance between thoſe two Rivers; and thô it is true, that *Aurelius Victor* (one

* *In Britan.*

See the Deſcription of this Wall in the New Edition of Cam. Brit. Scotl. *p.* 958, 959.

(one of the most authentic Authors that writes of this Matter) makes the space that this Wall extended it self between the two Seas to be 30 Miles, and *Eutropius* 35, whilst some later Authors have stretch'd it to 132 Miles; yet Arch-Bishop *Usher*, in his Learned Work already cited, hath shewn us, that these different Accounts may be reconciled, by supposing, that both *Victor* and *Eutropius* at first writ LXXXII. Miles in *Roman* Figures, and that afterwards, by the carelesness of some Transcribers, the L. was left out, whilst by others it was turned into a C, which if added to the following Figures, *viz.* XXXII, make CXXXII; but with an L. before them, they make only LXXXII. Miles, as they are indeed no more. But to conclude this Subject, on which, I doubt, we have dwelt too long already, if *Buchanan* had not desired to have been singular, and to have differed not only from our *English* Authors, but from his own Country-men, *John Fordun*, and *Major*, (who in their Histories of *Scotland* are both of our side) he had never fallen into this Mistake.

Anno Dom. CXCVIII.

Antiquitat. Eccles. Britan. cap. XV.

Whilst this Peace with the Northern *Britains* lasted, it may well be supposed, that remarkable Meeting between the Empress *Julia*, the Wife of *Severus*, and the Wife of *Argentocoxus* a *British* King, might have happened; wherein the Empress upbraiding the *British* Ladies, that they lay with so many Men promiscuously, according to their Custom, of one Woman's having several Husbands, (as hath been already related:) The *British* Lady made her this quick Return; "We *British* Women do much "better satisfie the Desires of Nature than you *Roman* Ladies, for we "have to do only with the best Men, and that openly, whilst you com- "mit Adulteries with every mean Fellow in a corner. A sharp Reproof, though no good Excuse for her Country-women.

Dion. *Ibid.*

But no sooner was *Severus* returned into the *Roman* Province, but the *Caledonians* and *Meatæ* again took Arms, which so incensed the old Emperor, that calling his Soldiers together, he commanded them, (repeating a Verse of *Homer*) That they should enter the Country, and kill all they met, both Men, Women, and Children; but being now worn out with Years and Infirmities, he could not go himself, but sent *Bassianus*, his Son, against them; yet whether he did any thing considerable, is uncertain, since *Severus* died not long after: Whose End, whether it was hastened by his Son's wicked Practices, or whether he died of meer Age or Sickness, is not truly known, since Historians differ much about it; but before he died, he is said to have spoke thus to his two Sons, Bassianus *and* Geta; *See that you agree between your selves, and pay your Soldiers, and then you need care for no body else.* A notable Maxim, which hath been observed not only by them, but by all who are, or desire to be absolute Monarchs. He is likewise said by *Spartianus* to have rejoyced before his Death, that he left the Empire to his Sons, according to the Example of *Antoninus Pius*, who left the two *Antonini* (his Sons by Adoption) his Heirs; whereas he had left two Sons, gotten by himself, Rulers of the *Roman Commonwealth*. But he was deceived in his Expectation, for the one by the *Parricide* of his Brother, the other by his own evil Manners, were soon destroyed; and to expect otherwise, shew'd him not to have been so Prudent in that, as in his other Actions: Upon which, the Author last cited, in his Life of this Prince, makes this shrewd Observation; *That scarce any great Men had left behind them a Son good for any thing, but either they have had no Children, or else such, that it had*

Id. Ibid.

Herodian.

In Severo.

Anno Dom. CXCVIII. *had been better for Mankind if they had died without any at all.* This Author also makes him to have further ſpoke theſe as his laſt Words: *I received the Commonwealth every where diſturbed, but leave it even as far as* Britain, *in Peace, a firm and ſtable Empire to my* Antonines *if they prove Virtuous, but if otherwiſe, a weak one.*

Ibid. *Dion* tells us, That his Corps being carried out in great Pomp, and laid upon the Funeral Pile without the Walls of *York*, at a place called to this day *Sever's-Hoe*, or *Sever's-Hill*, the Souldiers rid round it on Horſe-back full ſpeed whilſt it was burning, his own Sons having firſt kindled the Fire. *Herodian* gives us a long Deſcription of his Funeral Pile, and of the manner of burning the Body of a *Roman* Emperour, which being too tedious to be here recited, thoſe who are deſirous of reading the Deſcription of this Spectacle, may find it at large in this Author. His Bones being put in an Urn of Porphiry, were carried by his Sons to *Rome*, and placed in the Sepulchre of the *Antonines*: It is alſo ſaid by *Dion*, That *Severus*, a little before his Death, commanded this Urn to be brought to him, and holding it in his hand to have ſpoke thus, *Muſt thou hold him, whom the whole World could not contain?* *Severus* is deſcribed by this Author to have been in his old age Corpulent, but of a ſtrong Conſtitution, thô much afflicted with the Gout; of a ſharp and excellent Wit; a Lover of good Letters, in which, thô he was a ſufficient Maſter, yet was more able to expreſs it by Writing, than Words; grateful towards his Friends; moſt cruel to his Enemies; diligent in Affairs, but careleſs of what Men ſaid of him; greedy of Money, which he gathered by all means, yet for that cauſe alone he never put any Man to Death: He was magnificent in his publick Expences, and built many new Edifices, and repaired the old ones; ſo that thô he ſpent vaſtly, yet he left a great Treaſure behind him. But to add ſomewhat farther from others, he was a great Enemy to Incontinence and Adultery, and made ſtrict Laws againſt it; and had certainly as great a mixture of good and evil Qualities as ever were found in any one Man: That he was both Perfidious and Cruel, appears by his Dealing with *Albinus*, as alſo with the Wife and Children of *Niger*, whom, thô innocent, he cauſed to be put to Death, whilſt his own Son, who had attempted upon his Life and Empire, he eaſily Pardoned; which whether he did out of Love to him, or wearineſs of Life, as ſated with Honour and Power, may be doubted; and if he had been then a young Man, perhaps he would have acted otherwiſe. I have inſiſted the longer upon the Character of this Prince, as being one of the greateſt and moſt fortunate of all the *Roman* Emperours.

But having given you an account of the laſt Words and Actions of *Severus* in *Britain*, I cannot but here take notice of a notorious Falſhood in *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* in this part of his Hiſtory, and whereby you may judge of his Skill in the *Roman* Hiſtory, and I ſhall give it you in the Words of a Learned Biſhop. *Geoffery* having found that *Severus* the Emperour died in *Britain*, thought it moſt for the Honour of our Country to kill him fairly in Battle, and therefore by power of Fancy he creates one *Fulgentius* to be General againſt him, who being overpowered here at home, went and fetched in the *Picts* out of *Scythia*, and with their Aid fought *Severus* and killed him, and was killed together for Company: All which was *Geoffery*'s own proper Invention. And then having found that *Severus* left a Son, *Baſſianus*, that was his Succeſſor in the *Roman* Empire, he makes

Vid. *the Lord Biſhop of St. Aſaph's Preface to his Hiſtorical Account of* Church-Government *in* Britain.

makes his *Britains* ſet up this *Baſſianus* to be their King on his Mother's account, who (muſt be the Siſter of *Fulgenius*) then having found, that *Britain* was Governed by *Carauſius* ſome time after, thô he knew not when, putting both theſe together, he makes the fore-mentioned Emperour *Baſſianus* (being betrayed by the *Picts* that came in with his Uncle *Fulgenius*) to be killed in Fight by this *Carauſius*, thô there was a diſtance of ſome 70 Years betweenethem: But that was nothing with *Geoffery*, he writ (I dare ſay) what might be true for ought he knew; nor has *Geoffery* erred alone, but hath alſo led *John Fordun* and *Hector Boethius*, the *Scotch* Hiſtorians, into the ſame Error, who (as the ſaid Learned Biſhop obſerves) make this *Fulgenius*, whom they call a *Britiſh* Conſul, (his Name a little altered into *Fulgentius*) to have headed the *Scots* and *Picts* in this War with *Severus*: But I need ſay no more of this, for *Geoffery* being once expoſed, (as he deſerves,) thoſe that write from him will need no other Confutation. *Anno Dom.* CXCVIII.

After the Death of *Severus*, his Sons *Baſſianus* and *Geta* (having before taken the Sirname of *Antonini*,) ſucceeded in the Empire; and althô the Elder pretended to hold it in common with his Brother, yet he preſently began to Reign alone, ſoon ending the War with the *Britains*, and relinquiſhing the Gariſons; not long after left this Iſland together with his Brother *Geta*, with whom when he had ſome Quarrels, *Julia* the Empreſs, together with their Friends and Councellors, patched up a Reconciliation between them, which was only in outward Appearance, and more by Conſtraint than Good Will: So both of them enjoying the like Imperial *Honours*, paſſed into *Italy*, leaving *Virius Lupus* as their Lieutenant in *Britain*; but as ſoon as they came to *Rome*, their Hatred to each other breaking out afreſh, *Baſſianus* coming into his Brother *Geta's* Bed-chamber, when he looked for no ſuch thing, cruelly murdered him in his Mother's Arms; and then beſtowing a great Donative upon the Souldiers to gain their Good Wills, was alone declared Emperour, and his Brother *Geta* condemned as an Enemy, as having conſpired againſt him. But one thing is very remarkable; That when he had committed this Parricide, he would have had *Papinian*, the great *Civil Lawyer*, to have wrote a Defence of it; but he, like an honeſt *Roman*, utterly refuſed it, plainly telling him, "That it was eaſier to commit Parricide, than to defend it "when it was committed. But this plain Anſwer coſt him his Life, the Emperour commanding his Soldiers to kill him in his Preſence; which one of them doing with an Axe, the Emperour chid him for it, ſaying, "That he ought to have performed his Commands with a Sword. *Anno Dom.* CCXI. Herodian, *l.* 4. Dion. *lib.* 77. Spartianus *in* Caracalla.

The Reign of *Antoninus Baſſianus Caracalla* affords us nothing tranſacted in this Iſland, only, that after the Death of his Bother *Geta*, he commanded his Name to be razed out of all Monuments; which was accordingly obſerved in *Britain*, as appears by an Inſcription dug out of the Earth in *Monmouthſhire*, which was erected for the Safety of the then Emperor *Severus*, and *Antoninus*, and *Geta*, Cæſars: wherein the Name of *Geta*, by the tract of Letters, may be diſcovered to have once been there, though now razed out: The like is to be ſeen, in another Stone mentioned by *Camden*, in *Richmondſhire*.

The Emperor *Caracalla*, (ſo called from a Military Cloak he wore,) being made away by *Opilius Macrinus*, ~~who was~~ then *Præfectus Prætorii*, he ~~and~~ ſucceeded him, being choſen Emperor by the Army in his Reign, as likewiſe of many other of his Succeſſors. We find no mention made of *Britain* *Anno Dom.* CCXVII. *Capitolinus in Caracalla.*

Anno Dom. CCXVII. *Britain*, whether it were that the Empire declining apace, good Authors grew ſcarce, or are now loſt; or, which is more probable, that the ſucceeding Princes being advanced by the heady Affection of the Soldiers, and quickly again depoſed and murthered, had no time to perform any thing conſiderable in this Iſland, lying ſo remote. Hence it is that for ſome years we are left in the dark, having only a few Fragments left us, lying ſcatter'd here and there in divers Authors, which give us juſt Light enough to diſcover, that *Britain* as yet continued a *Roman Province*, and ſtill had its *Propretors* and *Preſidents*: Nay, *Geoffery* himſelf hath here left wide Gaps and *Interregnums* for many years together. So that if we would, we could not piece up a Hiſtory of theſe Times, even out of his Romances; and were it not undecent to leave ſo great a Breach in the midſt of this Hiſtory, many of the following Emperor's Names might be ſpared. But however we will give you the following Emperors in the order they ſtand in the *Roman* Hiſtories we have left us.

Anno Dom. CCXIX. To *Opilius Macrinus* ſucceeded *Anton. Heliogabolus*, being, as the Soldiers falſely believed, a Baſtard Son of *Baſſianus Caracalla*; but this Monſter, after three Years Reign, was killed by the Pretorian Bands, and

Herodian, lib. 4. *Alexander Severus*, his Couſin-German, ſucceeded him, having been

Anno Dom. CCXXII. before declared *Cæſar* by the Senate. It is thought by ſome, that he made an Expedition into *Britain*; for *Lampridius* ſays, he was ſlain in a Town called *Sicila*, but whether it were in *Britain* or *Gaul* he leaves it uncertain; howbeit ſomewhat we find in the ſame Author of his Actions in this Iſland, That he firſt gave unto the Captains and Soldiers near the Marſhes, or Wall of *Severus*, thoſe Lands which were won from the Enemy; ſo that they ſhould be their Propriety ſo long as their Heirs ſerved as Soldiers, and that they ſhould not revert to private Men, ſuppoſing they would go to the Wars more willingly, and take better Care to defend their own peculiar Poſſeſſions: From whence, as Mr. *Camden* very well notes, may be deduced either a kind of *Feudum* or *Fee*, or at leaſt the the firſt Foot-ſteps we can find of Military Feuds, which were afterwards ſo much in uſe amongſt the *Goths*, and thoſe Nations derived from them, as the *Normans* and others. The ſame Author alſo adds, that before his Death a *Druid* Woman cry'd out to him in the *Gauliſh* Tongue, *Go on, but hope not for Victory, and truſt not thy Soldiers*: A good Advice, if he could have taken it, for he Was ſlain by ſome of his own Army, at the inſtigation of *Maximin*, who ſucceeded him: The true cauſe of his Death was, that the Soldiers, grown looſe under *Heliogabolus*, could not endure the Severity of his Diſcipline; ſo that though he were one of the beſt and moſt virtuous Emperors that ever govern'd, yet he found the ſame Fate from his Soldiers as the worſt had done: In ſo ſad a Condition are thoſe Monarchs whoſe Lives or Deaths depend upon the good or bad Humours of a ſtanding Army. The place of his Death is uncertain, for * St. *Hierom* and *Oroſius* ſuppoſe him to have been killed at *Mentz* by the Conſpiracy of his Soldiers, together with his Mother, whoſe covetouſeneſs was a great cauſe of his Ruin.

In Alexandro Severo.

* *In Chron. Lib 7.*

Anno Dom. CCXXXV. *Julius Maximinus* ſucceeded him, who was as wicked and cruel as his Predeceſſor was good and gentle; he, being condemn'd by the Senate, was ſlain by the Soldiers; but before his Death, the two *Gordiani*, Father and Son, were made Emperors by the Army in *Africa*; but being in a ſhort time both made away,

Pupienus

Pupienus Maximus, and *Clodius Balbinus*, were both together elected Emperors by the Senate, and were both ſlain by the *Prætorian* Bands; during whoſe ſhort continuance in Power, we find not the leaſt Remembrance of them in our Iſland. Theſe two, before their Deaths, adopted *Anno Dom.* CCXXXV

M. Anton. Gordianus, the Grand-ſon of *Gordian* the Elder, who was alſo elected Emperor by the *Prætorian* Bands; by whom though we find nothing done in *Britain*, yet that he had an Army here under the Command of *Nonnius Phillipus*, his Lieutenant, appears by an Altar-Stone found in *Cumberland*, at a place then called *Caſtra Exploratorum*, with a votive Inſcription for the Health of this Emperor. *Anno Dom.* CCXXXVIII

Marcus Julius Phillipus, an Arabian, having depoſed and murthered *Gordian*, ſucceeded in the Empire, but was himſelf alſo made away by his Army: He is ſaid by *Euſebius*, *Oroſius*, and other Authors, to have been the firſt Chriſtian Emperor; but this hath been confuted, and ſufficiently exploded by *Scaliger*, and other learned Men. His Memory is preſerved in *Britain* by an Inſcription upon a Pyramidal Stone dug out of the Earth not far from *Carliſle*, which is dedicated to this Emperor, as alſo to his Son *Philip* then Cæſar. *Anno Dom.* CCXLIV. Vide *Cam. Britan. in Cumberland.*

I ſhall here omit two other Emperors which are mentioned by *Zozimus* to have reigned at the ſame time with this *Philip*, one in the *Eaſt*, and the other in *Panonia*: And ſhall paſs on to

Quintus Trajanus Decius, who was elected Emperor by the *Perſian* Legions. He was a great Enemy of the Chriſtians, and raiſed the Seventh Perſecution againſt them; but having ſeen his Son *Decius*, whom he had made his Aſſociate in the Empire, ſlain by the *Goths*, with whom he fought, being betray'd by *Hoſtilian* his General, in his Flight, he fell into a Bog or whirle Pool. To whom ſucceeded *Anno Dom.* CCL. *Zozimus lib. 1 Oroſius lib. 7.*

Trebonianus Gallus Hoſtilianus, who had betrayed him into that ruin, but he being in a ſhort time depos'd and ſlain by the ſame Soldiers that had advanced him to the Imperial Throne. *Anno Dom.* CCLI. *Id. Ibid.*

Then *Æmilianus* ſucceeded him, but enjoyed the Imperial Throne but three months, and then the Legions near the *Alps* created

Publius Licinius Valerianus Emperour, who being taken Priſoner in a Battel againſt *Sapores* King of *Perſia*, for 7 Years lived in a moſt miſerable Captivity, being made the Foot-ſtool of that Tyrant, till at laſt by being flead alive, he died. But before his Death, *Anno Dom.* CCLIV. *Trebellius Pollio in Valeriano.*

Publius Licinius Galienus, his Son, Governed in his ſtead, (his elder Brother of the ſame Name, who had been Aſſociate in the Empire with his Father, being dead long before;) this *Galienus* being given up to Luſt, Gluttony and Riot, and careleſs of the common Danger, and through a haughty Ignorance unapprehenſive of his own, met with that Fate, which commonly attends ſuch Princes: So that in his time the Empire was on all ſides invaded by the barbarous Nations bordering upon it, and had been utterly ruined through his careleſs Neglect, had not divers Generals in ſeveral places undertaken the Defence of it; they were near Thirty together, who all aſſumed the Imperial Purple, and are call'd by Hiſtorians the Thirty Tyrants: Six of them, namely, *Lollianus*, *Victorianus*, *Poſthumus*, the two *Tetrici*, Father and Son, with *Marius*, are conjectured to have ruled in this Iſland, as appeareth by many of their Coins found in *England*, but eſpecially about *Colcheſter*; whence *Porphirius* the Philoſopher, (who lived in thoſe Times,) ſaid, *That* Britain *was a Soil fruitful of Tyrants*; *Gallienus* being ſlain by the Treachery of three of his own Captains. *Anno Dom.* CCLX. *Idem in Galieno.* *Vid. Trebellii Pollio in XXX Tyrannis.*

Anno Dom. CCLXVIII. *Idem in Claudio.* *Mar. Aurel. Flau. Claudius* was choſen Emperor in his ſtead; who, having performed ſeveral great Actions, and intending to reduce the *Roman* Empire again under one Head, died ſuddenly as he was making Preparations againſt *Tetricus*, who then held the Weſtern Provinces, together with *Britain*.

Anno Dom. CCLXIX. To whom ſucceeded *L. Domitius Aurelianus*, who, being choſen Emperor by the Souldiers, and confirmed by the Senate, ſet himſelf immediately to reduce the Empire again under one Head; a Work wherein *Claudius* his Predeceſſor had been prevented by Death, which was at laſt worthily performed by this Emperor; for *Tetricus*, who ruled in *Gaul* and *Britain* by the Terror of his Arms, being brought to ſubmit himſelf, was led in Triumph through *Rome*. *Aurelian* was afterwards killed by *Mneſtheus*, his Secretary. This Emperor raiſed the Ninth Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. After him

Anno Dom. CCLXXVI. *M. Claudius Tacitus*, deſcended from *Tacitus* the Hiſtorian, was elected Emperor by the Senate and Army, though much againſt his Will: He reigned but Six Months, and died of a Fever; but before his Death he adopted

Anno Dom. CCLXXVI. *Vopiſcus in Bonoſo.* *M. Aurelius Valer. Probus*, who ſucceeded him; in whoſe Reign *Bonoſus*, the Son of a Pretorian Souldier, bred in *Spain*, (though by Deſcent a *Britain*,) and a matchleſs Drinker, not ſo much to be blamed, if (as they write,) he were ſtill wiſeſt in his Cups, having attained by the courſe of War to great military Honours, thô at laſt, in his Charge over the *German* Navy, having (willingly as was thought,) ſuffered the Ships to be burnt, truſting on his Intereſt with the Weſtern Legions, he joined with one *Proculus*, and ſeizing upon *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Britain*, made himſelf as Emperor for a time; but after a long and bloody Fight near *Collen*, being vanquiſhed by *Probus*, he hang'd himſelf, and gave occaſion of that ſharp Epitaph made upon him for his great Drinking; *Here hangs a Tankard.* *Zoſimus lib.* 1.

After this, *Probus* prevented a new Rebellion in *Britain*, by the ſevere Loyalty of *Victorinus*, a Moor, (one of his Miniſters) at whoſe Recommendation he had placed a Lieutenant here, (whom Mr. *Camden* ſuppoſes to have been *Cornelius Lallianus*, ſince his Coins are found in this Iſland, but in no other Countrey,) who rebelled and ſet up for Emperor; but *Probus* upbraiding *Victorinus* with the Diſloyalty of him whom he had recommended, he undertook to rectifie this Miſtake; ſo haſtning over hither, and finding the Governor in actual Rebellion, by ſome Contrivance, not mentioned by our Hiſtorians, he privately, in the Night, found means to kill him. *Eutropius* alſo relates, that *Probus* was the firſt Emperor who gave leave to the *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and *Britains*, to plant Vines, and to make Wine: But he having ſubdued the *Vandals* and *Burgundians* in a great Battel, ſent over many of them to inhabit in *Britain*, where they did good Service to the *Roman* Empire, when any Inſurrection hapned in this Iſle: They are ſuppoſed to have had their Camp upon thoſe Hills near *Cambridge*, commonly called *Gogmagog-Hills*, where on the top of a Hill may be ſeen at this day a Plain, encompaſſed round with Trenches of a large Circumference, with only one Entrance. *Zoſimus ib.* Vide *Camd. Britan. in Cambridgeſhire.*

But though this Emperor well deſerved the Name of *Probus*, yet could he not avoid the Fate of his Predeceſſors, being ſlain by his own Army; the occaſion whereof was that worthy Saying of his, *That in a ſhort time he hoped to bring it to paſs, that the Empire ſhould want no more ſtanding Armies:* He was thus made away.

M. Au-

M. Aurelius Carus was advanced to the Empire by the Army; he created his two Sons *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, Cæsars; to *Carinus* he gave the Charge of *Britain*, with the rest of the Western Provinces, but taking *Numerianus* along with him into the East, he invaded the *Persians*, where he died suddenly, (as some relate,) being struck with Lightning; (thô **Vospiscus* saith, he died a natural Death; and that the Souldiers firing his Tent gave occasion to the former Report:) His pious Son *Numerianus* was slain by *Aper*, one of his Captains, and he again underwent the same Fate by *Diocletian*, who also in a set Battle not long after slew *Carinus*, who by his Riot and Luxury had much wasted *Britain*, and the other Provinces: All these Transactions happened within the space of two Years. *Anno Dom.* CCLXXXII. * *In Aurelio Caro.*

C. Aurel. Diocletian being advanced to the Empire by the Choice of the Eastern Army, adopted *Mar. Aurel. Maximinianus*, Sirnamed *Herculius*, his Associate in the Empire; five Years after which, the former of these Emperours nominated *Galerius*, and the latter adopted *Constantius Clorus*, Cæsars; constraining them to divorce their former Wives, and to marry their Daughters. *Anno Dom.* CCLXXXIV.

In the beginning of this Emperour's Reign, *Carausius*, a Man of mean Parentage born in *Menapia*, (that is) about the Parts of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, who, through all Military Degrees, was advanced at length to be Governour of *Bononia*, Admiral of the *Belgic* and *Armoric* Seas, then much infested by the *Francks* and *Saxons*; but what he took from the Pirats, he neither restored to the Owners, nor accounted to the Publick, whereby he much enriched himself; not so much as guarding the Seas, but rather conniving at those Pirats, till at length he grew too great a Delinquent to be less than an Emperour; therefore hearing that *Maximinian* had ordered him to be slain, he then took upon him the Imperial Robe, and hearing that this Emperour was marching against him with the Fleet under his Command, passed over into *Britain*, where he built a new Fleet after the *Roman* fashion, getting into his Power the Legion that was left here in Garison, with other Outlandish Cohorts; he detained and listed the very Merchants and Factors of *Gaul*, and with the Allurements of Spoil, invited great numbers of other barbarous Nations to take his part, and trained them to Sea-Service; wherein the *Romans* had so much lost their Skill, that *Carausius* with his Navy at Sea did what he listed, robbing on all the Sea-Coasts, whereby *Maximinian* not able to come nearer than the Shore of *Bononia*, (now *Boloigne*,) was forced to conclude a Peace with *Carausius*, and yield him up *Britain*, as one fittest to guard that Province against the Incursions of the Northern *Britains*. This is the reason that in all *Carausius*'s Silver Coins we find two Emperours taking hands, with this Inscription on the Reverse, *CONCORDIA AUGG.* *Anno Dom.* CCLXXXVI. *Aurel. Victor Eutropius, Orosius.* *Cumen. in Pan. neg. 2.*

But not long after, *Maximinian* sent *Constantius Chlorus*, now Cæsar, against *Carausius*, who in the mean while had made himself strong, both within the Land, and without. *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* writes, that he made the *Picts* his Confederates; to whom, as being lately come out of *Scythia*, he gave *Albania* (now called *Scotland*) to inhabit: And it is indeed observable, that about his time the *Picts* are found to be first mentioned by *Eumenius* in his Panegyrick to *Maximinian*, † where he also mentions the *Hiberni* together with *Picts*, both which he there calls *Half-naked Enemies*: But whether by those *Hiberni* are to be understood *Irish-men*, (as that word Gramatically imports,) and as our *English* Antiquaries

† *Adhuc, Natale etiam tunc rudi, & soli Britanni Pictis modo & Hibernis assueta bella adhuc semimudis, facile Romanis armis servire cogerentur.*

Anno Dom. CCLXXXVI. understand it; or else *Scotch-men*, (called *Hiberni*, because they first came out of *Ireland*,) as *Buchanan* and *Scaliger* would have it, since it depends upon so nice a Criticism in the *Latin* Tongue, as whether the words *Soli Britanni* were intended by the Author for the Nominative Case Plural, or else for the Genitive of the Singular Number, I shall not take upon me to decide; only the Reader may please to take notice, that those who understand these words in the former sense, do suppose the *Scots* to have first come out of *Ireland* into *Britain* after this time; but I have given you the words themselves in the Margin, that you may pass what Judgment you please upon them.

This is supposed to have been a Temple dedicated to the God Terminus, *and is seen to this day in* Scotland *near the said River. See its Description in* Camd. Brit. *in* Scotl. Tit. Sterling Sheriffdom: *You may see also the Figure of it in the new Editions, p.* 1104.

But (as *Nennius* relates) *Carausius* repaired and fortified the Walls of *Severus* with Castles, and a round House of polish'd Stone on the Bank of *Carron*, which River, he saith, was from him so called; also in *Gaul* he kept *Bononia* with a Garison, and all the *Francks* which had by his permission seated themselves in *Belgia* were at his command; but *Constantius* hasting into *Gallia*, besieged *Bononia*, (now called *Boloigne*, as I said before,) and with Stones and Timber blocking up the Harbour, kept out all Relief that could be sent in by *Carausius*; but before *Constantius* with the Fleet which he had prepared could arrive thither, *Carausius* was slain in *Britain* by the Treachery of *Allectus*, one of his chief Friends and Commanders, who likewise for three Years usurped the Empire; when *Carausius* worthily (as some say, or as others, Tyrannically) had Ruled this Island 7 Years.

An. ~~CCLXIII.~~

But *Constantius* presently took hold of that Opportunity before *Allectus* should settle his Affairs, therefore, thô the weather were ill, he put his Army to Sea with all expedition, and that from several Havens, the more to spread the Terrour of his Landing, and render it doubtful where to expect him; so in a Mist passing by *Allectus* with the *British* Fleet unseen, that lay cruising near the Isle of *Vecta*, (now *Wight*;) he no sooner got on shore but he fired his own Ships, to leave his Men no hopes of Safety but in Victory; then forthwith the poor oppressed *Britains* came flocking in to *Constantius*, offering themselves, together with their Wives and Children, to him, as their Deliverer sent them from Heaven; which when *Allectus* heard, being much dismayed at this News, he passed over to the *British* Shore, where landing, he resolved to try his Fortune in a Battle on the Land; where being encountred by *Asclepiodotus* Captain of the *Prætorian* Bands, and desperately rushing on, being unmindful both of the well-ordering of his Men, and of bringing them all in to fight, (except the noted Accessories of his Treason, and his Outlandish Hirelings:) He was overthrown, and slain with little or no loss to the *Romans*, but great Execution on the *Francks*. *Allectus* having before flung away his Imperial Robes, that he might not be known, his Body was found almost naked in the Field; the rest of his Men flying to *London*, and purposing with the Pillage of that City to escape by Sea, were met by another part of the *Roman* Army, whom the late mentioned Mist at Sea had separated, and now by chance had brought up the *Thames*, where landing, they killed almost all the rest, even in the very City, whilst the Citizens had the pleasure to behold their own Deliverance. By this Victory, this Province was totally recovered to the *Roman* Empire, as *Eumenius* witnesses in his Panegyrick above-mentioned, after it had been 10 Years in Rebellion. But before I dismiss this part of our History, I cannot omit what *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* also adds, thô with no shew of probability, to this History of *Carausius* and *Allectus* his Successor in this Usurpation, *viz.*

An. ~~CCLXV.~~

That

That *Allectus* going about to puniſh thoſe *Romans* and *Britains* who had adhered to the Party of *Carauſius*, and been partakers in his Robberies; who reſenting this Severity, choſe one *Aſclepiodotus* a *Britain* to revenge it, exhorting him to ſet upon *Allectus* then in *London*, whilſt he was celebrating a Feaſt to his Gods; at whoſe arrival *Allectus* forſaking his Sacrifice, and marching out with the choiceſt of his Souldiers, joyned Battel with him, but being ſlain, *Gallus* a Captain of *Allectus* ſtill held *London*; to the reducing whereof, *Aſclepiodotus* (now made King) ſummoned the *Dæmetæ* and *Venedoti* (*i. e.* the Inhabitants of that part of the Iſland now called *Wales*) to his Aſſiſtance; with theſe Forces he beleaguer'd the City, and with warlike Engines battered down great part of the Wall. *Gallus* perceiving himſelf not able to hold out any longer, came to a Parly, and ſurrendered the Town upon condition to march out Armed; which being agreed to, *Aſclepiodotus* enters *Walbrook*, whence it had its Name; but the *Venedoti*, contrary to the Articles, fell upon *Gallus* and ſlew him, at a Brook's ſide within the City, now called from his Name *Galbrook*, or *Walbrook*. But it is certain, there was never any King of *Britain* called *Aſclepiodotus*, who was indeed no more than the Præfect to *Conſtantius*, nor had he any ſuch Captain as this *Gallus* as we can any where find, except in this Author. *Anno Dom.* CCLXV.

But *Eumenius* who then lived, (and was of *Conſtantius* his Houſehold, and who upon this Victory made the Panegyrick but now mentioned in Praiſe of *Maximian* and *Conſtantius*, then Emperours,) relates this to have been done in the courſe of one continued Action: So alſo *Sigonius*, a Judicious Hiſtorian, thô others allow 3 Years to the Tyranny of *Allectus*. In thoſe Times there was ſuch great ſtore of good Workmen and excellent Builders in *Britain*, that during theſe great Diſturbances here, the *Æduans* in *Burgundy* entertained them to build their Temples and publick Edifices.

Diocleſian having hitherto ſucceſsfully ſhewed his Valour againſt the Enemies of the *Roman* Empire, now exerted his Rage in a bloody Perſecution againſt his obedient and harmleſs *Chriſtian* Subjects; from the feeling whereof, this Iſland (though the moſt remote) was not, it ſeems, yet far enough off from having ſome ſhare of his Rage; for our Hiſtorians, *Gildas* and *Bede*, relate, That in this Perſecution, *Albanus* a Citizen of *Verulam* ſuffered, as alſo *Arron* and *Julius* Citizens of the City of *Legions*, (now *Caerleon* upon *Uske*,) and many others of both Sexes, in divers places, who were put to Death by various Torments. Of the Martyrdom of St *Alban*, *Bede* gives us this particular Account, *viz.* That he being as yet a *Pagan*, when the Edict of thoſe Heathen Emperours raged againſt the Chriſtians, received into his Houſe a certain Prieſt who had then fled from his Perſecutors, whom whilſt he beheld imploy'd Night and Day in Watchings and Prayers, upon a ſudden (being touched by the Divine Grace) he began to emulate his Faith and Piety, and being by degrees inſtructed by his ſaving Precepts, at laſt leaving his Idolatry he became a Chriſtian. Now when this Prieſt had lived with him ſome time, it came to the Ears of the *Roman* Governour, That this Confeſſor (who was not yet to be Martyr'd) lay hid in the Houſe of *Alban*: The Governour preſently ſent Souldiers to find him out, who when they came thither, *Alban* offered himſelf to them in ſtead of his Gueſt, in that very Habit he uſed to wear; and being immediately brought before the Judge, who at that very time was ſtanding at *Anno Dom.* CCCIV. *Euſebius.* *Socrates.* *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 6.*

Anno Dom. CCCIV. at the Altar ſacrificing to his Idols: when he ſaw *Alban*, he was highly incenſed, becauſe he had voluntarily delivered himſelf up inſtead of his gueſt, ſo commanding him to be drag'd before the Images of thoſe falſe *Gods*, he was then worſhiping; ſaid thus, "For that thou haſt rather "choſen to conceal a Rebellious, Sacrilegious Fellow, than to deliver "him up to my Guards; that as a contemner of the *Gods* he might ſuffer "the puniſhment due to his Blaſphemy; whatſoever torments therefore "were due to him, thou thy ſelf ſhalt endure, if thou perſiſteſt in this "new Superſtition. But *Alban*, who had of his own accord owned himſelf to be a Chriſtian, did not at all fear the threats of the Preſident; but plainly told him, that he would not obey his commands (the reſt of their Dialogue being ſomewhat tedious, I omit) but the Judge being thereupon more provoked, told him again, that if he intended to live, he muſt imediately offer Sacrifice to their *Gods*; which he again not only refuſed, but alſo reproved others for ſo doing, and thereupon was condemned to moſt cruel Torments, all which he manfully overcame; and although they did all they could to invent new Tortures for him, yet he endured them all with exquiſite patience, till their wearineſs, not pity made them deſiſt. And here we muſt bewail our want of a true Story of this good Man's Martyrdom, which the Monks have mixed with ſo many improbable Circumſtances, that it is even nauſeous either to read or hear them. But I ſhall proceed to relate what I find in *Bede*, without paſſing my word for the truth of the following Miracles.

Alban being ſentenced to be beheaded, much People flock'd to the place of his Execution; which was on a Hill (afterward called in *Engliſh Holm hurſt*) to which they were to paſs over a River, where a narrow paſſage admitted of very few a-breaſt. *Alban* being to follow after all the company, and perceiving it would be very late before he could attain his deſired End, obtained by his Prayers, that the River parting aſſunder, afforded a free paſſage for a great many together; this Miracle ſo wrote upon him, who was appointed to be his Executioner, that he utterly refuſed the Imployment, deſiring rather to ſuffer himſelf for him, than to offer him any violence: But another ſoon took his place.

Alban being come to the top of the Hill, where he was to ſuffer, found himſelf very dry; when preſently by his Prayer, a Spring brake forth at his Feet, to the amaſement of all that ſaw it, except the Executioner, who notwithſtanding the Miracle, ſtruck off his Head; when inſtantly his own Eyes fell out of his Head, upon the ground, as a juſt puniſhment for his infidelity: and preſently after ſuffer'd alſo the Convert Executioner above mentioned.

The body of St. *Alban* was privately buried; That Age not knowing the Vertue of keeping Saints Relicks; but many Years after, *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, is ſaid to have diſcovered his Bones, and to have removed them into a ſtately Shrine; where he built a noble Church and Monaſtery, as ſhall be particularly ſhown in its proper place.

Not long after the Martyrdom of St. *Alban*, ſuffered alſo the Prieſt who converted him, and whoſe Name *Geoffrey* will have to be *Amphibalus*; thô we had never heard of it at all, but from this Author, that word ſignifying properly not a Man's name, but a long ſhag Cloak, which it is ſuppoſed that good Man wore: I ſhall alſo paſs by the Martyrdoms of many other Chriſtians, ſaid to be at *Lichfield*, and *Wincheſter* and other places, as being of very uncertain credit, having no other Authors, but

Geoffery

Geoffrey and our Monks; who lived and wrote at a great diſtance from thoſe Times. *Anno Dom.* CCCIV.

But the Emperors *Diocleſian* and *Maximinian*, having both on the ſame day (thô in different places) reſign'd the Empire to the two *Cæſar*'s abovementioned, and *Conſtantius* chooſing the *Weſtern* Provinces (whereof *Britain* was one) for his ſhare, came over hither to ſettle affairs in this Iſland; and *Eutropius* ſuppoſes *Helena* his Wife to have been a *Britain* by Birth; whereupon our *Geoffrey* preſumes further, and makes her to have been the Daughter of one King *Coil*, whom he ſuppoſes to have ſucceeded *Aſclepiodotus*: But ſince there is no ground for this fancy in any Authentick Writer, I ſhall wholly ſlight it, eſpecially ſince *Nicephorus* and other *Greek* Hiſtorians relate her to be a *Bithynian*; but to return to that which is more to our purpoſe; it is certain that as ſoon as *Auguſtus* was declared, he immediately put a ſtop to the Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians in his Provinces; and then paſſing over into *Britain*, *Conſtantius* not long after made an Expedition againſt the *Caledonians*, whom he overcame; and not long after died at *York*: having been all his life time a great favourer of the Chriſtians, though no profeſſed *Chriſtian* himſelf: to whom ſucceeded

Euſeb. Chron. Zozom Eccl. l. 6. Hiſt. Eccleſ.

Conſtantine his Son, who came luckily Poſt from *Rome* to *Boloigne*, juſt about the time (ſaith *Euſebius*) when his Father lay Sick upon his Death-bed; where being by him nominated for his Succeſſour, he was immediately after his Father's Funerals, by the whole Army ſaluted Emperour, thô he declined it all he could; concerning whom, there is a great diſpute whether he were a *Britain* or not; our *Britiſh* Hiſtorians produce a paſſage out *Eumenius*'s Oration to *Conſtantine*, wherein he calls *Britain*, the *moſt bleſſed and fortunate of all Lands, quia Conſtantinum Cæſarem primum vidiſti*; which words may yet be thus interpreted, that is, it did not behold *Conſtantine* Born; but ſaw him firſt created Emperor: which is undoubtedly true, but ſince moſt of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians underſtand it in the former Senſe; (there being nothing of concluſive certainty deliver'd by Antient Authors concerning it.) I ſhall leave it as I found it; thô it muſt be confeſſed that the learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* in his *Orig. Britannicæ*, Not only from ſeveral paſſages in *Eumenius*'s Panegyrick, but alſo by other Arguments, hath made it highly probable that *Conſtantine* was born in *Britain*. *Anno Dom.* CCCVI.

De vita Conſt. lib. 1.

But this is more certain, that *Conſtantine* before his departure hence, ſeems to have had ſome Bickerings with the *Britains* in the *Northern* parts of this *Iſland*, which having in ſome time compoſed, he paſſed again into *Gaul*; where leaving a great Army (many of whom were before raiſed in *Britain*) he from thence went into *Italy*, and near *Rome* overthrew the Tyrant *Maxentius*, who had ſeized that City, together with the reſt of *Italy*; immediately after which Victory, he declared himſelf a Chriſtian in the preſence of his whole Army, which yet he would not have perhaps ventured to have done, had he not been ſure that a conſiderable Party of his Souldiers had been ſo before.

About the Fourth Year after, *Conſtantine* return'd again into *Britain*, but what he performed here is not left us by any Hiſtorian now extant, more than what * *Euſebius* tells us in general, That *Conſtantine* paſſed over to the *Britains*, (who had it ſeems then revolted) whom, when he had ſubdued, he turned his Eyes to thoſe other parts of the World, that he might relieve thoſe that wanted his aſſiſtance; which this Author ſuppoſes *Anno Dom.* CCCX.

* *De vita Conſtant. lib. 1. cap. 25.*

to

Anno Dom. CCCX. to be the reſt of the Empire then oppreſſed by *Mercurius*, thô all others make him to have been ſubdued in the very beginning of *Conſtantine*'s Reign.

But *Geoffery* (could he be believed) gives us a very plauſible account, why *Conſtantine* came now again into *Britain*, which is to this effect, That *Octavius* Duke of the *Genviſſes*, taking advantage of the Emperor's abſence had ſeized upon *Britain* for himſelf (the circumſtances of which I omit, to ſhorten the Story) as alſo how one *Trahern* (who is there ſuppoſed to be this Emperor's Unkle by the Mother) obtained a great Victory over this *Octavius*; but that upon *Trahern* being kill'd at *Verulam*, by the treachery of a Nobleman of *Octavius*'s Party, he again returned into *Britain*, and making a Confederacy with the *Northern* Nations, renewed the War; whereupon *Conſtantine* coming upon *Octavius* on the ſuddain, ſoon overcame him, yet ſuffer'd him though Conquer'd ſtill to Reign here as a Tributary to the *Roman* Empire: But it is not likely *Conſtantine* would have given ſo great an encouragement to Rebellion; nay, what is yet more improbable, he makes this *Octavius* to have Govern'd this Iſland, even to the days of *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, which muſt needs be falſe; ſince the Coyns of all thoſe *Roman* Emperors, who ſucceeded between *Conſtantine* and *Valentinian* are found in this Iſland; whereas no Coyn or Monument of this *Octavius*, was ever yet to be ſeen; and further none of the Hiſtorians of this Age do mention any ſuch King of *Britain*, as it is likely they would have done, had they known of ſuch a perſon.

But this is more likely, that the Emperour *Conſtantine* alter'd the Ancient Diviſions of *Britain*, by adding to the former Provinces, *viz. Britannica Prima* and *Secunda*, Two others, *viz. Flavia*, and *Maxima Cæſarienſis*.

Vid. Breviarium ſexti Ruſi.

I have no more to add concerning Civil Affairs in this Emperor's Reign; but as for Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, it is certain, the *Britiſh* Church was now grown ſo conſiderable, that * it ſent divers Biſhops to the Council of *Arles* in *Gallia*, which was held in the Year of our Lord 114, as you may ſee in the Firſt Tome of *Gallick* Councils; where *Eborius* Biſhop of the City of *Eboracum*, in the Province of *Britain*, and *Reſtitutus* Biſhop of the City of *London*, and *Adelphius* Biſhop of the City of *Colcheſter* appeared as Deputies for the reſt of the Biſhops of *Britain*.

* *Vid. Aſſerii Antiquitates Britan. Eccleſ. cap.* 8.

And though in the great Council of *Nice*, which was aſſembled *Anno Dom.* 325, there is no expreſs mention of the Names of the *Britiſh* Biſhops which appear'd there, becauſe the Subſcriptions to that Council are loſt; yet *Athanaſius*, as alſo *Hillary* Biſhop of Poictiers do ſufficiently confirm their being there, as well as *Conſtantine* himſelf, who in his Letter to the *Alexandrians*, ſays, that *Eaſter* was obſerved according to the manner preſcribed in that Council, by all the Nations he there mentions, among whom the *Britains* are reckon'd for one.

Id. ibid.

Anno Dom. CCCXVII. *Conſtantine* dying, divided the Empire amongſt his Three Sons, *Conſtantinus*, *Conſtans*, and *Conſtantius*; to the Eldeſt he gave *Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, with part of *Germany*; but he not content with his ſhare in the Empire (though moſt conſiderable) invaded the Right and Poſſeſſion of his Brother *Conſtans*, and was by him Slain; he is reported to have been kill'd by his Brother's Generals, near to the City of *Aquileia* in *Italy*.

Amonian. lib. 20.

Whereupon

Whereupon *Conſtans* his Brother ſeized upon his Dominions, and together with his Brother *Conſtantius* (though in Winter time) ſailed into *Britain*, that they might quiet the Commotions of the *Northern Britains*, as *Libanius* and *Julius Firmicus* witneſs; but as for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in this Emperour's Reign, the Council of *Sardica* being called by theſe Emperours, *Anno Dom.* 347, it is certain that the Biſhops of *Britain* appeared there, as is acknowledged by *Athanaſius* in the beginning of his Second Apology againſt the *Arrians*. *Anno Dom.* CCCXL. *Id. ibid.*

But *Magnentius*, whoſe Father was a *Britain*, conſpiring againſt this Emperour; and having beſet him in a Town in *Gaul*, called *Helena* as he was hunting thereabouts with a ſmall Retinue, there ſlew him; whereupon, though the *Weſtern* Empire ought by right to have fallen to *Conſtantius*; yet *Magnentius* having poſſeſt himſelf of it, and having drawn in the *Britains* to ſide with him in his Rebellion, he maintained it for Three Years againſt *Conſtantius*; the ſucceſs at firſt was various; but at laſt the heat of the Revolt being pretty well over, and *Conſtantius* ſtill by degrees increaſing upon him, he was no longer able to hold up his Head; ſo that at laſt he ſlew himſelf at *Lyons*: The peaceable poſſeſſion of this part of *Britain* being thereupon left to *Conſtantius*. *Anno Dom.* CCCXLIX. *Libanius in Baſilic.*

About this time the General of all the Forces throughout *Britain*, was *Gratianus*, Sirnamed *Funarius*, from his great ſtrength in pulling a Rope from Four Men, thô not long after this (as *Ammianus Marcellinus* relates) one *Paulus* a notary was ſent into *Britain*, that he might enquire what Military Men were engaged in the Rebellion of *Magnentius*, many of whom he malicioufly proſecuted, carrying away like a Flood the Fortunes of divers Innocent Men, impriſoning the Free-born Subjects, and putting others into Irons and Fetters, heaping together falſe Accuſations againſt them, by which ſeverity he committed ſuch great oppreſſions, as caſt an eternal blot on the Reign of *Conſtantius*, who ſupported him in his Cruelties. *Vid. Jul. Tirani-cum.* *Lib.* 14.

But one *Martinus* then Governing thoſe Provinces as *Præfect*, grievouſly lamenting the ſufferings of theſe Innocent Men, often beſeeching him, that he would ſpare them; who, when he could not prevail, threatned that he would depart hence, hoping that this malicious Inquiſitor might at laſt ceaſe from his ſo violent proſecution: But *Paulus* fearing his trade might by this means decay, being cruelly artificial in framing of Counterfeit Plots, (from whence he obtained this Sirname of *Catena*) brought the *Præfect* himſelf into a participiation of thoſe very dangers, reſolving to ſend him with divers *Tribunes* and *Priſoners* to the Emperour, with which the *Præfect* being provoked, endeavoured to Stab *Paulus*; but miſſing his paſs, he thruſt the ſame Sword into his own body, and ſo unfortunately periſh'd this Honeſt Man, who loſt his life in trying to relieve the miſerable Fortunes of others. All which things being thus wickedly perform'd, *Paulus* ſtain'd with Innocent Blood, return'd to the Emperours Preſence; againſt whoſe coming with his Priſoners, all ſorts of Tortures and Executioners were prepared, ſo that many of them were proſcribed and Out-law'd; ſome baniſhed, and others moſt cruelly put to Death. But *God* ſome Years after, juſtly puniſh'd this Villain; when by the Command of *Julian* the Emperour he was burnt alive.

Sometime after this, the Council of *Arimium* was called by *Conſtantius*, being the moſt numerous that ever had yet appear'd, as conſiſting of above Four Hundred *Biſhops*, both of the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Churches, *Anno Dom.* CCCLIX. *Sozomen l.* 4.

Anno Dom. CCCLIX. and in which Council, by the Emperour's long detaining the Biſhops againſt their wills, till they were quite tired out, the major part of them was forced to ſubſcribe the New Creed, made not long before at the pretended Council of *Syrmium*, wherein the Word *Omoouſios* being omitted; the *Son* of God was declared only to be *Omoiouſios*, i. e. of like ſubſtance with *the Father*: I have been the more particular as to this Council, in reſpect to the Biſhops ſent from *Britain*; to whom, as well as to the reſt, *Sulpicius Severus* tells us, the Emperour allowed all ſorts of Proviſions, which ſeemed undecent to the *Aquitanian*, *Gallick*, and *Britiſh* Biſhops to accept of; who therefore refuſing the publick allowance, choſe rather to live at their own Charges; only Three Biſhops of *Britain* for want of Revenues, were forced to make uſe of the publick ſtipend, when they had refuſed a Contribution offer'd them by the reſt, thinking it more honourable for a publick Service to ſubſiſt on the publick Treaſury, than to be burthenſome to private Men; and this muſt be ſaid in commendation of moſt of the *Weſtern* Biſhops, that notwithſtanding their being out Voted, yet (if *Athanaſius* tells true) in a Letter he writ to the Emperour *Jovian*, the moſt part of them ſtill perſiſted in the Faith profeſt by the Council of *Nice*.

But to return again to Civil Affairs, from whence we have made too long a Digreſſion; about theſe times *Alypius*, a Heathen, was Lieutenant of *Britain*, who afterwards beſtowed much labour (thô in vain) to Rebuild the Temple of *Jeruſalem*; but the Year following this Council, *Ammianus Macellinus* relates, that the fierce Nations of the *Scots* and *Picts* combining together, breaking the Peace, waſted all places near the borders, by a cruel Incurſion; ſo that the fear of it terrified the other Provinces, already wearied out with a continued ſucceſſion of ſo many Calamities: But *Julian* ~~then~~ lately made *Cæſar* (who was afterwards Emperour) Wintering then at *Paris*, hearing this ill news, was diſtracted in his Thoughts what to do, fearing to leave *Gaul* to the *Almans*, then preparing for War; therefore he reſolved to ſend *Lupicinus*, at that time Keeper of the Arms and Warlike Stores, into this Iſland to compoſe theſe Troubles, being a Man Warlike, and well skill'd in Military Affairs; but of a haughty boaſting humour: Beſides, it was much doubted whether he were more Covetous or Cruel. But having raiſed an Army of Light-armed Men, to which were added the * *Herculians*, *Batavians* and many companies of *Miſians*, being now made *General*, and arriving at *Bononia*, having put all his Men on Board, paſſed over with a proſperous Wind, and landed at *Rutipæ* (now called *Sandwich*, near *Richborough* Caſtle in *Kent*,) and from thence marched to *London*, and there taking Council according to the exigency of Affairs, made haſte to meet the Enemy; but what he did againſt them, it is great pity this Author hath not told us; all he ſays further of this *Lupicinus*, being only this, that when the Army had ſaluted *Julian* Emperour, and that a War was like to happen with *Conſtantius*; *Lupicinus* was feared (thô abſent,) being ſuſpected as a Man of a haughty Spirit, that if he ſhould know theſe things (ruling then in *Britain*) he might hinder *Julians* proceedings, and therefore a notary was ſent to *Boloign*, on purpoſe to watch that no body ſhould paſs over into *Britain*: So that all Intelligence being ſtop'd, between this Iſland and the Continent, *Lupicinus* returning back before he knew any thing of theſe matters, could give him no diſturbance here.

Lib. XX.

Anno Dom. CCCLX.

* *This was the name of a Legion ſo called.*

Vide Mr. Somner's *Diſcourſe of the* Roman *Ports and Forts in* Kent. *p.* 3. 4.

But

But *Julian* having now taken the Title of *Emperour* and *Auguſtus*, marched againſt *Conſtantius*; who coming out of the *Eaſt* to meet him, as far as *Mopſveſtia*, on the borders of *Cilicia*, there died of a Feaver: Whereupon *Julian* his Couſin was quietly received as Emperour, even by thoſe who had been of *Conſtantius*'s ſide: who (from his renouncing the Chriſtian Religion) was commonly called the *Apoſtate*, of whom I ſhall ſay no more (ſince his ſhort Reign affords nothing relating to *Britain*) than that he was kill'd by an Arrow, in a Battle againſt the *Perſians*; but whether it were Shot by an Enemy, or by one of his own Chriſtian Souldiers who hated him, is uncertain. *Anno Dom.* CCCLXI.

Whereupon *Jovianus*, then an Officer of good note, was choſen *Emperour* by the Army; but he refuſing to Command Heathens, the Souldiers cried out with one accord, that they were all Chriſtians; upon which he accepted of the Empire; from whence it plainly appears, that his Army was outwardly Heathens before, having complied for fear of the Emperour's diſpleaſure. *Sozomen, l. 6. c. 3.*

But *Jovian* Reigning but Seven Months, it is not to be expected that any thing conſiderable could happen in *Britain* in ſo ſhort a Reign; and therefore, all I ſhall ſay further of him is, That in his Journey to *Conſtantinople*, at a place called *Daduſtana* on the Borders of *Galatia*, he died a very unuſual Death; being killed by the damp of a new-plaiſtered Chamber in which he lay, ſome Charcoals having been kindled in it when he went to bed.

Whereupon, not long after, *Valentinian* was at *Nice* in *Bythinia* declared Emperour by the Army, being the Son of *Gratian*, Sirnamed *Funarius*, above-mentioned; but *Valentinian*, not long after he arrived at *Conſtantinople*, declared *Valens*, his Brother, to be his Partner in the Empire; in the beginning of whoſe Reign the *Almans* waſted *Gaul* and *Rhætia*; the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi*, *Pannonia*; the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacotti*, alſo vexed the *Britains* with their continual Incurſions. *Anno Dom.* CCCLXIV. *Id. Ibid.* *Amian. Marcel. l. 26. c. 4.*

Not to mention the Irruptions of the barbarous Nations into other parts of the Empire, particularized by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who is the firſt *Roman* Author by whom we find the *Scots* to have been mentioned: thô St. *Hierome* (in his Epiſtle againſt *Cteſiphon* the *Pelagian*) has given us a much more ancient Paſſage, which he tranſlated out of *Porphyrie* the *Greek* Philoſopher, who writ an Age before *Ammianus*, which is to this effect; *That neither* Britain, *a Province fertile of Tyrants, nor the* Scotiſh *Nations, nor all the barbarous Nations round about to the very Ocean, did ever acknowledge* Moſes *and the Prophets:* For thô *Scaliger* in his Notes upon *Propertius*, and afterwards in his Animadverſions on *Euſebius*, takes upon him to correct the common Editions of *Seneca*'s Satyrical Comedy upon *Claudius*, by reading in ſtead of the words *Scuta Brigantes*, *Scoto Brigantes*; thô it be ingenious, and would make better ſenſe in that place; yet it is not to be relied upon, ſince no ancient Manuſcript Copies are found to countenance that Correction; nor do we any where read, that *Claudius* made War againſt the *Scots*, or ever paſſed further than the Southern Parts of *Britain*; nor can we find in *Ptolomy*, or other ancient Authors, any mention of the *Brigantes* (much leſs of *Scoto Brigantes*) beyond the River of *Tweed*. But as for *Dempſter*'s reading of *Scoticas Pruinas* in ſtead of *Scythicas* in the Poet *Florus*'s Verſes to the Emperour *Adrian*, ſince it is back'd by no ancient Manuſcript that any body ever ſaw but himſelf, it is not to be charged upon his bare word, as the learned

Anno Dom. CCCLXIV. ned Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* in his 16th Chapter of his *Ant. Eccleſ. Britan.* very well obſerves: But who theſe *Attacotti* were who are joyned in *Ammianus* with the *Scoti*, very much perplexes our modern Criticks, there being ſo many various readings of this Word in divers Copies of this Author, in ſome of whom it is written *Attacitti*, and in others *Attiſcotti*; and are ſuppoſed by Mr. *Camden* in his *Britannia* to be the ſame Nation mentioned by St. *Hierome* by the Name of *Scots*, ſome of whom this Father tells us, *he ſaw eat Man's Fleſh when he was in* Gaul: But in the ancient *Notitia Imperii* they are called *Attecotti juniores*, and *Attecotti ſeniores*, thô in one Edition of the ſaid *Notitia* they are written *Attafotti*, (as Monſieur *Lablé* well obſerves;) whence the Learned Dr. *Gale* conjectures them to have been a barbarous ſort of *Britains* living in the ~~North~~ South of *Scotland* about *Attarith*; but of this, ſince we have no certainty, I leave every Man to take which of theſe Readings he thinks moſt probable.

Lib. 2. adverſ. Jovin.

Am. Marcel. l. 27. c. 8.

But how the poor *Britains* were relieved out of theſe Difficulties, this Author ſays nothing till four Years after, when he relates, That the Emperour *Valentinian* in his Journey from the *Ambians* (in *Gaul*), to the *Treviri* (in *Germany*,) received the unwelcome News, that *Britain* was reduced to the laſt Extremity by the joynt Invaſion of the barbarous Nations, and that *Nectaridius* Count of the Sea Coaſt was ſlain; and *Tullafaudes*, another of his Commanders, being circumvented by the Enemies Ambuſcades there periſhed, which when he had heard with a great deal of concern, he immediately diſpatch'd away *Severus* (then *Comes Domeſticorum, i. e.* Lord Steward of his Houſhold) to correct theſe Diſorders; who being a little after recalled without doing any thing, *Jovinus* was ſent into *Britain*, the Emperour having diſpatched before with all ſpeed all ſuch Proviſions as were neceſſary for a powerful Army, and which the preſſing Neceſſities then required.

Anno Dom. CCCLXVIII.

But at laſt, upon the News of ſuch ſad and fearful Calamities which then befel *Britain*, *Theodoſius* was choſen for this Province, who reſolved to haſten thither with all ſpeed, who being a Man of great Reputation for Martial Actions, and having raiſed a ſufficient number of freſh, youthful Legions and Cohorts, he ſet forward with much Reſolution.

Id. Ibid.

At this time the *Picts* were divided into two Nations, the *Decalidoniæ*, (or rather, as Mr. *Camden* ſuppoſes, *Deucaledonii*,) and *Vecturiones*, with whom came alſo the *Attacotti* (already mentioned,) together with the *Scots*, who roving up and down through divers places did a great deal of miſchief; whilſt at the ſame time the neighbouring Coaſts of *Gaul* were grievouſly infeſted by the *Francks* and *Saxons*, each of them ſtriving (as it were) who ſhould exceed the other in Rapines, Burnings, killing and taking Priſoners. *Theodoſius* being ſent hither to put a ſtop to thoſe Incurſions, taking Sea at *Bononia*, (or *Bulloign*) landed at *Rulpiæ*, whence, after the arrival of his Forces called by divers Names according to their ſeveral Nations and Legions, as the *Batavi*, *Herculi*, *Jovii*, and *Victores*, he marched toward *London*, that ancient City, (which was afterwards called *Auguſta*,) and dividing his Forces into ſeveral Parties, fell upon theſe Rovers, whilſt they marched ſcattered up and down laden with Booty, ſo that eaſily routing them, the Plunder and Captives he quickly recovered; and having reſtored all to their reſpective owners, except ſome ſmall Portion beſtowed on the weary Soldiers, he returned to the ſaid City in a triumphant manner; and thô before it laboured under many Difficulties, he hereby reſtored it to its former Splendour, being em-

emboldened with this Succeſs to undertake greater Matters; entring into a ſerious conſideration what was further to be done, he found by what he got out of the Priſoners and Fugitives, that the Enemy, conſiſting of divers Nations, was too fierce and numerous to be maſtered by downright Force, but rather by Stratagems, and ſudden Attacks: He firſt therefore by Promiſes of Pardon brought moſt of his own Deſerters and Stragglers to return to their Colours; but being himſelf taken up with divers Cares, he ſent for *Civilis* to govern *Britain* as Vice-Præfect, a Man of a ſharp Wit, and a ſtrict obſerver of Juſtice, with *Dulcitius* a Commander, very famous for his Military Skill. *Anno Dom.* CCCLXVIII.

Of which Expedition, the ſame Author gives us this ſhort general Account in another place, That *Theodoſius* having by his Induſtry got together an Army of well-diſciplined Souldiers, marching from *London*, he extreamly relieved the Calamities of the *Britains*, ſeizing upon all Places from which he might infeſt the Enemy, and commanding his common Souldiers nothing which he did not firſt undertake himſelf; by which means he performed both the Duties of a valiant Souldier, and a famous Commander, divers Nations being put to flight, who had before been encouraged by Impunity to aſſault the *Roman* Territories, and repaired the Cities and Caſtles which had before ſuffered very much; ſo that a firm Peace was hereby eſtabliſhed for a long time.

But the Year following, whil'ſt *Theodoſius* was thus employ'd, there happen'd a horrid Conſpiracy, which had like to have proved of dangerous Conſequence, had it not been ſtifled in its very Birth: For one *Valentinus* of *Pannonia*, a Man of an inſolent and unquiet Spirit, being for ſome great Crime baniſh'd into *Britain*; this wretch impatient of reſt, contrived a Plot againſt *Theodoſius*, who was the only Obſtacle to his wicked deſigns; ſo that conſidering by what means he might bring them to paſs, (his Ambitious deſires ſtill encreaſing) he excited ſome Souldiers, and Outlaw'd perſons, by promiſing them both Pardon and Preferment: And now the time drawing near for effecting his Treaſon, the General being informed thereof, and being now become more bold to take Revenge on the Conſpirators, ſeized them, and delivered them all to *Dulcius* the Prefect to be put to Death; but judging of things future, by that long Military Experience, (in which he excelled all others of his time) he forbid any further enquiry into the reſt of the Plotters, leſt many being thereby made afraid, thoſe troubles which had been already compos'd, ſhould be again revived. *Anno Dom.* CCCLXIX. *Id. Ibid.*

Then falling to the reforming more neceſſary things, now the danger was over, and that it was evident, good fortune attended all his undertakings, he reſtored the Cities and Gariſons (as we have already ſaid) fortifying the Borders with conſtant Watches and Guards, which though now recovered, had been formerly given up to the Enemy; ſo that the *Northern* Province being reſtored to its former condition, appointing a new Governour over it, he order'd that it ſhould for the future be called *Valentia*, in Honour of *Valentinian* the Emperour.

He alſo removed the *Areans* from their Stations, a ſort of Men Inſtituted in former times to good purpoſe, (thô who theſe Men were we know not, but there ſeems here to be ſomewhat wanting in the Copy,) but our Author tells us, That he had ſaid ſomewhat more of them in the *Acts* of *Conſtans*, which Book is loſt; but theſe ſort of Men now fallen into Vices, were openly convicted, that being allur'd by Promiſes and Rewards, they were often wont to betray to the *Barbarians* whatſoever *Id. Ibid.*

Anno Dom. CCCLXIX. ſoever was done among the *Romans*; though it ought to have been their buſineſs, by running to and fro to give notice to the *Roman* Generals of the Motions of the neighbouring Nations: So that all theſe actions being ſo well executed, when *Theodoſius* was recalled, he left this *Province* in Peace, and being attended with the general applauſe of all Men to the Sea-ſide, he paſſed over to wait upon the Emperour, who received him with great commendations.

Nor can I here omit inſerting that noble Eulogy, which *Claudian* the Poet hath given this renowned General *Theodoſius*, in his Panegyrick to his Grandſon *Honorius*, in theſe Verſes,

In III. Conſulat. Honorii.

Facta tui numerabit Avi, quem littus aduſti
Horreſcit Lybiæ, ratibuſque impervia Thule,
Ille leves Mauros, nec falſo nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone ſecutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

He ſhall relate thy *Granſier*'s Acts, whoſe name
Burnt *Libya* dreads, and *Thule* known by Fame,
Who the light *Moores* and Painted *Picts* did tame:
And with his Sword the roving *Scots* purſued,
Whil'ſt with bold Oars He *Northern* Seas ſubdued.

By which laſt Verſes he ſeems to intimate that as he tamed the *Picts* by Land, ſo he purſued the *Scots* by *Sea*; but what are meant by thoſe *Hyperboreanæ* Waters, whether the *Iriſh Ocean*, or the *Friths* of *Dunbritton* (called in the Old *Scotiſh* Laws, *Mare Scoticum*) I ſhall not take upon me to determine.

But thoſe Antiquaries, who would have the *Scots* to be planted in *Ireland* in the time of *Claudian*, do urge theſe Verſes of the ſame Poet in the next Panegyrick to that Emperour; when ſpeaking in praiſe alſo of his ſaid Grandfather, he thus proceeds,

Claud. in IV. Conſulat. Honor.

——maduerunt Saxone fuſo,
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum Sanguine Thule,
Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

The *Orcades* were moiſtened with a Flood
Of *Saxon* Gore, and *Thule* by the Blood
Of *Picts* was warmed, nor did *Ierne* fail
Whole heaps of *Scots* (then ſlaughter'd) to bewail.

Ammian. Marcel. l. 29. And about theſe times the *Picts* and *Scots* raiſing freſh diſturbances, the Emp. *Valentinian* ſent *Framarius* King of the *Almans* (whoſe Country had been totally deſtroyed by a late incurſion) into *Britain*, though with no higher a command than that of a *Tribune* over a Regiment of his own Country Men, then highly in requeſt for their Valour and Fidelity; but what he did here *Ammianus* ceaſes to tell us: So that being for the future bereft of the help of good Hiſtorians, we muſt be forced to take up with ſuch ſcraps as we can pick up here and there out of *Zoſimus*, *Oroſius*, and with other Epitomators of better Authors, now loſt.

The

The Emperour ~~now~~ *Valentinian*, dying, his Sons *Flavius*, *Gratianus* and *Fl. Valentinianus* ſucceeded him in the *Weſtern* Empire, in the Fifth Year of whoſe Reign the Emperour *Gratian*, created *Theodoſius* Son to the former, his Partner in the Empire, aſſigning him the *Eaſt* for his ſhare. In the Ninth Year of *Gratian*, *Maximus* a *Spaniard* by Birth, (or Education at leaſt) thô moſt of our own Writers ſuppoſe him to have been Born in *Britain*, and one who had long ſerved in the *Britiſh* Wars, being now General of the *Roman* Armies, aſſumed the Imperial Purple; being either diſcontented that *Theodoſius* the Younger, who had ſerved with him in *Britain*, had been prefer'd before him to the Empire, or (as *Oroſius* reports) being conſtrained thereunto by the Souldiers, who hated and deſpiſed *Gratian*. The firſt Eſſays of his uſurp'd power were indeed employ'd to the good, and preſervation of this *Iſland*; for the *Scots* and *Picts*, who with their Inroads continually waſted the *Roman* Territories, he ſubdued and drove back, the former into their own Country, *Ireland*; the latter beyond the *Picts* Wall; and indeed all the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians do now acknowledge that the *Scots* were ſo beaten and quelled by *Maximus*, that with their King *Eugenius* they were forced to quit *Britain*, and did not return again to renew their Kingdom ~~*in Britain*~~, till above Twenty Years after, if they were here at all before that time, which many of our beſt *Engliſh* Antiquaries utterly deny, as I ſhall ſhew further, when I come to thoſe Times.

Anno Dom. CCCLXXXII.

Id. ibid.

Proſper. Chron.

But the Year following, when *Gratian* had further provoked the *Roman* Souldiers; who took it very ill that the *Allans* were liſted for Souldiers. *Maximus* taking hold of this occaſion, carried over his Army (then much encreaſed with a multitude of *Britiſh* Youth) and landing at the mouth of the *Rhine*, were there joyfully received by the *Roman* Souldiers, in *Belgia* and *Germany*, where he made *Triers* the ſeat of his Uſurp'd Empire; whence he is by called *Gregorius Turonenſis*, *Trevericus Imperator*; and then (ſaith *Gildas*) ſpreading one of his Wings as far as *Spain*, the other into *Italy*, with the very terrour of his Name, he brought under his Subjection the yet unconquer'd *Germans*. Againſt this Uſurper, *Gratian* raiſed what Forces he could of Mercenary *Allans*, which the *Romans*, and eſpecially the *Moores*, taking for a freſh affront, as if thoſe *Barbarians* had been prefer'd before them in Courage and Fidelity, they deſerted him, and went over to his Enemy; ſo that *Gratian*, being quickly put to Flight by the Forces of *Maximus*, was forced to flye with Three Hundred Horſe towards the *Alpes*; *Maximus*, thô glad of this advantage, yet thought it not ſafe to let him eſcape, ſo he diſpatched after him *Andragathius*, then his *Magiſter Equitum* (or General;) who following him with all ſpeed, with ſome Light Horſemen overtook him near the Bridge of *Singidunum*, and there killed him, by which Act he Eſtabliſh'd *Maximus* in his Uſurp'd Empire. This is the account which *Zoſimus* gives us of this Action: I know other Writers make a long relation of a Wile that *Andragathius* invented, to make the Emperour believe that the Empreſs his Wife was coming to ſee him; which he believing, and coming to the Litter where he thought ſhe was; *Andragathius* leaping out of the ſudden, Murders him: But this dos not ſeem ſo likely as the former Account *Zoſimus* gives us of it; for if *Andragathius* were ſtronger, as without doubt he was, What need was there of this device, or who can believe that the Emperour ſhould have no account of his Wives Motion, nor of the Enemies coming in her ſtead?

Anno Dom. CCCLXXXIII.

Anno Dom. CCCXCI.

All

Anno Dom. CCCXCI

All things thus ſucceeding, according to his wicked deſires, having ſetled *Gaul*, and caſhier'd thoſe Officers, who had ſided with *Gratian*, his Son *Fl.* Victor, having been declar'd *Cæſar*, and his Partner in the Empire, to which he required (or rather demanded) of *Theodoſius* to be admitted, which was for the preſent conſented unto by him, ſince he was not in any capacity to reſiſt him; ſo he received from him the Title of Emperour, and his Image was ſent to *Alexandria*, and ſet up in the publick Market-place, to be reverenced according to the cuſtom of thoſe Times.

Maximus having thus by Treaſon and Murther, made himſelf Maſter of ſo great a part of the *Weſtern* Empire, he now pretended a great concern for the *Catholick* Religion, and by that means drew many Pious Biſhops into an acknowledgment of his power; and therefore to ſhew his Zeal, he Sentene'd *Priſcillian*, and other Hereticks of his party to Death, who being Condemn'd in the Council of *Bordeaux*, and appealing to his Tribunal, were by him Sentenced to be beheaded, although diſſwaded from it by St. *Martin*, that good Biſhop of *Tours*, alledging it was ſufficient, that they were excommunicated by the *Catholick* Church, to which in matters of Faith they were only anſwerable: Theſe were the firſt that were ever executed by any Chriſtian Prince, for meer matters of Faith; which practice as it was only fit for ſuch a Tyrant and Uſurper to have begun, ſo it had been well for the Church, if Lawful Princes had not been too much led away by the intemperate Zeal of ſome Church-men to imitate ſo cruel an Example.

Sulpitius Severus Hiſt. Ec. Lib. 11.

Neither did *Maximus* reſt contented with what he had already got, but then making War upon the Emperour, *Valentinian* drove him out of *Italy*; who thereupon was forced to fly *Conſtantinople*, where he earneſtly ſolicited *Theodoſius* to undertake his quarrel, who at laſt (thô with ſome difficulty) granting his requeſt, with all his Forces marched againſt the Tyrant, who then lay ſecure at *Aquileia*, and in two Batles overthrew him; and not long after being beſieged in that City, his Souldiers finding his Affairs in a deſperate Condition, to make their own Peace, delivered him up to *Theodoſius*, who [illegible] Three days after, order'd him to be beheaded: Whereupon *Andragatius* his Lieutenant, who was then at Sea, hearing this ill News, caſt himſelf head long out of the Ship, and ſo was drowned, and thereby prevented that publick Execution, which he ſo juſtly deſerved, for thus murthering his Sovereign.

Oroſius lib. 7.

I have inſiſted the longer upon the Actions of *Maximus*, not only becauſe he firſt begun his Uſurpation in this Iſland; but alſo to let you ſee that great and proſperous Villanies do often meet with that puniſhment they deſerve, as well to the acters as contrivers.

But, I cannot quit the Reign of *Maximus*, without taking notice of that notorious invention of *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*, who makes *Dionotus* Duke of *Cornwall* (to whom *Maximus* at his departure committed the Government of *Britain*) to have ſent over his own Daughter *Urſula* with no fewer than Eleven Thouſand Noble Virgins for her Attendants, beſides Sixty Thouſand others of meaner Condition, to *Conan* Duke of *Britain*, (on whom he with like truth ſuppoſes *Maximus* had before beſtowed *Armorica*) *Urſula* was to be the Wife of *Conan* himſelf, and the reſt to be beſtowed upon the *Britains*, who came over with him: of which Virgins a great part periſhed by Sea, and the reſt being taken by *Guanurs* King of the *Huns*, and *Melgas* King of the *Picts*, were either killed

or

or made Slaves: Yet this Fable (as improbable as it is) has been greedily ſwallowed by *Card* * *Baronius*, who cites no better an Author than our *Geoffery* for it: Though indeed, † Archbiſhop *Uſher* proves it not to have been he, but one of as little Credit, *viz.* the Author of the Acts of King *Lucius*: However this is the only Authority for this Legend, thô the Bones of theſe Virgins are pretended to be ſhown at *Cologne* to this day.

* *In notis ad Roman. Martyrolog. Oct.* 21.
† *Brit. Eccleſ. Ant. cap.* 5. *and* 8.

After the Death of *Maximus*, *Valentinian* II. was again reſtor'd to the Empire of the *Weſt* by *Theodoſius*, though he held it not long; *Eugenius* being ſet up againſt him by *Arbogaſtes* his chief *Comes* or General, and by whom this Young unfortunate Emperor, was afterwards ſtrangled at *Vienne* in *Gallia*: but *Eugenius* was ſoon overcome by *Theodoſius*, and put to Death as he deſerv'd, and *Arbogaſtes* made himſelf away; upon which *Theodoſius* took the whole Empire to himſelf both of *Eaſt* and *Weſt*; thô after this we find little mention made of the Affairs of *Britain*, more than that during this Emperour's Reign, this Iſle having been ſo lately bereft of its choiceſt Men by *Maximus*, had for ſome time lain open to the Incurſions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, who took this opportunity to invade it; ſo that *Chryſanthius* the Son of *Marcian* a *Novation* Biſhop, is ſuppoſed to have been ſent over about this time by *Theodoſius* as his Lieutenant to ſuppreſs them; and governing with great reputation he did very much ſettle and reſtore this Iſland; but not long after, this Emperour dyed unexpectedly in the prime of his Years, leaving the *Eaſtern* Empire to his Eldeſt Son *Arcadius*, and the *Weſtern* to his Second Son.

Anno Dom. CCCXCI.
Zozimus lib. 4. *Oroſ. lib.* 7.

Honorius, during whoſe Minority *Stilico* was appointed for his Governour, a Man of great Reputation, having been an intimate Councellour to his Father, and after his Death defended *Britain*, and is ſuppoſed by ſome to have ſent a Legion over hither, under the command of *Victorinus*, to repreſs the incurſions of the *Scots* and *Picts* in the beginning of * *Honorius*'s Reign, as appears from *Claudian* the Poet's Panegyrick, upon *Stilico*'s firſt Conſulſhip; where he introduceth *Britain*, thus ſpeaking in his praiſe,

About An. Dom. CCCXCVI. CCCXCVII.

Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Iernem.
Movit, & infeſto ſpumavit remige Tethys,
Illius effectum curis ne bella timerem,
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, nec littore toto:
Proſpiſcerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis.

Me to ill Neighbours long a Prey expoſed,
With ſafety now hath *Stilico* incloſed,
Whil'ſt the fierce *Scots* the *Iriſh* ſhoar Alarms,
And with theſe Vermin all the Ocean ſwarms:
'Tis through his Care no longer Wars I fear;
The *Scots* and *Picts* alike now dreadleſs are:
No longer on the Coaſts I quivering ſtand,
Nor fear a Fleet of *Saxons* on the *Strand.*

From which words *totam quum Scotus Iernem movit*, &c. divers of our *Engliſh* Antiquaries have inferr'd that the *Scots* were not at this time planted in *Britain*, ſince *tota Ierne* here mentioned, ſeems too large a place for

one ſingle Province, *viz. Strathern* in *Scotland*, which the *Scotiſh* writers will have to be underſtood by the word *Ierne*; nor is that Province, or the River that gives name to it, called *Ierne* in any Ancient Author. But this is a Controverſie which I ſhall not take upon me to decide, being beyond the bounds of our Hiſtory; However this ſeems much more certain, That about this time, according to the moſt Ancient *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians now extant, the *Scots* returned again into *Britain*; "For the *Scots* (ſays "|| *Fordun* in his *Scotichron*) now made a ſtrict Alliance with the *Picts*, in "order to the recovering their Country, ſince (as they relate) *Maximus* "had made uſe of the *Picts* to drive the *Scots* out of *Britain*, and had "put alſo Gariſons among the *Picts*, to keep them under; ſo that upon "this agreement, *Anno Dom.* 403, in the Sixth Year of *Arcadius* and "*Honorius*, *Fergus* the Son of *Erk*, the Son of *Ethodius*, Brother of that "*Eugenius* who was driven out by *Maximus*, came with his Two Bro-"thers *Loarnus* and *Cenegus* (in all probability *Loarn* and *Ængus*, being the "names the *Iriſh* Annals give to the Brothers of this *Fergus*) bringing "great ſupplies of the *Scots* from *Ireland* and *Norway*, whither they had "been driven by the *Romans*; and then the *Picts*, to prevent all ſuſpicion "of Treachery, ſurrender'd up many of their Forts and ſtrong places to "*Fergus*,

Scotichron. l. 3. *c.* 11.

Anno Dom. CCCCIII.

Who thus became King of that part of *Scotland*, called anciently *Albany*, *North-weſt* of the Mountains of *Braid-Albain*, though the ſame Author confeſſeth it doth not appear whither he obtained theſe places by the Sword, or by any other right, ſince none of his Predeceſſours had any power there before; but the *Picts* and *Scots* being thus united, their firſt work was to drive out the *Romans* and *Britains* from their Country, and then to Invade the *Roman* Province, which was at that time left deſtitute of any defence: And ſo by their incurſions they either killed the Common People, or made them Slaves.

From which ſuppoſed return of *Fergus* with his *Scots*, *Jo. Fordun* begins to date the certain Years of their Kings Reigns, for before that time he confeſſes he had not found them any where ſet down; ſo that it ſeems he either had not ſo good Intelligence, or elſe not ſo good an Invention as *Hector Boethius*, who hath given us the Succeſſion of Forty Five *Scotiſh* Kings Reigning in *Britain*, before this *Fergus*; together with the Years of their Reigns, and the exact time when they began; and this he ſays he had from the writings of *Uteremundus* a *Spaniſh* Prieſt, who is reported by him to have writ the Hiſtory of *Scotland*; as alſo from one *Cornelius Hybernicus*, Authours whom none but himſelf have ſeen as I can yet hear of. But in a certain old Latin Manuſcript, cited in *Camden*'s *Britannia*, in *Scotland*, this Action of *Fergus* is thus related, "*Fergus* the Son of *Eric* "was the firſt of the Seed of *Chonare* that enter'd upon the Kingdom of "*Albany* from *Brun Albin* (or *Drum Albin*, that is, the Ridge of *Scotland*) "to the *Iriſh* Sea, and *Inch-Gal*, and that after him, the Kings of the "Race of *Fergus* Reigned in *Brun Albin*, or *Brunhere*, unto *Alpinus* the "Son of *Eochal*.

P. 933.

So that according to this Author, the Antient *Scotiſh* Kingdom of *Albany*, reach'd from the fartheſt ridge of Mountains, called *Braid Albain*, all along thoſe Countries of *Argile* and *Loghquhaber*, &c. now called the *Weſtern Highlands*: And from whence the Genuine *Scots* ſtill call all *Scotland Albin*; perhaps from the Ancient Name of *Albion*, once given to the whole Iſland.

But

But to return to our Hiſtory, from whence we have made too long a digreſſion; it muſt be confeſſed that the Hiſtory of this Iſland is very obſcure and uncertain, (eſpecially in point of time when things were done) from the Death of *Maximus*, to the coming in of the *Saxons*; for *Gildas* and *Nennius* either being wholly ignorant of the Emperours that Rul'd here, from that time to the Reign of *Vortigern*, ſuppoſe the *Britains* to have from that very time caſt off all Subjection to the *Roman* Empire, which is not ſo, as hath been already ſhewn, and ſhall be made clearer by and by. *Anno Dom.* CCCCIII.

For *Bede* is more exact, and takes notice of ſome of thoſe Princes that Reigned in *Britain*, from the Death of *Maximus* to the coming in of the *Saxons*, which *Gildas* and *Nennius* had omitted. *Lib. 1. c. 2.*

But thus much is agreed on by *Gildas*, *Nennius*, and *Bede*, that *Britain* owed its firſt Ruine to *Maximus* his carrying over ſo great a number of *Britains* and *Romans* into *Gaul*; from which time *Britain* being bereft of all its Military Forces and choiceſt Youth who followed that Tyrant, and never returned again, being either ſlain, or elſe planting themſelves in *Armorica*; ſo that (as *Gildas* ſaith) the Iſland was thenceforth left to ſuch cruel Rulers as ſtayed behind, who being unexperienced in Warlike Affairs, were ſtill tormented by two tranſmarine Nations, the *Scots* from the Northweſt, and the *Picts* from the North. But *Bede* expreſly tells us, that he calls thoſe, *Tranſmarine Nations*, not becauſe they then dwelt out of *Britain*, but becauſe they were divided from its Southern Parts by two Streights or Bays of the Sea; whereof one from the Weſt, and the other from the Eaſt, doth ſeparate the Regions of *Britain*, ſo that they do not joyn to each other; theſe are the two Streights which were then called *Glotta* and *Bodotria*, (now the *Friths* of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*;) from which Paſſage of *Bede* it is evident, that he ſuppoſed the *Scots* to be at this time ſetled in this Iſland: Whereupon the *Britiſh* Nation being unable any longer to bear the continual Incurſions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* with lamentable Letters, deſiring ſome Military Forces to be again ſent to defend them; which if it were performed, and the Enemy once repulſed, they vowed perpetual Subjection to the *Roman* Empire; whereupon *Stilico* being at that time Tutor to the Emperour *Honorius*, immediately diſpatched to their Aſſiſtance a Legion ſufficiently furniſhed with Arms, and all Things neceſſary, which arriving in this Iſland, and fighting with its Enemies, killed a great many of them, and drove the reſt out of the *Britiſh* Borders, and ſo delivered the Inhabitants both from Spoil, and inevitable Captivity. *Anno Dom.* CCCXCIII. *Lib. 1. c. 12.* *Id. Ibid.* *Anno Dom.* CCCXCV.

This Action, thô confounded by *Gildas* with the ſecond Succours that were ſent in the time of the Emperour *Honorius*, ſeems moſt likely to be ſent by *Stilico* in his firſt Conſulſhip, as hath been already ſaid. The *Britains* being thus relieved, the *Roman* General, whoſe Name is not told us, thô *Camden* ſuppoſes him to be called *Victorinus*, commanded them to build a Wall croſs the Iſland between the two Seas, which might be a Terrour to the Enemies, and a Defence to the Natives; but the *Britains* not building it with Stones, but Turfs, as not having Artificers ſufficient for ſo great a Work, it ſerved to no purpoſe, thô they drew it between the two Streights or Bays already mentioned for many thouſand Paces; and where the Defence of Water was wanting, there they defended their Borders from the Irruption of the Enemy with a Trench; of which Work, *Bede* relates there remained moſt evident To- *In Dr* Stillingfleet's *Antiquities of the* Britiſh *Churches*, *chap.* 5. *Bed. l. 1. c. 12.*

Anno Dom. CCCXCV. kens in his time: "For (says he) it begins near the space of two Miles "from the Monastery of *Abercorne* towards the East, in a place which "is called in the *Picts* Tongue *Penvahel*, in the English *Penvellum*, and "which running towards the West, ends near the City of *Aldcluith*: So far *Bede*. This I have set down to shew, that as yet the old Bounds were continued between the *Picts* and the *Britains*.

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Il. Ibid. How long they continued so to do, is hard to determine; but this is certain, that fresh Ambassadours were thereupon again dispatched to *Rome*, imploring new Aids; and that they would not suffer this miserable Country to be destroyed, nor a *Roman* Province, which had been long so famous, to be over-run by barbarous and foreign Nations; whereupon another Legion was again sent over, which coming unlook'd-for in the time of Autumn, made great slaughter of the Enemies, and drove out all those who escaped beyond the *Friths* abovementioned, over which they were wont to carry their Prey without any resistance. But the *Romans* being now resolved to return home, plainly told the *Britains*, That they would not be any more wearied out in such laborious Expeditions for their Defence, admonishing them to take Arms, and to undergo themselves the Toil of encountering their Enemies; nor should the *Roman* Ensigns march so far by Sea and Land to curb a few unwarlike wandering Robbers, but that for the future they should defend themselves by fighting manfully for their Country, in defending their Wives and Children, and, which is more, their own Lives and Liberties; and that they might do what good they could to these Confederates, whom they were now forced to desert, they made them build a Wall of Stone from Sea to Sea, with *Towers*, near the Shore, to hinder the landing of the Enemy; and having exercised them in Arms, then took their Leave of them, telling them, They must expect their return *L. 1. c. 12.* no more. This is the substance of *Gildas* his Relation, with whom *Bede* also agrees; yet adds, that the *Romans* at their departure did not only give this sluggish People fresh Encouragements by Words, but also left them Patterns of the Arms and Weapons they would have them make; and then gives a more particular description of this last Wall, and saith, That it was 8 Foot in breadth and 12 in height, and that it stood where the Wall of *Severus* was before, being made all of Stone, and not of Turf, as that unserviceable Wall was, which the *Britains* had before, without any Skill, built by themselves, betwixt the two Friths, *Glotta* and *Bodotria*.

But before I quit this Subject, I cannot but take notice of the great mistake of the *Scotish* Historian *Buchanan*, who persisting in his former Errour, will needs have this last Wall to be built in *Scotland*, in the same place where he (thô falsly) supposes *Severus*'s Wall to have been, and where *Bede* makes the Turf Wall already mentioned to have been built: *Brit. Eccles. Antiq. c. 15.* But Arch-Bishop *Usher* plainly proves in his above-cited Work from the Authority of ancient Authors, that *Severus*'s Wall was built in the same place where *Adrian*'s was before, *viz.* between the Rivers *Tine* and *Esk*: So that if (as *Bede* saith) this last Wall was built in the same place where the Wall of *Severus* stood, it must also have been between those two last mention'd

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Anno Dom. CCCXCVI.

† *Ap.* Bed. *Hiſt. l.* 3. *c.* 2. *Ibid. c.* 21, 22.

Lib. 1. *c.* 12.

But to return to our Hiſtory, from which I hope we have not made too long a Digreſſion, ſince it hath ſerved not only to confute a Miſtake in ſo celebrated an Hiſtorian as *Buchanan*, but alſo to ſettle ſo conſiderable a Point in Antiquity. I ſuppoſe it was to this ſecond departure of the *Roman* Legions, that *Claudian* deſigned theſe Verſes in his Poem *De Bello Getico*, when deſcribing the Forces which were muſtered together for that VVar, to the General Rendezvous he alſo mentions who came from this Iſland.

Venit & extremis Legio prætenta Britannis
Quæ Scoto dat frena truci, ferroque notatis.
Perlegit exangues Picto moriente figuras.

Hither the Legion too from *Britain* came,
VVhich curbs the *Scots*, and does fierce Nations tame;
VVho whilſt the painted *Picts* expiring lie,
Surveys thoſe bloodleſs Figures as they die.

But before I diſmiſs the Hiſtory of theſe Affairs, give me leave to take notice of a great Errour in *Hector Boetius* and *Buchanan* as concerning this laſt VVar between the *Romans* and the *Britains*, where, in the Year of our Lord 403, he does not only make one *Maximinian* to have then commanded the *Roman* Legion laſt mentioned, but alſo to have fought againſt

Anno Dom. CCCXCV. kens in his time: "For (says he) it begins near the space of two Miles "from the Monastery of *Abercorne* towards the East, in a place which "is called in the *Picts* Tongue *Penvahel*, in the English *Penvellum*, and "which running towards the West, ends near the City of *Aldcluith*: So far *Bede*. This I have set down to shew, that as yet the old Bounds were continued between the *Picts* and the *Britains*.

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Id. Ibid. How long they continued so to do, is hard to determine; but this is certain, that fresh Ambassadours were thereupon again dispatched to *Rome*, imploring new Aids; and that they would not suffer this miserable Country to be destroyed, nor a *Roman* Province, which had been long so famous, to be over-run by barbarous and foreign Nations; whereupon another Legion was again sent over, which coming unlook'd-for in the time of Autumn, made great slaughter of the Enemies, and drove out all those who escaped beyond the *Friths* abovementioned, over which they were wont to carry their Prey without any resistance. But the *Romans* being now resolved to return home, plainly told the *Britains*, That they would not be any more wearied out in such laborious Expeditions for their Defence, admonishing them to take Arms, and to undergo themselves the Toil of encountering their Enemies; nor should the *Roman* Ensigns march so far by Sea and Land to curb a few unwarlike wandering Robbers, but that for the future they should defend themselves by fighting manfully for their Country, in defending their Wives and Children, and, which is more, their own Lives and Liberties; and that they might do what good they could to these Confederates, whom they were now forced to desert, they made them build a Wall of Stone from Sea to Sea, with *Towers*, near the Shore, to hinder the landing of the Enemy; and having exercised them in Arms, then took their Leave of them, telling them, They must expect their return *Lib.* 1. *c.* 12. no more. This is the substance of *Gildas* his Relation, with whom *Bede* also agrees; yet adds, that the *Romans* at their departure did not only give this sluggish People fresh Encouragements by Words, but also left them Patterns of the Arms and Weapons they would have them make; and then gives a more particular description of this last Wall, and saith, That it was 8 Foot in breadth and 12 in height, and that it stood where the Wall of *Severus* was before, being made all of Stone, and not of Turf, as that unserviceable Wall was, which the *Britains* had before, without any Skill, built by themselves, betwixt the two Friths, *Glotta* and *Bodotria*.

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Anno Dom. CCCXCVI.

† *As* Bed. *Hiſt. l.* 3. *c.* 2. *Ibid. c.* 21, 22.

Lib. 1. *c.* 12.

But to return to our Hiſtory, from which I hope we have not made too long a Digreſſion, ſince it hath ſerved not only to confute a Miſtake in ſo celebrated an Hiſtorian as *Buchanan*, but alſo to ſettle ſo conſiderable a Point in Antiquity. I ſuppoſe it was to this ſecond departure of the *Roman* Legions, that *Claudian* deſigned theſe Verſes in his Poem *De Bello Getico*, when deſcribing the Forces which were muſtered together for that VVar, to the General Rendezvous he alſo mentions who came from this Iſland.

Venit & extremis Legio prætenta Britannis
Quæ Scoto dat frena truci, ferroque notatis.
Perlegit exangues Picto moriente figuras.

Hither the Legion too from *Britain* came,
VVhich curbs the *Scots*, and does fierce Nations tame;
VVho whilſt the painted *Picts* expiring lie,
Surveys thoſe bloodleſs Figures as they die.

But before I diſmiſs the Hiſtory of theſe Affairs, give me leave to take notice of a great Errour in *Hector Boetius* and *Buchanan* as concerning this laſt VVar between the *Romans* and the *Britains*, where, in the Year of our Lord 403, he does not only make one *Maximinian* to have then commanded the *Roman* Legion laſt mentioned, but alſo to have fought againſt

Anno Dom. CCCXCVI. against *Fergus* King of the *Scots*, and *Durſtus* King of the *Picts*, together with one *Dionethius* a *Britain*, whom, againſt all Reaſon and Probability, he makes to have brought them Aids againſt his own Countrymen, and a Fight enſuing, that the *Scots* were repelled; and yet that this *Maximinian* having but few Souldiers then in his Army, was forced to retreat into the inland parts of his Province, whilſt *Dionethius* made himſelf King of the *Britains*, (without any Subjects to make him ſo;) but that *Maximinian* being vexed at this Diſgrace, reinforcing his Troops with freſh Supplies, marched againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*; where a great Battel enſuing, *Fergus* and *Durſtus* were ſlain, but King *Dionethius* (whom I ſuppoſe to be the ſame with *Geoffery*'s *Dionatus* Duke of *Cornwal*, already mentioned,) was carried off much wounded. But of this King, neither *Gildas*, *Nennius*, nor *Bede*, no nor ſo much as *Geoffery*, ſays any thing; and therefore not being to be found in any Hiſtorian before *Hector*, all this Tale concerning this imaginary King, is to be looked upon as a pure Invention of his own.

But this is certain, that the *Britains* being thus deſerted by the *Romans* for 19 Years after the Death of *Maximus*, (as *Zoſimus* relates, *viz.* about the Year 406, or 407,) the *Britiſh* Army all in a mutiny Elected one *Marcus* to be their Emperour, a Man of great Power in this Iſland, (and perhaps Lieutenant here) whom, not anſwering their Expectations, they ſoon took off, and then ſet up one *Gratianus*, making him put on the Imperial Purple, who ſeems to be a Native of *Britain*, for ſo much **Oroſius* his words imply, when he calls him *Municeps ejuſdem Inſulæ*; but he not pleaſing them, after 4 Months Reign, they deprived him both of his Life and Empire. *Of him, *Nennius* ſaith nothing, but mentions one *Severus*, between *Maximus* and *Conſtantius*, whom others omit; but †*Geoffery* of *Monmouth* makes this *Gratian* to have aſſumed the Royal Authority as ſoon as he heard of the Death of *Maximus*, and that he was ſo Cruel and Tyrannical, that the common People roſe up and killed him; and that after his Death, the *Britains* ſent to *Rome* to beg Help againſt the *Anno Dom.* CCCCVII. *Picts* and *Scots*. But *Zoſimus* and *Oroſius* both relate, That after the Death of this *Gratian*, the *Roman Britains* ſet up one *Conſtantine* an ordinary Souldier, (chiefly for the good Omen of his Name,) yet *Procopius* differs ſomewhat from the former Authors, and calls this *Conſtantine* no obſcure Man, but whether he meant for Valour or Nobility, I will not determine; but however he being by them declared Emperour, gathered what Forces together he could, (being the remainder of thoſe that had been carried away before by *Maximus*,) and putting to Sea from *Britain*, landed at *Boloigne*, and by the Terrour of his Name, and the Numbers of his Followers, eaſily brought over to his Party all the *Roman* Forces on this ſide the *Alps*: *Valentia* in *France* he manfully defended againſt the Puiſſance of *Honorius*; the *Rhine*, which long time before had been neglected, he fortified with Gariſons; and even upon the very *Alps*, and towards the Sea-Coaſts, wherever the Paſſages lay open, he built Forts and Caſtles; whilſt in *Spain*, under the Conduct of his Son *Conſtans*, (whom of a Monk he had made *Cæſar*) he waged War with the like good Fortune.

* *Hiſt. l. 7. c. 40.*

* Nen. *c. 24.*

† Galfr. *l. 2. c. 4.*

Chron. in Bib. Patrum.

And now grown Inſolent by this conſtant Current of Succeſs, not content that *Honorius* had admitted him his Partner in the Empire, and upon an Embaſſy ſent to him on purpoſe accepted his Excuſe, That the Souldiers had advanced him to the Throne againſt his Will; in hoſtile manner he paſſed the *Alps*, intending to march directly againſt *Rome*, but on the

the ſudden he returned to *Arles*, where he ſettled his Imperial Seat, and commanded that City to be called *Conſtantia* after his own Name. *Anno Dom.* CCCCVII.

Whilſt with the like Succeſs his Son *Conſtans*, by the Conduct of *Gerontius* his General, he brought all *Spain* under his Obedience.

But when *Conſtans* upon ſome Suſpicions turned *Gerontius* out of his Command, (for the Cauſe is not expreſſed,) the Affairs both of the Father and Son preſently declined; for as he returned from *Conſtantine* out of *Gaul* into *Spain*, by the way he received the unwelcome News of *Gerontius*'s having revolted from his Obedience, and ſet up one *Maximus*, one of his own Creatures, for Emperour, and that having raiſed a powerful Army, conſiſting of divers barbarous Nations, that he was upon his march againſt him. *Conſtans* allarmed with theſe Tydings, immediately diſpatched away one *Eddobeccus* unto the *Germans*, whilſt himſelf attended with *Decimius Ruſticus* (who of the Maſter of his Offices was advanced to be *Præfect*,) and accompanied with an Army of *Francks*, *Almans*, and other Nations, paſſed into *Gaul*, intending with all ſpeed to return again to his Father; but being intercepted by *Gerontius*, and by him beſieged in *Vienna*, (in *Dauphine*,) the City being taken, he was there ſlain. Then *Gerontius* marching to meet *Conſtantine*, found him at *Arles*, againſt which City he laid cloſe Siege, but was hindred from taking it by the ſudden coming of *Conſtantius Comes*, whom the Emperour *Honorius* had newly made his General; at whoſe arrival with an Army out of *Italy*, *Gerontius*, being deſerted by his own Souldiers, retired into *Spain*, where growing alſo into Contempt and Hatred with thoſe few that remained, his Houſe in the Night being beſet by them, he with his own Servants manfully defended himſelf, and ſlew above 300 of them; and when his Darts and other Weapons were ſpent, thô he might have eſcaped at a back Door as his Servants had done, yet out of kindneſs to his Friend *Allan*, and his Wife *Nunnichia*, he refuſed it: and having firſt cut off the Head of his Friend, (as was agreed between them,) he then ſlew his Wife, (thô with great Reluctancy,) being prevailed upon by her Importunity ſo to do, refuſing to out live her Huſband, and deſiring to be freed from the Violence of the inraged Multitude; for which her Reſolution, *Sozomen* the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian gives her great Commendations: This done, *Gerontius* turned his Sword againſt himſelf, but failing in his Deſign, he finiſhed it with his Dagger. This Man being ſuppoſed to be a *Britain*, I have been the more particular in his Hiſtory; and *Humphrey Lloyd*, in his Diſcourſe concerning *Britain*, makes him to have been ſo famous here, as to be celebrated by the *Britiſh* Bards, whoſe Verſes upon his Death he there gives you. *Anno Dom.* CCCCXI. Zoſom. *l.* 9. *c.* 13.

But in the mean while, *Conſtantine* now ſtreighten'd on all ſides, and diſcouraged with the ill Succeſs of *Eddobeccus*, (who was ſlain but a little before,) after having been beſieged 4 Months with his other Son *Julian* in the City of *Arles*, there flings off his Purple Robes and entred into Prieſts Order, hoping under that Protection to ſecure his Life, and ſo not long after ſurrendred the Town. But his new Habit proved no Sanctuary to him, for he was carried into *Italy*, and there beheaded by the Emperour's Order, together with his Son *Julian*, and Brother named *Sebaſtian*. Whilſt theſe Things were acting, the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Vandals*, taking advantage of the Negligence of *Conſtantine*, (who whilſt he ſtayed at *Arles*, and minded his Pleaſures more than publick Affairs) invaded his Territories, the latter breaking into *Gaul*, and then invading *Britain*;

Anno Dom. CCCCXI. *Britain*; but the *Britains* now deſtitute of the *Roman* Aids, and kept under by them who had not Power to protect them, (as *Zoſimus* relates,) as well the *Gauls* as *Britains*, forthwith took Arms, and reſolving to ſtand on their own Defence, renounced all further Obedience to the *Roman* Empire, which they believed they might juſtifie, being then left without its Protection. Being thus harraſſed by their wonted Enemies, having before ſent Meſſages to *Honorius* for Relief, but all to no purpoſe, for he at that time not being able to defend *Rome* it ſelf, (which the ſame Year was taken by *Alaric* King of the *Goths*,) the Emperour permitted them by his Letters to provide for their own ſafety, acquitting them of the *Roman* Juriſdiction. They therefore being thus deſerted, the Government of courſe devolved to the People, who thenceforth betook themſelves to live after their own Laws, and to defend their Country as well as they were able.

Lib. 4.

Anno Dom. CCCCX.

But ſince the Chronology of theſe Times we are now Treating of is very perplexed and obſcure, by reaſon of the great ſcarcity of good Authors; and ſince ſome Writers place the *Britains* caſting off their Subjection to the *Roman* Empire immediately after the Death of this *Conſtantine* above-mentioned, and others defer it 20 Years later, give me leave here to ſubjoyn what the Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* hath ſaid in his above-cited Treatiſe concerning the time when this great Change happened in this Iſland, for it hath been already proved; for though all Authors agree, that the *Britains* petitioned the Emperour *Honorius* for the firſt Supplies againſt the *Picts* and *Scots* that then invaded them, yet they differ about the time: I ſhall therefore firſt take notice what *Bede* ſaith concerning this matter, who makes *Gratianus Municeps* to be ſet up two Years before the ſacking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, which happened *Anno Dom.* 410; and he alſo therein follows *Oroſius*'s Relation concerning *Conſtantine*, and his Son *Conſtans*, without ever mentioning their continuing to Govern here, and much leſs loſing their Lives in *Britain*, (as *Nennius* falſly ſuppoſes;) but then he applies that Paſſage in *Gildas* concerning that lamentable condition of the *Britains*, and there firſt demanding Help from the *Romans* to the Times immediately following the Death of *Conſtantine*; whereas *Gildas* indeed mentions it as happening upon the Uſurpation of *Maximus*, and his withdrawing the Forces from hence; and that therefore this firſt Invaſion of the *Picts* and *Scots* was between the Death of *Maximus*, and the ſetting up of *Gratianus Municeps*, when the *Britains* ſo earneſtly ſuing for Aſſiſtance, had a *Roman* Governour and a Legion ſent to their Relief. And Mr. *Camden*, in his Introduction to his *Britannia*, ſuppoſes, that *Claudius Rutilius* mentions *Victorinus* as a *Roman* Governour here about that time; but this is very uncertain, when he there only ſpeaks of the taking *Tholouſe* by the *Goths*, which was done by *Ataulphus* ſome time after the Death of *Alaric*, and therefore could not be before the time of *Gratian* and *Conſtantine*.

Vid. *Dr.* Stillingfleet's *Antiquities of the* Brit. *Churches*, *c.* 5. *p.* 295.

Now that the firſt Supplies that were ſent over into *Britain* were all of them ſent before the Death of *Stilico*, the ſaid Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* in his above-cited Treatiſe goes on to prove in the ſame place: "It is evident (ſays he) from many Paſſages in † *Claudian*, that *Stilico* took "particular care of ſending Supplies to the *Britains* againſt the *Scots* and "*Picts*, but *Stilico* was killed by the Army when *Baſſus* and *Philippus* "were Conſuls, *Anno Dom.* 408, before the firſt Siege of *Rome* by the "*Goths*, and therefore the *Roman* Forces ſent by him muſt be before the Uſur-

De laud. Stilic. l. 2. *v.* 25.

"Uſurpation of *Gratianus* and *Conſtantine*; *Stillico* being killed the ſame "Year, that theſe Uſurpers were ſet up in *Britain*, it is not poſſible he "ſhould do it after their Death; and it ſeems not probable, that any "Supplies ſhould be ſent through *Gaul*, while *Conſtantine* remained Maſter "there, the Army in *Gaul* then taking part with him againſt *Honorius*; "and withal *Gildas* ſaith, That the *Roman* Legion having driven out the "*Picts* and *Scots*, returned in Triumph. And ſo much is confeſſed by *Bede*: But at what time can we ſuppoſe that to have happen'd? Is it likely that after the Uſurpation of *Conſtantine*, a *Roman* Legion ſhould return in ſo much Triumph? For immediately after *Conſtantine*'s Uſurpation, the *Roman* Empire began extreamly to decline in thoſe parts, through which they were to paſs; *Gaul* being upon Compoſition * not long after delivered up to the *Goths* by *Honorius*, and beſides, the *Franks* and *Burgundians* making continual incurſions there: I conclude it therefore moſt probable, that the firſt ſupplies ſent to the *Britains*, were not after *Conſtantine*'s Uſurpation, but between the Death of *Maximus*, and the ſetting up of *Gratianus Municeps*.

Anno Dom. CCCCX.

* *Jornand.* 30. *Paul. Diac. l.* 14. *Seigeb. Chron. Anno Dom.* 412.

Now let us ſee if we can hence diſcover when the ſecond Aſſiſtance was ſent to the *Britains*, for which we muſt own our ſelves beholding to the aforeſaid learned Doctor in the ſame place, where he thus makes it out.

The Second time, the diſtreſſed *Britains* were forced to ſollicite the *Romans* for ſupplies, is placed by Arch-biſhop *Uſher*, *Anno Dom.* 426; when *Gallio* of *Ravenna* was ſent hither, (as he ſuppoſes;) becauſe the next Year *Proſper* ſaith, that *Gallio* was ſent againſt *Bonifacius* in *Africa*; but then the Arch-biſhop makes the firſt ſupplies to have been ſent in the latter end of *Honorius*'s Reign, for which the Doctor ſays, he can ſee no reaſon; for the *Lord Primate* grants that immediately after the Death of *Maximus*, the *Scots* and *Picts* did waſte *Britain*, and that then *Stillico* did ſend aſſiſtance to them. Why then ſhould the firſt waſting of the Iſland, mentioned by *Gildas*, and the Legion ſent thereupon, be that in the latter end of *Honorius* his Reign, and not rather in the beginning? ſince the latter ~~was~~ ere was very perplexed and troubleſome, the *Alani*, *Swevi*, and *Vandali*, having poſſeſſed themſelves of great part of *Spain*, whil'ſt the *Franks*, *Burgundians* and *Goths* had all *Gaul*; ſo that *Honorius*, the Year before his Death, was forced to ſend his Forces under *Caſtinus* into *Spain*, againſt the *Vandals*, as *Proſper* in his *Chronicle* affirms: And that alſo prov'd the occaſion of new Troubles in *Africa*, by the difference between *Caſtinus* and *Bonifacius*, who for his own ſecurity ſent over the *Vandals* thither. Is it not therefore moſt probable, that the firſt Supplies of the *Britains* ſhould be ſent in the latter end of *Honorius*'s Reign, eſpecially ſince the learned *Primate* confeſſeth, that *Honorius* did not in his time recover the Province of *Britain*: and he proves it againſt *Sabellicus*, from *Procopius*'s Authority, a much more ancient Authour, beſides that of *Bede*; ſo that the ſingle teſtimony of *Sigebert*, that *Honorius* ſent aſſiſtance to the *Britains* at the ſame time that he did to the *Spaniards*, (when *Proſper*, *Idatius*, and *Caſſiodore*, who all mention the latter, ſay not one word of the former) cannot bear down the more weighty Reaſons on the other ſide.

Ant. Brit. cap. 11. *P.* 318.

But it is certain that in this interval between the ſending of the two ſupplies, the *Roman* Affairs became ſo deſperate, That the *Saxon* Annals, as well as *Ethelward* in his *Chronicle*, relates, that now the *Romans* hid their Treaſures in the Earth, or elſe carried them away with them into *Gaul*; ſo that

Anno Dom. CCCCXVIII.

Anno Dom. CCCCXVIII. it ſeems moſt likely during all the reſt of the Reign of the Emperour *Honorius*, the *Britains* did no more return to his Obedience; thô notwithſtanding, they did again endeavour to put themſelves under the protection of the *Roman* Empire, in the time of his Succeſſour *Valentinian* III. as the learned Dr. above cited makes it more than probable in the ſame place, from divers other Circumſtances too long to be here particularly ſet down.

So that the ſecond ſupplies which were ſent upon the mighty importunity of the *Britains*, were in all probability in the beginning of the Reign of *Valentinian* III. after that *Aetius* had ſomewhat recovered the credit of the *Roman* Empire in *Gaul*; for after his ſucceſs there, both againſt the *Goths* and *Franks*, he had liberty enough to ſend over a Legion to the aſſiſtance of the *Britains*, who were again miſerably haraſſed by the *Scots* and *Picts*: And at this time it was that *Gildas* ſaith, the *Romans* upon the ſad repreſentations of the *Britiſh* Ambaſſadours, ſent them ſpeedy ſupplies. So far we have been beholding to the learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, now Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*; but if I may interpoſe my own Opinion, I ſhould aſſign the ſending of theſe laſt ſupplies by the *Romans*, to have been in the Year of our Lord 435; when *Aetius* had good ſucceſs againſt the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*: To which Year alſo the *Saxon* Annals refer the ceaſing of the *Roman* Empire in *Britain*; only the Compiler was miſtaken in two things, the firſt in making *Rome* to have been taken this Year by the *Goths*; the other in ſuppoſing the time of the *Romans* ruling here, to be but 470 Years; whereas indeed it was 488 Years, as I ſhall preſently make out.

Anno Dom. CCCCXXXV. So that from this laſt departure of the *Roman* Legion, (which no doubt was done by the Emperour's expreſs Order,) I think, I may very well date the total dereliction of *Britain* by the *Romans*; who now by refuſing them their protection, left them by the Laws of Nature to provide for, and defend themſelves. And from hence I may alſo date the final period of the *Roman* Empire in this Iſland; which had now laſted from *Julius Cæſar*'s ſecond landing in *Britain*, in the 53d Year before Chriſt, to this Year (being the 435th Year after Chriſt) the ſpace of 488 Years; but if you account from the more abſolute Conqueſt of it by *Claudius*, in the Forty Fourth Year after Chriſt, it continued but 391 Years.

But that the *Britains* were at laſt very unwillingly cut off from being any longer a part of the *Roman* Empire, appears by the laſt meſſage they ſent to *Aetius*, again imploring aſſiſtance; which the Emperour not being able to grant, they had no other way left, but to provide for themſelves as well as they could; which ſince it happened after the time that I ſuppoſe the *Roman* power to have ceaſed in this Iſland, I ſhall refer the further Relation of it to the next Book.

But before I conclude this, I ſhall give you a ſhort account of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in this Iſland, in theſe Two laſt Centuries; where, after the laſt Perſecution under *Diocleſian*, *Bede* tells us, the *Britiſh* Church enjoyed a perfect Peace, till the *Arrian* Hereſie over-ran the whole World, and at laſt infected this Iſland, though divided from the reſt of it; but though neither *Gildas* nor *Bede* hath ſet down the Year when this Hereſie firſt began to ſpread it ſelf here, yet he ſeems to refer it to the Reign of *Conſtantius*, when this Peſtilent Opinion carried the face of Authority, as having been confirmed in ſeveral pretended Councils.

But

But in the beginning of this Century, though the Year be uncertain, yet between the Years 402, and 406, *Pelagius* a *Britiſh* Monk (whoſe *Welſh* Name is ſuppoſed to have been *Morgan*, as being of the ſame ſignification with the *Latin* Name of *Pelagius*,) broached his Hereſie, for abſolute Free will, without the aſſiſting Grace of God; which Opinion was afterwards condemned by divers Councils in *France* and *Africa*, and was alſo confuted by St. *Auguſtine*: About which times alſo flouriſhed *Feſtidus*, a learned Biſhop (if not an Arch-biſhop) of *Britain*, who writ a Pious Treatiſe, *De Vita Beata*, and who by ſome late *Romiſh* Writers hath been accuſed of *Pelagianiſm*, from which imputation, he is juſtly vindicated by the ſaid Reverend Dr. *Stillingfleet*, in his above cited work. *Anno Dom.* CCCCXXXV. Vide *Arch-biſhop* Uſhers *Antiquit. Brit. Eccleſ. cap.* 8. *Chap.* 4.

Nor did this Iſland remain long free from this *Pelagian* Hereſie; for he having (as it is ſuppoſed) perverted divers of his Country-men abroad, they afterward returning home, brought it over and diſperſed it here, and was eſpecially propagated by one *Agricola*, the Son of *Severian* a *Pelagian* Biſhop, (as *Bede* informs us) who farther ſays, that the *Britains* when they would by no means receive ſo perverſe a Doctrine, that blaſphemes the grace of Chriſt, nor yet were able by diſputing to refute ſo ſettled an Errour, they took a ſafer courſe, to ſend for aid in this ſpiritual warfare, from the Biſhops of *France*; for which cauſe a great Synod being there aſſembled, it was propoſed, who was moſt fitting to be ſent to ſuccour the true Belief then aſſaulted; when by the common votes of them all, *Germanus* Biſhop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus* Biſhop of *Troyes*, were choſen to go and confirm *Britain* in the Catholick Faith; who, when they had received the command of that Church, paſſed the Sea, and * landed here, though not without great danger from Storms, which *Bede* ſuppoſes to be raiſed by the Devil, and which, he alſo ſays, were to be lay'd by the Prayers of Biſhop *German*; as ſoon as they landed, they were joyfully received both by the Clergy and People, to whom they forthwith preached not only in the Churches, but alſo in the High-ways and Streets, whereby the Faithful Chriſtians were confirmed, and many Hereticks brought back to the Truth; at which the Heads of the Heretical party being very much concern'd, though they lay for a great while private, yet at laſt, fearing their ſilence would be interpreted as a quitting of their cauſe; a publick diſputation was agreed upon between them, which was (as ſome of our Authours relate) at *Verulam*, where the Hereticks appeared in a ſplendid garb, and encompaſſed with a great number of Followers; ſo that there met a great multitude of People on both ſides, to be as well Spectators as Judges; where in the firſt place *Germanus* and *Lupus* allowed their Adverſaries a full liberty of diſputing, which took up much time to little purpoſe; then the Biſhops with a Torrent of proofs drawn from the Holy Scriptures, bore down all before them, backing their Reaſons with Divine Authorities, whereby the *Pelagians* being nonplus'd, had nothing to reply; ſo that the People (being the Judges) could ſcarce refrain their Hands from them, and teſtified their reſentment by their great clamour againſt them. *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 17. * *Anno* 329, *according to Arch-biſhop* Uſhers *account Vid. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. cap.* 11.

Nor did theſe Biſhops think this enough; but, as *Bede* further relates from one *Conſtantius* (who lived within Fifty Years after this was done) they thought fit likewiſe to confirm their Doctrine by Miracles; for a certain Magiſtrate bringing his Daughter of Ten Years Old, being Blind, offer'd her to the *Pelagians* to be cured, who refuſing to undertake it, the *Conſtant. lib.* 1. *ch.* 13.

Anno Dom. CCCCXXV. Biſhops were deſired to do it; who, (as this Authour relates) after Prayers to God reſtored the Girl to ſight, by the Application of certain Saints Relicts to her Eyes; whereupon the People were ſo aſtoniſhed, that baniſhing all Errour from their Minds, they followed the Doctrine of theſe Holy Biſhops; who it ſeems, were not however very fond of theſe Relicts, but (as the ſame Authors have it) opening the Tomb of St. *Alban* at *Verulam*, buried them all therein, to the intent that one Grave might contain the Bones of all thoſe Saints, collected from ſo many ſeveral Regions, who being equal in merit, the ſame Heaven had alſo received; this done, *Germanus* only took away in exchange a ſmall lump of Earth, which was yet ſtained with the Blood of the Martyr.

I ſhall paſs over the reſt of the real or pretended Miracles of theſe Biſhops, though related by *Bede*, as being of leſs moment, and come to that famous Victory, which he from the ſame Authours relates, to have been obtained by their means, which was thus; That not long after their coming, the *Picts* and *Saxons* made a fierce Invaſion upon the *Britains*, who marching out againſt them, and miſtruſting their own Forces, ſent to *Germanus* and his Collegue to help them, repoſing more confidence in the Spiritual ſtrength of thoſe Two Holy Men, than in their own Thouſands; ſo theſe Biſhops being arrived, their preſence in the *Britiſh* Camp ſeem'd not leſs than if a whole Army had come to ſecond them: It was then the time of *Lent*, and the People inſtructed by the daily Sermons of theſe Paſtors, came flocking to receive Baptiſm, to which purpoſe a place in the Camp was made up of Green Boughs like a Church, againſt the Day of the *Lords* Reſurrection; the Army being there Baptized march'd out to Fight, and contemning the Defence of Arms, only expected Divine aſſiſtance; the Enemy hearing how they were imploy'd, ſeem'd aſſured of the Victory; when *Germanus*, who alſo had intelligence of their approach, undertook to be their Captain, and riding out with ſome ſelect Troops, to diſcover what advantages the place might offer, happen'd on a Valley encompaſſed with Hills, through which the Enemy was to paſs, and placing there an ambuſh, warned them, that what words they heard him pronounce aloud, the ſame they ſhould all repeat with an univerſal ſhout: the Enemy march'd on ſecurely, and *German* Thrice aloud cryed *Halelujah*, which being anſwered by the Souldiers, with a ſudden noiſe and clamour, was alſo much encreaſed by the Ecchoes from the Neighbouring Hills and Woods; the *Scots* and *Picts* ſtartled hereat, and ſuppoſing it the ſhout of a Mighty Army, flung down their Arms and fled, and for haſt many of them were drowned in that River they had newly paſſed. The Victory thus obtained without fighting, yielded the *Britains* great ſtore of ſpoil, and procured to Biſhop *German* greater Authority and Reputation than before: The place of this Fight is reported to have been near a Town called *Guiderac* in the *Britiſh* Tongue, but in the *Engliſh Mould* in *Flintſhire*, and the place is called *Maes German*, that is *German's Field* to this Day: But there are two Objections to be made againſt the Truth of this Relation. The firſt is, how the *Britains* could fight againſt the *Saxons*, before their arrival here under *Aingiſt*, which was not till above Twenty Years after: Secondly, how the *Britains*, who had been Chriſtians for above Three Hundred Years, ſhould need to be new Baptized. To the former of theſe Objections, Arch-biſhop *Uſher* in his *Ant. Brit. Eccleſiæ*, gives us a ſatisfactory anſwer, *viz.* That before the coming

coming in of the *Saxons* to ſettle here; it appears, that they made ſeveral Incurſions by Sea, as hath been already proved from divers Authorities; and further *Paulus Diaconus* in the Relation of this ſtory expreſly ſays, That whil'ſt theſe Biſhops were here, a ſtrong Army of *Scots* and *Picts* Invaded *Britain*. *Anno Dom.* CCCCXXXV.

But as for the reſt of the Miracles and Actions of *Germanus* and *Lupus* in *Britain*, ſince they are only related by *Nennius*, and ſome of our *Engliſh* Monks from certain Legends of little or no Credit, as written long after thoſe Times, I ſhall wholly omit them; only could wiſh that the Writers of this Story, would have given us as exact a Relation of Civil Affairs in this Iſland, as they do of thoſe concerning the Religion of this Age, that we might have known what Kings or Governours the *Britains* had, from the time of the laſt departure of the *Romans*, to the making of *Vortigern* King; the want of which no doubt was a great encouragement to *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* to forge ſo many Fictitious Princes, during this interval.

But for the other Objection, it is, I confeſs, ſomewhat harder to be anſwer'd; ſome Modern Writers ſuppoſe, that in that ſad Confuſion and Corruption of Manners, that happen'd after the departure of the *Romans*, a great many of the *Britains* turned Idolaters, or elſe (which is moſt likely) were Chriſtians but in Name, and ſo had never been Baptized at all till now.

I ſhall now conclude with the reſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of theſe Times: This Year as our *Saxon* Annals (from *Proſper*'s Chronicle) relate, *Palladius* the Biſhop was ſent by Pope *Cæleſtine* to the *Scots*, to confirm their Faith, or as *Bede* in his Epitome, *Lib.* 1. *cap.* as well as in his Epitome at the end (under the Year CCCC*XXX*.) expreſſes it almoſt in the words of *Proſper*, viz. *Palladius* was ſent the firſt Biſhop by the ſaid Pope, to the *Scots* believing in *Chriſt*, but in one of the * Copies of the *Saxon* Annals (now in the *Cottonian* Library) it is thus: *This Year* Palladius *was ſent by Pope* Cœleſtine *to Preach Baptiſm* (i. e. *Chriſtianity to the* Scots), in which it agrees with *Nennius*, who ſpeaking of this matter, ſays, "That "this Biſhop was firſt of all ſent by the ſaid Pope to convert the *Scots* "to Chriſt: But being hinder'd from God by certain Tempeſts, de- "parted from *Ireland*, and arrived in *Britain*, and there died in the Coun- "try of the *Picts*; in which he is alſo followed by *Probus* and *Joſeline*, in their Lives of S. *Patrick*; who, thô they agree, that *Palladius* was ſent to Convert *Ireland*, yet differ from him in the account how he came to fail in his deſign, laying the fault upon the obſtinacy of the *Iriſh*, who would not receive his Doctrine; but they both agree with *Nennius*, that thereupon he left *Ireland*, and dy'd in the confines of the *Picts*. *Anno Dom.* CCCCXXIX.

Vide *the various Lections in the margin of the* Oxford *Edition of theſe Annals.* *Cap.* 54.

This difference in theſe Copies hath bred a great diſpute between the *Engliſh* Antiquaries on the one ſide, and the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians and Antiquaries on the other; the former ſuppoſing from the Authority of *Nennius*, and the above cited Copy of the *Saxon* Chronicle, beſides that of the *Iriſh* Annals, that the *Scots* were not converted to Chriſtianity, till the Year above mention'd, and conſequently were not made Chriſtians ſo early as their Hiſtorians relate; which Opinion hath been ſtrenuouſly aſſerted by Arch-biſhop *Uſher*, in his *Britan. Eccleſ. Antiquitat.* as alſo by the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* (now Biſhop of *Litchfield*) in his Hiſtorical account of Church Goverment, and been alſo further improved by the learned *Cap.* 15. *p.* 42.

Dr.

Anno Dom. CCCCXXX. Dr. *Stillingfleet* (now Biſhop of *Worceſter*) in his Antiquity of the *Britiſh* Churches, who all conclude, that the *Scots* were converted to Chriſtianity long before their planting in *Britain*, which they ſuppoſe not to have happen'd till about the end of the Fifth, or the beginning of the Sixth Century.

Againſt which Opinions, though aſſerted by ſo many learned Men, Sir *George Mackenzy* (late Lord Advocate of *Scotland*) hath Written two Treatiſes, which he calls a defence of the Royal-line of *Scotland*; in the former of which written againſt the ſaid Biſhop, as well as the latter againſt Dr. *Stillingfleet*, he alters the ſtate of the Controverſie from an Eccleſiaſtical to a Civil diſpute; making it a crime of læſe Majeſty ſo much as to queſtion the reality of the Kings of *Scotland*, before *Fergus* the Second; but omitting the Proofs that he produces for the Antiquity of the *Scotiſh* Kings before that time, as alſo what he writes for the *Scots* Converſion, as performed in *Scotland*, and not in *Ireland*; being beyond the bounds of our Hiſtory, I ſhall leave the Reader for his farther ſatiſfaction to peruſe thoſe Treatiſes, if he think fit, being writ with great Wit and Smartneſs.

But ſince I found the time of *Palladius*'s being ſent by the Pope to the *Scots*, mentioned not only in *Bede*, but in our *Saxon* Chronicles, I could not well omit putting it down; yet without taking upon me poſitively to determine whither the *Scots* of *Scotland*, or thoſe of *Ireland* are there meant; ſince I confeſs the Words are Ambiguous, and the Copies differ, as I have already ſhewed.

Anno Dom. CCCCXXX. But the Year after *Palladius*'s being ſent to the *Scots* (whether in *Ireland* or *Scotland*) the *Saxon* Annals tell us, that *Patrick was ſent by the ſame Pope* Cœleſtine, *to Preach Baptiſm* (i. e, *Chriſtianity*) *to the* Scots: Although I find in the Notes of Ware upon *Nennius*, p. 129; a Chronicle noting, Anno Dom. 475, *Venit S. Patricius ad Hiberniam.*

Now that theſe were the *Scots* of *Ireland*, is agreed on by all; yet this Controverſie is made more intricate, by what *Ranul. Higden* writes in his *Polychron.* (*l.* 4. *c.* 33. *Celeſtinus Papa miſit S. Patricium, ad Hiberniam Convertendam; & Palladium Romanum Diaconum, ad Scotos Convertendos, Anno Scil. Pontificatus ſui IX.*

And alſo by what is found in a Manuſcript Copy of *Dicetus* thus; *Celeſtinus Papa ad Scotos Palladium Primum mittit Epiſcopum; Poſtquam ad eoſdem, ab eodem Celeſtino, miſſus eſt S. Patricius filius Conches Sororis S. Martini Turonenſis.*

For which laſt Notes I muſt own my ſelf obliged to the Learned Doctor *Gale*; but on the other ſide, if the *Scots*, to whom *Palladius* is ſaid to have been ſent, were not the ſame with thoſe in *Ireland*, but the *Scots* than living in *Scotland*; it muſt then be confeſſed that the promiſcuous uſe of the Name of *Scotia*, ſometimes for *Ireland*, and ſometimes for *Scotland*, and of *Scoti*, ſometimes uſed by *Bede*, and other Writers of thoſe times for *Iriſh* Men, and ſometimes for Native *Scots*, have ſo confounded the Hiſtories of both theſe *Nations*, that no Man without other Circumſtances can tell when they mean the one, or the other.

But ſince the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Britain* in theſe Times is very obſcure, and deficient, there being ſo little to be found concerning it, either

either in *Bede*, or any other Writer, and the Age alſo being become very Corrupt and Ignorant, during the frequent Wars and Revolutions that happen'd in this part of the Iſland; It is not to be expected that we ſhould be able to ſet down the Names of any Biſhops, or others, Remarkable in this laſt Age for Piety or Learning: So having given as good an Account as I am able, and as the broken Hiſtory of thoſe Times will allow, of the Riſe and Fall of the *Roman* Empire in *Britain*, and the State of Affairs, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, during the ſpace of near 490 Years that the *Romans* had to do here; I ſhall in the next Book give you a Proſpect of the lamentable State of this part of *Britain*, after the departure of the *Romans*, and that the *Britains* had ſet up Princes of their own Nation. *Anno Dom.* CCCCXXX.

The End of the Second Book.

THE

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that happen'd in this part of the World; It is not to be
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Remarkable in this last Age for Piety or Learning:
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of near 490 Years that the Romans had to do here: I shall in the
Book give you a Prospect of the lamentable State of
Britain, after the departure of the Romans, and that the Britains had
let up Princes of their own Nation.

The End of the Second Book.

THE General Hiſtory OF BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND:

As well Eccleſiaſtical, as Civil.

BOOK III.

From its Deſertion by the Romans, *to the Preaching of* Chriſtianity *by* Auguſtine *the* Monk, *being One hundred Sixty two Years.*

BEING now come to the Third Period of this Firſt Volume, it is fit we ſay ſomewhat by way of Introduction before ſo great a Change as you will here find to have followed the Deſertion of *Britain* by the *Romans*: For with the *Roman* Empire fell alſo what before were chiefly *Roman*, Learning, Valour, Eloquence and Civility, and conſequently Hiſtory too, which is but the Product of theſe; all which at firſt encreaſing by means of the *Roman* Power and Encouragement, did alſo diminiſh and decline upon its Departure, till it was at laſt quite extinct by the coming in of the *Pagan Saxons*, and the long cruel Wars they made upon the *Britains*, as you may obſerve from the barbarous Latin of *Gildas* and *Nennius*, which are the only Authentick *Britiſh* Hiſtorians that are now extant.

As for the *Engliſh Saxons*, they were at firſt ſo illiterate, that it is much doubted, whether they had the uſe of Letters and Writing among them or not, ſince we have no Hiſtories or *Annals* of their Times elder than their receiving Chriſtianity; for thô there are ſome few Stones to be found in *England* inſcribed with the ancient *Runick* Characters, (as appears from the late *Engliſh* Edition of Mr. *Camden*'s *Britannia*,) yet that

they are wholly *Daniſh* Monuments, and made after the time of their Converſion, I need only refer you to the Inſcriptions themſelves as they are to be found in the ſaid * *Britannia*, with the Additions that follow it; ſo that it ought not to ſeem ſtrange, that the *Saxon* Annals are ſo ſhort and obſcure in many places, and that the Relations of Things done before the entrance of Chriſtianity among them are contradictory to each other in point of Time, and other Circumſtances; ſince they were only delivered by Memory and Tradition, which muſt be acknowledged for a very uncertain Guide in Matters of Fact, as well as of Doctrine.

Tit. Cumberland.

Nor is this Uncertainty to be found only in the *Saxon* Chronicles, but alſo in thoſe of the *Britains* of that Age, ſince from the Reign of King *Vortigern* to that of *Cadwallador* is indeed the darkeſt and moſt confuſed part of all the *Britiſh* or *Welſh* Hiſtory: Hence it is that we are forced in this Period, not only to make uſe of Authors who lived long after the Things they treat of were done, but alſo are otherwiſe of no great Credit; ſuch as *Nennius*, and *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*, whom we ſometimes make uſe of for want of thoſe of better Authority. As for the *Engliſh Saxon* Hiſtory, we have nothing more ancient than *Bede*, and the *Saxon* Chronicle, which we ſhall here give you almoſt entire, ſince it ſeems to be writ faithfully as far as it goes, yet being only *Annals*, (extracted out of *Bede* as far as he goes,) they barely relate the Succeſſion of their Kings with their chief Wars and Actions, without expreſſing the Grounds or Cauſes of either, or giving us any Account of their particular Laws, and original Conſtitutions; ſo that I confeſs, they cannot prove ſo Inſtructive to Humane Life, as is required of a juſt Hiſtory.

Anno Dom. CCCCXXXV

Britain being thus deſerted by the *Romans*, as you have ſeen in the laſt Book, with an intention to return no more; and having cauſed the *Britains* to rebuild the Wall in the manner already related, the *Scots* and *Picts*, thô in Manners differing from each other, yet ſtill unanimous to rob and ſpoil, hearing that the *Roman* Forces were withdrawn, landed in Shoals out of their Curroghs or Leathern Veſſels, in which they paſſed over that part of the *Iriſh* Sea, which lying next *Britain*, is called by *Gildas*, *The Scythic Vale*; theſe (upon the Aſſurance that the *Romans* would never return) becoming more bold than ever, took poſſeſſion of all the *Northern* Parts, even from the outmoſt Bounds of the Land as far as the Wall already mentioned; in the mean time, the Guards which were placed upon it to defend it being cowardly in Fight, and unable to fly, ſtood trembling on the Battlements, keeping their Stations day and night to little or no purpoſe, whilſt the Enemy from below with long Hooks pluck'd them down, and daſhed them againſt the Ground, thus preventing by a ſpeedy Death thoſe languiſhing Torments which attended their Countrymen and Relations. In ſhort, both the Wall and the Towns adjoyning to it being deſerted, the Inhabitants ſaved themſelves by flight, which yet could not long ſecure them, for the Enemy purſuing them, a freſh Slaughter quickly followed more bloody than the former; and, which was worſe than all the reſt, being tormented with Famine, to get Subſiſtence, they fell upon and robbed each other; for they who came from the North, (as may probably be ſuppoſed,) and had fled from the Enemy, being unable to pay for their Quarters when they came into the Southern Parts, ſeized what they could find; from whence roſe Diſcords and Quarrels among them, and thence Civil Wars; for this Nation,

Gildas, *and* Bede, *l.* 1. *c.* 12.

tion, (as *Gildas* observes,) tho feeble in repressing Foreign Enemies, yet in home-bred Quarrels was very bold and obstinate.

Anno Dom. CCCCXLVI.

But whilst they thus for some Years wore themselves out with continual Acts of mutual Hostility, the Famine grew General upon all, so that those half-starved Men that remained were forced to maintain their Lives with what they could get by Hunting; so that at last the miserable Remnants of this afflicted People having now no other Remedy left, were constrained to write doleful Letters to *Aetius, then the Emperour's Lieutenant in *Gaul*, directed, *To* Aetius, *thrice Consul, the Groans of the* Britains; wherein they thus complain: "The *Barbarians* drive "us to the Sea, whilst the Sea driveth us back to the *Barbarians*; "between these two sorts of Deaths, we must be either slain or drown'd. What Answer they received is uncertain, but *Gildas* expressly tells us, That they received no Assistance by those Letters, because *Aetius* then expected a War with *Attilla* King of the *Huns*.

Gild. Bede, *Ib.* c. 12, 13.

* *In some Manuscripts and Printed Copies it is written* Agitius, *but in the* Bodleian *Manuscript it is written right, as thus.*

And indeed about these Times a terrible Famine invaded not only *Britain*, but extended it self as far as *Constantinople*, where the Famine, together with the corrupt Air, produced a great Pestilence; whilst this Scarcity prevailed in this Isle, it forced many of the *Britains* to yield themselves up to their Enemies, that they might get wherewith to sustain Nature, tho others of them chose rather to sally out, and resist them, from the Woods and Mountains to which they retreated; yet now it was, (as *Gildas* tells us) that not putting their Trust in Man, but in *God* alone, they first of all made some slaughter of their Enemies which had preyed upon their Country for so many Years; but tho the Boldness of their Enemies was abated for a while, yet so was not the Wickedness of the *Britains*, "Who (as the same Author describes them) were very back-"ward to perform the Duties proper to Peace, *viz.* Justice and Truth, "but were prone to Lies, and all Wickedness; so that (says he) tho "these impudent Robbers (the *Irish*) went home, yet it was to return "again within a short time whilst the *Picts* remained, being both then, "and long afterwards, in the farther Parts of the Island, sometimes "taking Prey, and making Incursions; so that during the Truce, whilst "this Wound was slightly skin'd over, another Malady more Contagious was breeding.

Vid. Chron. Herman. Contracti.

Gild.

"For tho during this short interval of Peace there succeeded so great a *Ibid.*
"Plenty of all sorts of Provisions that no Man's Memory could paral-"lel, yet was it attended with great Luxury, and all sorts of Wicked-"ness began also to increase, but chiefly Cruelty, together with the "Hatred of the Truth, and the Love of Lies, the taking Evil for "Good, and the Love of Darkness rather than Light; so that what "was pleasing to God, or not pleasing with them, weighed both alike; "and the worst side of the Cause most commonly prevailed, whilst all "Things were done contrary to the Publick Good and Safety; nay, "not only by Secular Men, but even the Clergy (whose Example should "have guided others) were grown Vicious and Corrupt, many of them "being given to Drunkenness, or swoln with Pride, or else full of En-"vy and Contention; indiscreet and incompetent Judges of what in the "common Practice of Life was good or evil, lawful or unlawful.

This is the general Character that *Gildas* and *Bede* give us both of the *British* Clergy and Laity of these Times; from whence we may easily conclude, that People of this temper were not fit to be trusted with the

Anno Dom. CCCCXLVI. Government of themſelves: but being more fond of the Name of Liberty, than apprehenſive of the Charge of Governing well, they grew heady and violent in their Affairs, and poſitive in what they underſtood not, none being more ſtout and daring in Councels, none ſo fearful when it came to Action, all pretending to know what ought to be done, yet all drawing back in the Performance. Thus in a ſhort time, when the Heat of Liberty was once ſpent, and the Enemy daily encreaſed, they quickly found their old Temper returning upon them, a ſlaviſhneſs of Mind, and ſlothfulneſs of Body, then they might have perceived it was not meer Stomach, or a hot and ſudden Love of Liberty that could protect them; but that Diligence, Wiſdom, and a publick Spirit, were ſtill wanting; ſo that they ſhrunk by degrees into their former tameneſs of Mind, and grew as weary of their new-tried Liberty, as they had been of their old Subjection, which made them write thoſe Abject Letters to *Aetius*, but now mentioned.

What particular Kings or Governours the *Britains* ſet up after they were ſet free from the *Roman* Empire, is hard to determine, only *Gildas* tells us in general, "That Kings were by them anointed, but none of "*God*'s anointing, but ſuch as were moſt cruel, who were ſoon after as "inconſiderately laid aſide without any Examination of the Truth, "whilſt ſome were put to Death by their Anointers, to ſet up others "more Fierce and Tyrannical; but if any of them ſeemed Milder, and "more inclined to the Truth, againſt him as the Subverter of his Coun-"try, the general Hatred of all Men was preſently directed.

So that the Office of a King ſeems to have been a very dangerous Employment in thoſe wicked and turbulent Times, thô by what we can gueſs by *Gildas*'s Epiſtle ſetting forth the Faults of all Orders and Degrees of Men, there had been divers Kings ruling in *Britain* at once, not only in his own, but in former Times, but who they were, he does not particularly mention.

But to fill up this Interval, *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* furniſheth us with one *Conſtantine*, Brother of *Aldroenus* King of *Armorica*. This *Conſtantine* he makes to have been elected King, and crowned at *Cirencester*, and being killed by a *Pict*, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *Conſtans*, who from a Monk at *Wincheſter*, was made King; and that he being made away by the Procurement of *Vortigern*, he cauſed himſelf, being at that time Conſul or Count of the *Geviſes*, to be elected King in his room; but if you pleaſe to look back into the former Book, you will there find how *Conſtantine* the Uſurper, with his Son *Conſtans* the Monk, the one being made Emperour, and the other Cæſar, periſhed in *France*, may eaſily confute the falſhood of this Story.

But ſince neither *Gildas*, *Nennius*, nor any other *Britiſh* Hiſtorian, make mention of this *Conſtantine* or his Son, all that we can conclude to be true in this Relation, is, That the *Britains* about this time finding themſelves quite deſerted by the *Romans*, and being now without any Head, and hard preſſed by the *Scots* and *Picts*, choſe this *Vortigern*, being then a popular Man, (thô he proved neither Wiſe, Valiant, nor Virtuous,) for their King; in the beginning of whoſe Reign God was willing to purge his Family, (as *Gildas* words it;) the *Britains* not being amended with ſo many Corrections, were again frighted with a freſh Rumour, that the *Scots* and *Picts* were returning with greater Forces than ever, and that they threatned the Deſtruction of the whole Coun-

An. Dom. CCCCXLV. CCCCXLVII.

try,

try, and intended no less than to plant themselves from one end thereof to the other; but before their arrival, as if the Instruments of Divine Vengeance were at strife, which should first destroy a wicked Nation, *Anno Dom.* CCCCXLVII.

" The residue that the Sword and Famine had left alive, were now " swept away with a sore Pestilence, insomuch that the living scarce " sufficed to bury their Dead; but neither were the *Britains* at all amended for all this, for now it seems the time drew near, that the measure of their Iniquities were full.

But before we relate how this Vengeance was executed, we shall here set down from the aforesaid Authors, * *Constantius* and † *Bede*, *Germanus*'s Second Voyage to *Britain*; the substance of which is, That it being told *Germanus* that *Pelagianism* prevailed here again, thorough some promoters of it, the *British* Clergy (too weak it seems at dispute) renewed their addresses to him, that he would come over and defend God's Cause, which he had once before undertaken; which Petition he readily granted, taking along with him as an assistant not *Lupus*, but his Scholar *Severus*, who being ordained Bishop of *Triers*, then preached the Gospel to the *Germans*; as soon as it was divulg'd, that *Germanus* was come over, one *Elaphius* a Principal Magistrate of that Country, brought a Youth, (a Son of his) the Sinews of one of whose Legs had been long shrunk up, and desired *Germanus* that he would restore them, who granting his request immediately upon his stroaking the place with his hand his Leg was restored, as the other, whereupon both the Priests and the People who had followed *Elaphius* to the place, being astonished at the Miracle were again confirm'd in the Catholick Faith, which was followed by an admonition *Germanus* made them to amend their errours; but the Authors of this apostacy, being by the sentence of them all banished the Island, were delivered up to the Bishops to be carry'd into the *Continent*, that so the People might quietly enjoy the benefit of this Reformation, who for the future persisted in the true Faith. *Anno Dom.* CCCCXLVIII. * *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. † *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 21.

But after this the *Britains* being again pressed and over power'd, by fresh invasions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, King *Vortigern* called a Council to consider what was to be done, and where they might best seek assistance to repel these frequent and cruel Invasions of the said Nations; whereupon all his Councellours together with the King (being as it were blinded) found out such a defence as indeed proved the destruction of their Country, which was that the Heathen *Saxons*, who were then hateful both to God and Man, and whom when absent they fear'd almost as bad as Death it self, should be sent for to repel these *Northern* Nations, " which seems to have been ordained by Divine providence, to take " vengeance on so wicked a People, as the event more evidently prov'd. Though at present the Council seem'd very specious, because the *Saxons* were then a Nation who were very terrible to all others: this Council being thus approved of, Ambassadours are immediately sent into *Germany*, representing to the *Saxons* the *Britains* request, and promising them very advantagious Conditions, if they would come over to their assistance; *Witichindus* an ancient *German* Writer, in his History *De gestis Saxonum*, represents these Ambassadours making a long Speech, wherein they promised an absolute subjection to the *Saxons*; but this being not at all likely, nor agreeable to the *British* account of it, I omit; only this is certain, that the *Saxons* were very well pleased with this Proposal, and their Country being then overcharged with People, beyond what it was able to bear, immediate- *Anno Dom.* CCCCXLIX. *Gildas.* Bede, *l.* 1. *c.* 13.

ly

Anno Dom. CCCCXLIX. *Malmes. lib.* 1. ly yeilding to this requeſt, made what haſte they could to come away; and being as it is ſaid choſen out by *Lot*, were put on board Three long Ships or Veſſels, called in their Language *Chiules*, under the conduct of Two Captains, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, being Brothers, and deſcended from that ancient *Woden*, from whom almoſt all the Royal Families of the *Saxons* derive their deſcent. Theſe leaders together with their followers arriving in *Britain* at a place called afterwards *Ipwine's Fleet*, are welcomed with great joy and applauſe both of the Prince and People, the Iſle of *Gildas p.* 8. *Thanet*, (where they landed) being given them for their habitation; and *Bede lib.* 1. *cap.* 15. a League was made with them on theſe Conditions, that the *Saxons* fighting for, and defending the Country againſt Foreign Enemies, ſhould *Hen. Hunt. l.* 11. receive their Pay, and Maintenance from thoſe for whom they Fought; this is ſaid to have happen'd in the beginning of the Reign of the Emperour *Martian*, and in the Four and Twentieth Year of *Pharamond*, firſt King of the *French*: *Anno Dom.* 149, as the *Saxon* Chronicle, and almoſt all our Hiſtorians agree. What the number was of theſe *Saxon* Auxiliaries now brought over, is not related in the *Saxon* Annals, or any other; but certainly they could not be above 1500, ſince they all came over in Three Ships, and 500 Men was as much as one of thoſe ſmall Veſſels could well be ſuppoſed to carry.

But before I proceed further in this Hiſtory, 'tis fit we ſhould give ſome account of the Name, Original, and Manners of this Great and Warlike Nation of the *Saxons*, whoſe Poſterity enjoy this Kingdom to this very day.

Lib. 1. *cap* 26. *Bede* in the firſt place tells us, that theſe People came from Three Valiant Nations of *Germany*, *viz.* the *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Jutes*; from which latter were derived the *Kentiſh* Men, and the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Wight*, and of the Province lying over againſt the ſaid Iſle, (now called *Hampſhire*) and which was afterwards part of the Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons*, was alſo Peopled by the ſame Nation. From the *Saxons* (that is the Country which was then called old *Saxony*) came the *Eaſt Saxons*, *South Saxons*, and *Weſt Saxons*, and from the *Angles*, that is, that Country which is called *Anglus*, and which lyes between the Countries of the *Jutes* and *Saxons*, are derived the *Eaſt Angles*, the *Middleland Angles*, or *Mercians*, together with the whole Nation of the *Northumbrians*, that is, thoſe *Northern* People which live beyond the River *Humber*, ſo far *Bede*: But *Ethelwerd*, one of our moſt ancient Hiſtorians in his Chronicle, tells us more plainly, that Old *England* is ſeated between the *Saxons*, and the *Jutes*, having for its Capital City that which is called in the *Saxon* Tongue *Sleſwic*, but by the *Danes Heathaby*, and that *Britain* taking its Name from its Conquerors, is now called *England*.

But as for the Bounds and Extent of Old *Saxony*, there is a great difference between the Writers about it; yet that it bordered upon Old *Eng-*
Ant. Brit. Eccl. *cap.* 12. *p.* 197. *land* they all agree: " Arch-biſhop *Uſher* ſuppoſes Old *Saxony* to be that " Country, that beginning with the River *Eltis*, is extended towards " the *North*, and was afterwards called *Northalbingia*, being bounded in " its lower parts by the Rivers *Albis*, *Billa* and *Trava*, and in its upper " by the Rivers *Eidora*, and *Slia*; for *Ptolemy* appoints the ſame *Southern* " Bounds to his *Saxons*, placing them between the Bounds of the River " *Albis* and *Caluſus*, or *Trava* (which runneth by *Lubec*) but the *Northern* " bounds *Egenhardus* hath given us in his Annals, in the Year of our " Lord 808; where (ſpeaking of *Godefrid*, King of *Denmark*) he ſets

" it

" it out thus: He reſolved to fortifie the Limits of his Kingdom which *Anno Dom.*
" looked towards *Saxony* with a deep Trench, in ſuch a manner, as that CCCCXLIX.
" from that Eaſtern Bay of the Sea which they call *Oſterſalt*, as far as
" the Weſtern Ocean, this Trench ſhould defend all the Northern Banks
" of the River *Eidor*. And *Adam* of *Bremen*, in his Treatiſe concerning
" the Situation of *Denmark*, and other Northern Nations, divides *Den-*
" *mark* from the Inhabitants of *Saxony* (whom he calls *North Elbings*)
" by the River *Eidor*; of which *Tranſelbian Saxons*, in another Book, he
" reckons up three Nations: The firſt, of *Dithmars*, lying upon the Ocean,
" whoſe chief Church was *Mildenthrope*; the ſecond, *Holſteiners*, through
" which runs the River *Sture*, whoſe chief Church was *Scolenfield*; the
" third, who were more noble, are called *Stormars*, whoſe Metropolis
" is *Hamburgh*; ſo that this Country was the fartheſt part of *Old Saxony*.
Herewith agreeth the Anonymus Geographer of *Ravenna*, writing thus of the *Saxons*; *The* Saxons *came into* Britain *under their Prince, by Name* Anſehis, *i. e.* Hengiſt. And then in another place, having ſpoke of the *Friſians*: *After them* (ſaith he) *are the* Saxons, *and on the back of them certain Iſlands; then followeth the Country of the* Nortmanni, *which is alſo called* Dania. Thoſe Iſlands *Ptolemy* calls *Inſulæ Saxonum*. And therefore it was not *Weſtphalia*, as *Theodorit Engelhus*, *Wernerius*, *Lairius*, *Albert Kanez*, and others of the Moderns have ſuppoſed; yet the *Archbiſhop* does not deny, but that in following Times that Country (as well as *Frizeland*) might be alſo poſſeſt by the Poſterity of the ancient *Saxons*, but was then rather that which is now the Dutchy of *Holſtein*, comprehending *Dithmars*, *Stormar*, and *Wagria*, in breadth from *Sleſwick* to the City of *Hamburgh*, ſeated in the further part of *Old Saxony*; and in length is extended from the Weſt to the Eaſtern Sea, or from the *German* Ocean to the *Baltick* Gulph, having *Old France* next adjoyning to it, then lying between the Mouths of the *Elb* and *Rhine*; for as *Ammianus Marcellinus* teacheth us, the *Franks* then reached as far as the River *Rhine*, yet ſo, that they had the *Saxons* next Neighbours to them; and *Julian*, in his Oration in Praiſe of the Emperour *Conſtantius*, calls both theſe Nations the moſt Warlike of all thoſe that inhabit beyond the *Rhine* and Weſtern Ocean.

Here give me leave to add what the Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, now Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*, in his *Antiquity* of the *Britiſh* Churches, has given us on this Subject, *Chap.* 5. where he tells us, that Mr. *Camden* is of another Opinion, who, in the Introduction to his *Britannia*, ſaith, That the *Saxons* originally came from the *Cimbrick Cherſoneſe* in the time of *Dioclefian*; and after paſſing the *Elb*, they partly went into thoſe Parts of the *Suevi*, which is ſince called *Saxony*, and partly into *Friſia* and *Batavia*; from whence he ſaith, All the Inhabitants of the *German* Shore, who uſed Piracy at Sea, were called *Saxons*; by whom he underſtands, the People from *Jutland* to *Holland*, for which he produces the Teſtimony of *Fabius Ethelwerd*'s Chronicle, one of the *Saxon* Blood-Royal, who ſaith, " That the *Saxons* lived upon the Sea-Coaſt, from the " *Rhine*, as far as *Denmark*. But *Ammianus Marcellinus* makes them in his time to border upon the Parts of *Gaul*, which is much behither the Bounds of *Jutland*, *Holſtein*, or *Sleſwick*. And the ſame Author farther ſays, That the *Chamavi* (whom he makes a part of the *Saxons*) had the Command of the *Rhine*, that *Jutland* made Peace with them, becauſe without their leave Corn could not be brought out of *Britain*; as alſo

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Anno Dom. CCCCXLIX.

* *Excerpt. Legat. p.* 15.

**Eunapius Sardianus* ſaith, That the *Saxons* in *Julian*'s time had the Command of the *Rhine*. Nor was this only a ſudden Incurſion, ſince in *Valentinian*'s time (when *Ammianus* wrote) they ſtill bordered upon *Gaul*.

Rer. Friſic. l. 1.

Ubbo Emmius a Learned and *German* Hiſtorian, gives this Account of the *Saxons* and their Neighbouring Nations, who inhabited on the North Parts of *Germany*. That the *Friſii* dwelt from the middle Stream of the *Rhine*, about *Utrecht*, to the River *Amaſus*, (or *Eemas*;) from thence to the *Elb* lived the *Chauci*, divided into the Greater and Leſſer by the *Weſer*; a great part of theſe leaving their Native Soil, joyned with the *Sicambri* on the *Rhine*, who from their affecting Liberty were called *Franks*: beyond the *Elb* were the *Saxons*, and the *Cimbri*; the *Saxons* being preſſed by the more Northern People, or for their own Conveniency, came Southwards, and took poſſeſſion firſt of thoſe Places where the *Chauci* dwelt; and by degrees prevailing over all the other People, who joyned with, or ſubmitted to the *Saxons*, they were called by their Name, and among the reſt the *Friſii*, from whoſe Coaſts he ſuppoſes, the two Brothers, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, to have gone into *Britain*; and returning thither, carried over a far greater Number with them, not ſo much to fight, as to inhabit there; therefore he thinks it moſt probable, that *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, by their deſcent, were originally *Saxons*; but that the greateſt part of the People, who went over with them, were rather *Friſians*, than *Saxons*; which he proves, not only from the greater facility of Paſſage from the Coaſt of *Friſeland*, and the Teſtimony of their own Annals, but from the greater Agreement of the *Engliſh* Language with theirs than

Lib. 5. *cap.* 10.

with the *Saxon*, or any other *German* Dialect; and alſo, becauſe *Bede* reckons the *Friſians* among thoſe from whom the *Engliſh Saxons* are derived; and *Wilfrid*, *Wickbert*, and *Willibrod*, all preached to the *Friſians* in their own Tongue, as *Marcellinus*, in his Life of *Suidebert*, relates. But this Author ſaith further, That the Affinity of their Language continues ſtill ſo great, that from thence he concludes many more to have gone out of *Friſeland* into *Britain*, than either of the *Saxons*, *Jutes*, or *Angles*.

Ibid.

But to all this, our Learned *Primate* anſwers, That *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* might be truly called *Friſians*, there being a *Friſia* in the Southern Parts of *Jutland*, which *Saxo Grammaticus* calls the *Leſſer Friſia*, and is parted by the *Eidore* from the Country of the *Angli* on the Eaſt, and the *Saxons* on the South; yet even *Ubbo Emmius* quits the Point upon *Bede*'s Genealogy, and grants they were really *Saxons*, as being derived from *Woden*, from whom the Race of *Kings* of many of thoſe Northern Parts are deſcended. But yet for all this it may probably be, that thô theſe Princes were not Native *Friſians* themſelves, yet ſome of thoſe Nations that followed them, and were in a large acceptation called *Saxons*, might come from *Friſeland*, and the reſt of the Sea-Coaſt as far as *Old Saxony*, properly ſo called. I omit what other *German* Authors have ſaid upon this Subject, becauſe I would not be tedious; but whoever deſires farther Satisfaction herein, may conſult the Reverend Doctor abovementioned, to whom I muſt own my ſelf beholding for what I have now ſaid concerning the Countries from whence the *Engliſh Saxons* originally came.

But

But as for the Original of these *Saxons* that now came into *Britain*, there is a much greater Dispute. *Cluverius* in his ancient *Germany*, as also our Country-man *Verstegan*, in his Treatise, called, *A Restitution of decayed Intelligence*, Chap 2. would needs have them to be derived from the *Germans*, which is denied by the Learned *Grotius* in his *Prolegomena* to the *Gothic* History, as also by Mr. *Sherringham*, in his Treatise *De Anglorum Gentis Origine*, where he undertakes to prove, that they were a Branch of the ancient *Getæ*, who were the Posterity of *Japhet*; and coming out of *Scythia* into *Europe*, first fixed themselves under the Conduct of one *Eric* their King in the ancient *Scandinavia* or *Gothland*, which is now called *Sweden* and *Norway*; and from thence some Ages, after under the Conduct of *Berig*, another of their Kings, sent out Colonies into all the *Isles* of the *Baltic Sea*, and the Northern Coasts of *Germany*, as far as the *Cimbric Chers[illegible]nd*; so that the *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Saxons*, had one and the same *Scythic* Original, as the Learned *Grotius* in his said *Prolegomena* hath fully proved; as also Mr. *Sherringham*, in *Chap.* 7. of his last-cited Treatise, as well from the ancient *Gothic* Chronicles written in that Language, both in Prose and Verse; as also from *Jornandes de Rebus Geticis*, Chap. 4. that these *Getæ* or *Goths* multiplying more than these Countries could well bear, in the time of *Filemar* the 5th King after *Berig*, great multitudes of them under his Conduct removed their Dwellings into the *Asiatic Scythia*, called *Oudin* in their Language; from whence in process of Time they spread themselves as far as the *Palus Mæotis*, and the Northern Countries near the *Euxine* Sea, even to *Thracia* and *Mæsia* towards the South, where they still retained the Name of *Getæ* or *Gotti*, thô they were also from the Countries where they lived often called *Thracians* or *Mæsians*; being divided into several Tribes, *viz. Visigoths* or *Western Goths*, and *Ostrogoths* or *Eastern Goths*, the former of which invaded *Spain*, and the latter *Italy*. *Anno Dom* CCCCXLIX.

But some Ages before this, (as the *Norwegians* and *Swedish* Annals, cited by Mr. *Sherringham* relate,) one *Woden*, King of a Territory and City in *Asia*, called *Asgard*, near the River *Tanais*, led back a great multitude of these *Goths* out of the *Asiatic Scythia* into *Europe*, and partly by good will, and partly by force, seized on all those Countries afterwards called *Saxony*; but that afterward leaving his Sons Princes of those Regions, he returned into *Swedeland*, where after many Travels he ended his Days, being counted a great Magician as well as Warriour, so that after his decease his Subjects and Descendants worship'd him as a God. But divers *Danish* and *Swedish* Authors do very much doubt, whether this *Woden*, whom they thus worship'd, were the same with him from whom the *Saxon* Princes drew their Pedigrees; since thereby it appears, that *Hengist* and *Horsa* were the Sons of *Witgilsus*, who was the Son of *Witta*, and he the Son of *Vecta*, and he the Son of *Woden*. So that these Princes were no more than three Descents removed from him, which could not amount to above 200 Years, and consequently was too short a time for their multiplying into such great Multitudes, much less for their worshiping him for a God; yet this is very probable, that most of the *Goths* that came along with this *Woden* changed their Names to that of the *Saxons*, and Peopled all those Countries already mentioned; and thô there may be a great deal of Fabulous Stuff in this Story, as it is related in the Old *Swedish* and *Islandish* Histories called *Eddas*; yet thus much is certain, that there was such a Prince who brought back the *Goths* out of *Asia* *Chap.* 11.

Anno Dom. CCCCXLIX. into thoſe parts, ſince the *Swedes*, *Danes*, *Norwegians* and *Saxons* worſhip'd him as their common Deity, and all agree in the ſame Tradition concerning him.

Ibid. Yet ſince *Cluverius*, and *Verſtegan* have both affirmed the *Saxons* not to be derived from the *Goths*, but *Germans*; and that the former has endeavoured to prove that the ancient *Getæ* or *Gothes* were not the ſame Nation, I ſhall here give you the ſum of thoſe Arguments, which *Grotius* and Mr. *Sheringham* have given us to prove, the ancient *Getæ*, and *Gothi* to have been all one Nation, and that the *Saxons* were deriv'd from them: For the firſt, they alledge the Teſtimony of the moſt ancient *Latin* and *Greek* Authours that make any mention of the *Goths*, as *Voſpicus* in his Life of the Emperour *Probus*, to whom may be alſo added divers Chriſtian Writers, as *Origen*, St. *Hierom*, and St. *Auguſtine*; and of the *Greeks*, *Procopius*, *Photius the Patriarch*, [redacted] *Georgius*, *Syncellus*, not to mention the *Gothic* Writers themſelves, as *Jornandes* and *Iſidore* in his *Gothic* Chronicle; who all agree that the *Goths* were anciently called *Getæ*, and that they were one and the ſame Nation; Secondly, from the places where theſe ancient *Getæ* or *Scythians* firſt inhabited, that they were the ſame from whence the *Goths* afterwards came, who over-ran the *Roman* Empire, (*viz.*) from the Countries about the *Palus Mæotis*, which are now poſſeſſed by the *Chrim Tartars*; Laſtly from their great agreement in Language; and *Grotius* in his ſaid *Prolegomena* brings divers Inſtances (too long here to be recited) to prove that the ancient *Scythic* or *Gethic* Tongue was the Mother of the *German*, which ſeems to be further made out by Mr. *Sherringham*, from the Etymology of divers *Epiſt.* 4. *Scythian* Words which are found to be the ſame with the *Gothic* and *Saxon*: Laſtly *Buſbequius* in his *Turkiſh* Epiſtles, mentions ſome remainders of the ancient *Goths* who dwell among the *Tartars* in the *Cimbric Cherſoneſe*, ſome of whom he met and diſcours'd with at *Conſtantinople*, and gives you not only their names of numbers, but alſo above Forty Words which are very near the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, ſignifying the ſame things, and which argue a derivation from the ſame *Gothic* Original; and thô this Authour there doubts, whether theſe *Goths* were not ſome remainders of the *Saxons*, brought thither by *Charles* the Great; yet *Grotius* in his ſaid *Prolegomena* fully removes that difficulty, and ſhews from the Teſtimony of *Joſophat Barbarus* a Noble *Venetian*, who had lived among them, that theſe People called themſelves not *Saxons* but *Goths*, and their Country *Gothland*; which is alſo confirmed by the learned *Scaliger* in his * *Canoni Iſagog*; where he relates that they ſtill lived under the *Precopian Tartars*, and have the Bible in the ſame Characters, which were invented by *Ulphilas* their Biſhop.

* *Lib.* 3.

But the learned Dr. *Hicks* hath given us much greater light into this matter, in his *Engliſh Saxon*, and *Mæſogothick Grammar*; as alſo by reprinting the *Iſleland Grammar* of *Rannulph Jones*, in both which, by comparing the radical Words of the *Engliſh Saxon* Tongue, as alſo the Declenſions of the Verbs, and Pronouns, any Man that will but take the pains to peruſe it, muſt needs think that not only the Old *Mæſogothic*, and *Scandian Gothic*, were one and the ſame Language, the latter being derived from the former, but that our *Engliſh Saxon* comes from one, and the ſame Original.

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But if the *Getæ* and *Gothi* were one and the same Nation, and if all the *Daniſh*, *Sweditſh*, and *Saxon* Writers have it that *Woden* was a *Goth*, it will alſo follow that all thoſe who came into *Germany* along with him, were alſo *Goths*, and from whom that part of it was called at firſt *Reid Gothland*, now *Jutland*; in which, as *Grotius* tells us, there is a River called *Guden Aa*. i. e. the *Goths* River, which Country being deſerted, by its ancient Inhabitants, the *Jutes* and *Angles*, was not long after ſeized by the *Danes*, who poſſeſs it to this day, and who, as we find by their Hiſtories, had maintained Wars upon that account with the *Saxons* for many Ages before: I ſhall not here trouble the Reader with the particular Arguments and Objections that *Verſtegan* and *Cluverius* have brought to prove, that *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Saxony*, were Peopled from *Germany*, and not *vice verſa*; ſince it is not the part of an Hiſtorian to dwell too long on Arguments *pro* and *Con*; ſo having given you, I hope, ſu[illegible]ties for this Opinion, I refer you for the more particular Anſwers to their Objections, to *Grotius*'s forecited *Prolegomena*, and to Mr. *Sherringham*'s ſaid Treatiſe, *Anno Dom.* CCCCXLIX.

But, farther the very Name of *Jutes*, the ancient Inhabitants of *Juteland*, may be uſed as another Argument, to prove their deſcent from the *Getæ* or *Goths*; ſince they are called by no Names other in our ancient *Saxon* Hiſtorians, then *Giotas* or *Jutes*, and in King *Alfred*'s *Saxon* Tranſlation of *Bede*'s Hiſtory, they are called *Geatuin*, i. e. *Getes*.

As for the *Angles* (who afterward gave their name to all the reſt of the *Saxon* Nations of this Iſland) they are ſuppoſed to be derived from the ancient *Cimbri*, and to have paſſed by that Name in *Julius Cæſar*'s Time, or elſe they might then make a part of the *Swevi*, whom he in his Commentaries calls the moſt warlike of all the *Germans*, and whom *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy* ſubdivided into divers Nations, the latter making them three diſtinct People, (*viz.*) the *Swevi Langobardi*, the *Swevi Semnones*, and *Swevi Angili*; whom *Tacitus* and other *Latin* Authours call'd *Angli*, and who, * *Saffridus*, in his Treatiſe *De Origine Friſiorum*, tells us, had as many denominations with the Name of *Angli* added to them, as there were Countries into which they were diſperſed, and there reckons up a great many; and though this Nation was not at firſt the ſame with that of the *Saxons*, nor dwelt in the ſame *Inland* Country, in which they are placed by *Ptolemy*, yet they might, according to the ancient cuſtom of the *Germans*, change their ſeats after *Ptolemies* Time (as *Strabo* obſerves they often did) and ſo removing their dwellings from the Banks of the *Elbe* into *Holſtein*, they might be there conquered by the *Saxons*, and after make up one Nation or Common-wealth with them, though ſtill retaining their ancient Name, as the ancient *Britains*, or *Welſh*, do among us at this day; ſo that I confeſs it remains a great doubt, why they were at firſt called *Angles*; for thô moſt Writers think it ſufficient to derive their Name from the *Latin* Word *Angulus* a corner, becauſe forſooth they lived in a corner of *Germany*, yet this ſeems very forced, ſince *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy* mention them by that Name, as then well known and given them a long time before they came to be ſo called by the *Romans*; ſo that I ſtill believe that this Name may be derived from ſome *Gothic* Original; though what it was, is now hard to determine.

Bell. Gal. l. 4. Vide *Sherringham de orig. Gent. Angl. c. 2.*

* *Lib. 2. c. 10.*

As for the name of *Saxons* in general, there is a great diſpute about it amongſt learned Men; *Goropius Becanus*, and Mr. *Camden* from him, ſuppoſe them to have been firſt called *Sacaſons*, i. e. the Sons or Poſterity

Anno Dom. CCCCXLIX. of the *Sacæ*, from whom he imagins them to be derived; but this Etymology is proved by Mr. *Sherringham*, in his ſaid Diſcertation, not only to be forced, but alſo falſe in matter of Fact; for firſt the name of theſe People was never written, or pronounced *Sacaſons* in the *Plural*, but *Sacen* or *Saxons*, nor can we find in *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, or any other ancient Authour, that ever the *Sacæ* ſent any *Colonies* out of *Aſia*, where they were planted near the *Caſpian* Sea, not far from *Bactria*; but *Strabo* tells us to the contrary, that this whole Nation being ſet upon by the *Perſians* at unawares, were totally deſtroyed.

Iſidore hath found out another derivation of this Name, from the Latin Word *Saxum* a Stone, or Rock, becauſe they were a ſtrong and hardy Race of Men, excelling all others in piracy; which were not improper, if this Name could be proved to have been firſt given them by the *Romans*; whereas this Nation was ſo called by their Neighbours (thô not by themſelves) many Ages before the *Romans* had any knowledge of them; ſo that the moſt likely *Etymology* of this Name, ſeems to be that which *Verſtegan* hath given us in his ſaid Treatiſe, from the Opinion of the learned *Lipſius*, that it was firſt given them by their Neighbours, from their wearing a ſort of long Daggers, or ſhort crooked Swords, like Cymeters, called in their Tongue *Saexen*, and whence from their particular uſe of it, they were called *Saxons*, and in the *Dutch*, *Welſh* and *Iriſh* Tongues, the *Engliſh* are called *Sacen* to this day; and from whence probably the Arms of *Saxony* are two ſuch crooked Daggers, placed Saltire-wiſe, as *Pontanus* hath very well obſerved.

But whenceſoever this name is derived, it is certain they are firſt mentioned by *Ptolemy*, by the Name of *Saxons*, and he places them at the back of the *Cimbrians*; thô they were not commonly known to the *Romans* by this Name, till the Fourth Century after Chriſt, when they grew terrible by reaſon of their many Piracies; *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Claudian* the Poet, (whoſe Verſes concerning them, I have given you in the former Book,) being the firſt *Roman* Authours, who make mention of them; and the latter ſays, that the *Saxons* are formidable above all other Enemies. After him, *Oroſius* ſays, The *Saxons* were terrible, by reaſon of their Valour; but in the Time of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, I. they were grown ſo formidable, that there were Ships and Watch-houſes appointed on purpoſe in the Coaſt of *Britain* to hinder their depredations, and the Commander over them was called *Comes littoris Saxonici*, in which times they became more known to the *Romans*.

Vide *Not. Jon. Imperii.*

As for the ancient *Saxons* Religion, it is likewiſe another great argument of their *Gothic* Original, ſince the *Danes*, *Swedes* and *Norweigans* (who all derive themſelves from the *Goths*) worſhip'd the ſame *Gods* in Common with the *Saxons*, (*viz.*) *Thor* the *God* of Thunder, who anſwer'd the *Roman Jupiter*, (though he was not the ſame.) *Woden*, who was their God of War, together with his Wife *Friga* or *Frea*, who was their *Goddeſs* of Love and Pleaſure: So that whoever will but conſider their Names of the Days of the Week, from which ours are derived at this Day, will eaſily perceive the chief Gods they worſhip'd, and from whom thoſe Names are deriv'd, to have been all the ſame; only I deſire the Reader to take notice, That whereas *Verſtegan*, to prove the *Saxons* to come from the *Germans*, would make our *Tueſday* to be derived from *Twiſto* the God of the *Germans*; Mr. *Sherringham* proves that Opinion not to be at all likely; ſince the *Germans* (whoſe peculiar *God* this *Twiſto* is ſuppoſed

Vide *Sherringham de Anglor. Gent. Orig.*

ſuppoſed to be) do not call it *Tweſday*, but *Dinſday*, or *Zinſtag*, and the *Swedes* and *Danes*, *Triſdag* and *Driſdag*, and therefore *Angrimus Jonas* in his Hiſtory of *Iſeland*, rather derives it from *Tyr* the Son of *Woden*, from whom the *Iſlanders* call it to this day *Tyſdag*, or *Tyrſdag* in their Language; but *Ol. Wormius* in his learned Work, *De monumentis Danicis*, would rather derive this Name from a *Gothic* Goddeſs, called *Dyſa* or *Thiſa*, the Wife of *Thor*, and whom the ancient *Swedes* and *Danes* made their *Goddeſs* of Juſtice, who had her Temple at *Upſal*; as for the Name of the laſt day of the Week, though *Verſtegan* would derive it from a *God* called *Seater* (whom the *Danes* call *Crodo*) yet whither he was the ſame with the Roman *Saturn*, may be very much doubted; ſince the *Danes*, *Swedes*, and *Saxons* Worſhip'd theſe falſe *Gods*, before they ever had any thing to do with the *Romans*. *Anno Dom.* CCCCXLIX.

Beſides theſe Seaven greater Deities, from whom the days of the Week take their Names, the ancient *Saxons* and *Angles* had many other leſs *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*, ſuch as * *Hertha*, who was the ſame with the *Goddeſs Tellus*; among the *Romans Rheda*, from whom they call the Month of *March Rhed Monach*; *Eaſter*, from whoſe Feaſt falling out in *April*, our *Eaſter* is derived; as alſo *Mara*, which was a Spectre, ſuppoſed to have haunted People in the Night, and from whence comes our Word *Mare*, or Diſeaſe ſo called; as for what Worſhip and Sacrifices they paid theſe falſe *Gods*, they are very uncertain, only we find that the *Swedes*, and *Danes* (and it is likely the *Saxons* too) ſacrificed Men to *Thor* before any great enterprize; but whoever deſires to know more on this Subject, may conſult *Verſtegan*, *Wormius*, and other *German* and *Daniſh* Writers. Vide *Tacit. de moribus Germ.*

But it is now time to return to our *Engliſh Saxon* Hiſtory, from which I doubt we have made too long a digreſſion; the *Saxons* being thus arrived in *Britain*, as you now have heard, ſtreight joyned their Forces with the *Britains*, and marching together againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, who were then entred into the Country, as far as the hither part of that Province we now call *Lincoln-ſhire*, and near *Stanford* they joyned Battle with them, where the former fighting with Darts and Launces, but the *Saxons* with Battle-Axes and long Swords, they had very much the advantage; ſo that the *Picts* could not bear their Force, but provided for their ſafety by Flight, the *Saxons* obtaining a clear Victory with the ſpoil of the Field. *Anno Dom.* CCCCL. *Gild. Bed.* *H. Hunt.*

Hengiſt perceiving the Iſland to be Rich and Fruitful, but her Princes and Inhabitants given to Vicious Eaſe and Luxury; ſends home word of it, inviting his Country-men to ſhare in this good ſucceſs, who coming over with Seventeen freſh Ships full of Stout men, were now grown up to a ſufficient Army, being entertained without ſuſpicion, on thoſe terms already mentioned; with which laſt ſupplies (as *Nennius* relates) came over *Rowena*, the fair Daughter of *Hengiſt*; upon whoſe arrival *Hengiſt* made a great Feaſt for King *Vortigern*, and his Courtiers; where was alſo his Interpreter; (no *Britain* but he underſtanding the *Saxon* Tongue) *Hengiſt* then commanded his Daughter to wait on them, and to ſerve the King with Wine, with which growing Merry, he fell violently in Love with her, and demanding her of her Father, told him he ſhould have what ever he pleaſed, even to the half of his Kingdom, on condition he might obtain her; whereupon *Hengiſt* taking Council with thoſe Chief, or Ancient Men, who had come over along with him, what *Anno Dom.* CCCCLI. *Nennius c.* 3. *Bede lib.* 1.

Anno Dom. CCCCLI what he ſhould ask of the King for his Daughter; they all agreed that he ſhould demand the Country of *Kent*, which was preſently granted him, one *Guorangonus* then Ruling there, being ignorant that his Goverment was given away to the *Saxons*: So the Damoſel being by her Father given to the King, he Married her, and grew ſo extreamly fond of her, that he Divorced his former Wife, by whom he had ſeveral Sons of great hopes.

Anno Dom. CCCCLII. But *Hengiſt*, not ſatisfied with this, told the King farther, That being now his Father-in law, he muſt take upon him to adviſe him; and therefore, if he would not ſlight his Counſel, he need not fear being overcome by any other Nation, as long as that of the *Saxons* was ſo potent; That therefore he would ſend over for his own * Son and his Nephew, who being War-like young Men, would fight ſtoutly againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, if the King would beſtow upon them thoſe Countries in the North lying near the *Picts* Wall. So the King gave him leave to ſend for *Octa* and *Ebuſa* with 40 Veſſels, who ſailing round about the *Picts* Country, coaſted the Iſles of *Orcades*, and came and poſſeſſed many places on the other ſide of the *Frith* or Streight, even to the Borders of the *Picts*; *Hengiſt* ſtill ſending by degrees for more Men and Ships, till at laſt the Countries from whence they came were left almoſt without any Inhabitants: And now they being ſufficiently increaſed in Number and Strength, they wholly planted the Country of *Kent* with *Jutes*. But by the flocking in of ſuch numerous Troops into this Iſle, of all the above-mentioned Nations, they began ſo exceedingly to increaſe, that they ſoon became a Terror to thoſe who had invited them over, and now began to pick Quarrels with their Entertainers, and firſt they demanded larger Allowances of Corn, and other Proviſions, openly declaring, unleſs this were allowed them, they would break the League, and waſte all parts of the Country.

Nenn. ibid.

* Will. of Malmsbury calls this Octa the Brother of Hengiſt; from whom he ſuppoſes the Northumbrian Kings to have been deſcended.

Bede.

Gildas, *Sect.* 23 24. Nennius c. 36. Bede *lib.* 1.

Anno Dom. CCCCLIV. The *Britains* refuſing to give them what they demanded, deſired them to return home, ſince their Numbers were increaſed beyond what they were able to maintain: Whereupon the *Saxon* Commanders reſolved to break the League, and having made Peace ſecretly with the *Picts*, they immediately turn'd their Arms againſt their Confederates, waſting the Country with Fire and Sword from the *Eaſtern* to the *Weſtern* Sea, none being able to hinder them, ſo that they over-ran almoſt the whole Iſland; the Buildings, as well publick as private, were ruined; the Prieſts were commonly ſlain at the very Altars, and the Biſhops were deſtroy'd without any Reſpect, together with the People; nor were ſcarce any left to bury the dead: Whilſt ſome of the miſerable Remains of the *Britains*, being taken among the Mountains, were ſlain in Heaps, others pined away by Famine, yielded themſelves to their Enemies, and to get Food were forced to undergo perpetual Servitude, if they could ſo preſerve their Lives; others being forced to ſeek for Refuge among Foreign Nations; but thoſe that remained at home, living in perpetual Fear, led a hard and miſerable Life among the Woods and Mountains. *Will.* of *Malmesbury* ſuppoſes the League between the *Britains* and *Saxons* to have laſted Seven years; and the firſt Battel between them is placed in the 6th year after; but it is moſt likely that they fell out ſome time before that.

This Flight of theſe *Britains* not only our own, but Foreign Writers relate; for ſome fled to *Armorica*, and peopled it (as ſome ſuppoſe,) with *Britains*, from whom it was called the *Leſſer Britain*; though others think it was called

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ſo long before, either by the Gift of the laſt *Conſtantine* the Great, or elſe of *Maximus*, to thoſe *Britiſh* Forces who had ſerved them in their Foreign Wars: To whom came thoſe alſo that did not miſcarry with the latter *Conſtantine* at *Arles*, and now laſt of all by theſe Exiles, driven out by the *Saxons*, who fled thither for Refuge. *Anno Dom.* CCCCLIV.

But that the *Britains* of *Armorica* were ſetled there long before the *Britains* here were driven out by the *Saxons*, is proved by the above-cited Doctor *Stillingfleet* in his *Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches*, which he proves by theſe Authorities; Firſt, from *Sidonius Appollinaris*, in whom there are two Paſſages, which tend to the clearing this matter: The firſt is concerning *Arvandus*, accuſed at *Rome* of Treaſon, in the time of *Anthemius*, for perſuading the King of the *Goths* to make War upon the *Greek* Emperour, (i. e. *Anthemius*,) who then came out of *Greece*: And upon the *Britains* on the *Loir*, as *Sidonius Appolinaris* expreſly affirms, who lived at that time, and pitied his Caſe. This hapned about *Anno Dom.* 467, before *Anthemius* was the ſecond time Conſul; from whence it appears, not only that there were *Britains* then ſetled on the *Loir*, but that their Strength and Forces were conſiderable, which cannot be ſuppoſed to conſiſt of ſuch miſerable People as only fled from hence for fear of the *Saxons*; (and not being able to keep their own Country, it is not likely they could that of others:) And it is farther obſervable, that about this time *Aurelius Ambroſius* had ſucceſs againſt the *Saxons*, and either by *Vortimer*'s Means, or his, the *Britains* were in great likelihood of driving them quite out of *Britain*; ſo that there is no probability, that the Warlike *Britains* ſhould at that time leave their native Country. A ſecond Paſſage is concerning *Riothamus*, a King of theſe *Armorian Britains*, in the time of *Sidonius Appollinaris*, (and to whom he wrote,) who went with 12000 *Britains* to aſſiſt the *Romans* againſt *Euricus* King of the *Goths*, but were intercepted by him, as *Jornandes* relates the Story; and *Sigibert* places it *Anno Dom.* 470: Now, What clearer Evidence can be deſired than this, to prove, that a conſiderable number of *Britains* were there ſetled, and in a condition not only to defend themſelves, but to aſſiſt the *Romans*? which cannot be imagined of ſuch as meerly fled thither for Refuge after the *Saxons* coming into *Britain*. Beſides, we find in *Sirmondus*'s *Gallican* Councils, *Manſuetus*, a Biſhop of the *Britains*, ſubſcribing to the firſt Council at *Tours*, which was held *Anno Dom.* 461, by which we ſee the *Britains* had ſo full a Settlement then, as not only to have Inhabitants, but a King and Biſhops of their own; which was the great Encouragement for other *Britains* to go over, when they found themſelves ſo hard preſs'd by the *Saxons* at home: For a People frighted from hence would hardly have ventured into a Foreign Country, unleſs they had been ſecure before hand of a kind Reception there; And if they muſt have fought for a Dwelling, had they not far better have done it in their own Country? From whence I conclude, that there was a large Colony of *Britains* in *Armorica*, before thoſe Numbers went over upon the *Saxon* Cruelties, of which *Eginhardus*, and other Foreign Hiſtorians ſpeak: Though how it ſhould come to be ſetled there, unleſs ſome Colonies were carried over before by *Maximus*, or *Conſtantine*, the laſt Uſurper of the Empire, I know not, but as for this, it being very obſcure, I determine nothing. *chap.* 5. *p.* 352. *N.n c.* 38.

K. *Vortigern*, nothing bettered by theſe Calamities, is ſaid to have added this to his other Crimes, that he took his own Daughter to Wife, who brought forth a Son, who (according to *Nennius*) was called *Fauſtus*, and

Anno Dom. CCCCLIV. and proved a Religious Man, living in great Devotion by the River *Rennis* in *Glamorganshire*; but for the rest of his Stories concerning the Dialogue between *Vortigern* and St. *German*, and that the King was condemn'd for this Incest, in a great Synod or Council of Clergy-men and Laicks, in which St. *German* presided, is certainly false; he being then dead, (as appears from the best approved Authours,) the year before the *Saxons* arrived in *Britain*. And indeed this whole Story of *Vortigern*'s committing Incest with his own Daughter seems altogether unlikely; for when should he do it? Not before he married *Rowena*, for *Nennius* places it afterwards; nor could it well be during the time of his Marriage with her, since, as the same Authour relates, she continued his Wife long after, when he was taken Prisoner by *Hengist*; and it is very strange he should fall in love with his own Daughter, when at the same time he had another Wife, whom he is said to have loved so well, that he was divorced from his first Wife for her sake.

Geoffery of Monm. *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* relates, That the Nobles of *Britain* being highly displeased at King *Vortigern* for the great Partiality he shewed to the *Saxons*, and for the ill Success that followed it, beseeched the King wholly to desert him; but he refusing so to do, they deposed him, and chose his Son *Vortimer* King, who following their Advice, began to Expel the *Saxons*, pursuing them as far as the River *Diervent*, or *Darent*, in *Kent*, where obtaining the Victory, he made a great Slaughter of them; besides which, that he fought also another Battle with them near the Ford which is called in the *Saxon* Tongue *Episford*, and in the *British* Tongue *Sathenegabail*; which is also confirmed by the *Saxon* Annals, which say, That *Hengist* and *Horsa* fought with King *Vortigern* at a place called *Eglesford* (now *Aylesford*) in *Kent*, and that *Horsa* was there slain (*Nennius* says by *Cartigern* the Brother of King *Vortimer*,) * and that afterwards *Hengist* and his Son *Æsk* obtained the Kingdom of *Kent*; and *Matthew* of *Westminster* relates, that after the Death of his Brother *Horsa*, the *Saxons* chose *Hengist* for their King, being 8 Years after his arrival in *England*.

Nennius, c. 38.

Anno Dom. CCCCLV.

* Camden *in his* Britannia, (*Tit.* Kent) *says, He was buried near* Horsted, (*to which he gave Name.*

And yet after this, † *Nennius* supposes *Vortimer* to have fought a third Battle with them in a Field which was near the Stone *Titulus*, which was fixed near the Shore of the *Gallic* Sea, which place Arch-Bishop *Usher* will have to be *Stonar* in the Isle of *Thanet*; but Mr. *Somner*, in his Treatise of the *Roman* Ports and Forts in *Kent*, supposes it should be written *Lapis Populi*, in stead of *Tituli*; and then *Folkstone* in *Kent* is most likely to be the place where this Battle was fought, it having the same Signification as *Lapis Populi* in the *Latin*. *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*, and from him *Matthew Westminster*, further relate, That *Hengist* not being able to withstand the Valour of K. *Vortimer*, was made to retire into the Isle of *Thanet*, whither he was also pursued by the Sea; and that at last the *Saxons* being forced on board their Ships, returned into *Germany*. *Nennius* adds, That they durst not return again into this Island till after the Death of *Vortimer*, which, thô not mentioned in our *English Saxon* Annals, yet is very likely to be true; since *Bede* relates, That about this time the *Saxon* Army returned home, when the Natives, thô before driven out or dispers'd, began again to take fresh Courage, and come out of their Hiding-Places and Retreats.

† Nen. c. 46. Ran. Higden. Polychron.

This

This Year *Vortimer* having obtained many Battels againſt the *Saxons*, is ſuppoſed by our *Britiſh* Hiſtorians to have died. *Geoffery* makes him to have been poiſoned by the Procurement of his Mother-in-Law, *Rowena*: and *Nennius* adds, That *Vortimer* lying upon his Death-bed, deſired his Servants to bury him near the place where the *Saxons* uſed to land, ſaying, If that were done, thô they might take ſome other Haven in *Britain*, yet they ſhould never have that; but notwithſtanding, he is ſaid (contrary to his own will) to have been buried at *Lincoln*. After whoſe Deceaſe, *Nennius* and *Geoffery* make *Vortigern* to have been again reſtored to the Throne. *Anno Dom.* CCCCLVI. Geoff. Monm. Mat. Weſt.

It is much more certain which the *Saxon* Annals relate, that *Hengiſt* and his Son *Æsk* this Year fought againſt the *Britains* in a place which is called *Creecanford*, and there killed four principal Men, (but in *Florence* of *Worceſter*'s Copy of theſe Annals, which ſeems to have been trueſt, it was 4000 Men;) and the *Britains* then left *Kent*, and fled in great fear to *London*. *Anno Dom.* CCCCLVII.

From which Victory, *Ran. Higden* in his *Polychronicon* dates the beginning of the Kingdom of *Kent* under *Hengiſt*, who Reigned Twenty four Years.

For *Hengiſt* being now returned out of *Germany*, (as it is related by *Nennius*,) King *Vortigern* ſtill maintained the War againſt the *Saxons*, who thereupon took Councel, how they might intrap *Vortigern* and his Army; wherefore they ſent Ambaſſadours to him offering Peace, and that the former Friendſhip might be renewed between them; whereupon, *Vortigern*, taking Advice with his wiſe Men, they all agreed to make Peace: So it was conſented to on both ſides, That the *Britains* and *Saxons* meeting together without any Arms, a firm League ſhould be made between them But the treacherous *Hengiſt* commanded all his Followers to take their Daggers or Seaxes along with them under their Coats, and that when he gave the Word, and cried out in his own Tongue, *Nimed yeur Saexes*, that is, *Pull out your Daggers*, that they ſhould then fall upon the *Britains* and kill them, but ſpare their King, and (for his Wife's ſake) only take him Priſoner, becauſe it would be more for their advantage ſo to do, that he might be Ranſomed. And thus being met according to Agreement at a Feaſt, or Drinking-bout, they talked at firſt very Friendly together, being placed every *Saxon* by a *Britain*; but *Hengiſt* giving the Word, they roſe up on a ſudden and diſpatched 300 (*Geoffery* ſays 470) of the *Britiſh* Nobles. *Vortigern* alone being then taken alive and put in Fetters, was forced for his Ranſom to ſurrender to the *Saxons* all thoſe Countries that were afterwards called *Eaſtſex*, *Middleſex*, and *Suſſex*; which is alſo recited by *William* of *Malmesbury*, who adds, That at this Entertainment the Company growing in drink, *Hengiſt* on purpoſe pick'd a Quarrel, and ſome hard Words paſſing, they fell to blows, where the *Britains* were ſlain. Nennius, *cap.* 47. *Ibid. c.* 48.

But here being a conſiderable Interval in the *Saxon* Chronicle, we may very well fill it up with *Britiſh* Affairs, for it is about this time that the *Welſh Chronicles* ſuppoſe, that *Aurelius* was elected General of the *Britains*, *Vortigern* being as yet King, thô but in Name, having retired (as *Nennius* relates) to a Caſtle built by him in *South-Wales*. And to this time we may refer that Paſſage in **Gildas*, That when thoſe cruel Robbers the *Saxons* were gone home, the Remainders of the *Britains* being ſtrengthened by GOD, came together from divers Places, and praying *Anno Dom.* CCCCLXV * *Sect.* 25.

Anno Dom. CCCCLXV. to him with all their Hearts, that he would not totally deſtroy them, choſe *Ambroſius Aurelian*, a modeſt Man, for their General, and who alone was found ſtout and faithful, as being of *Roman* Race, who in ſo great a confuſion remained alive, his Parents who had enjoyed the Crown having been killed; but whether by the *Scots* and *Picts*, or elſe (which is moſt likely) were murdered by their Subjects, he leaves it uncertain. But **Nennius* ſaith little more than that *Vortigern* was afraid of him; and then immediately he confounds himſelf with *Merlin*, who being a Boy, tells *Vortigern*, (after the Story of his being born without a Father,) That he had concealed his Father's Name out of fear, but that he was one of the *Roman* Conſuls; whereupon *Vortigern* gave him a Caſtle, together with all the Weſtern Parts of *Britain*, which is as true as being born without a Father. But if *Geoffery* were to be believed, he tells us very plainly, That he was one of the Sons of *Conſtantine* King of *Britain*, who was forced to fly from *Vortigern* after the murder of their Brother *Conſtans* by his contrivance: but we know that *Conſtantine*, and his Sons *Conſtans* and *Julian*, were killed abroad many Years before; and it is not probable the *Romans* would have permitted any one of his Sons to have remained here; or if they did, this *Ambroſius* muſt have been by this time near 60 Years of Age, ſuppoſing him to have been but One Year old when his Father died. And beſides, it is certain that *Conſtantine* was ſlain in the Reigns of *Honorius* and *Theodoſius* the Second, *An. Dom.* 411; and *Aurelius* is not ſuppoſed to be choſen General, or King of the *Britains*, till the Year 465.

* *Cap.* 14.

Gildas. But immediately after *Aurelius* was thus made General of the *Britains*, it is certain that he obtained a great Victory over the *Saxons*, thô the place where he not named by *Gildas*.' But afterwards (he ſays) ſometimes his Country-men and ſometimes their Enemies prevailed, and that thus it continued till the Year of the Siege of *Mount Badon*, where was the lateſt and not the leaſt ſlaughter made of the *Pagan Saxons*; but that the *Saxons* about this time received a great defeat, their own *Annals* intimate though they are aſhamed to confeſs it in expreſs words, being thus related under *Sax. Ann.* this very Year, [*Hengiſt* and *Æſc* fought with the *Britains* near *Wippedes Fleat*, and there ſlew Twelve *Britiſh* Commanders; but loſt one Man of *Anno Dom.* CCCCLXV. note on the *Saxons* ſide, whoſe Name was *Wypped* (who it ſeems left his name to that place) *H. Huntington* adds, that this Victory was very fatal even to the *Saxons* themſelves, both parties being thereby ſo weakned, that neither the *Saxons* durſt enter the *Britiſh* borders for a long time; nor yet the *Britains* preſume to Invade *Kent*, however the *Britains*, thô Foreign Wars were now for a time intermitted, did not ceaſe to raiſe Civil ones among themſelves: But this much appears even from the ſilence of *Saxon* Annals, that for Twelve Years following, there was no conſiderable action paſſed on either ſide, or elſe that the *Britains* had the better of it, under the conduct of *Aurelius Ambroſius*, which is moſt agreeable to *Gildas*'s Relation.]

Vid *Dr.* Stillingfleets Orig. Britan. *Chap.* 5. *from whence this enſuing paſſage is borrowed.*

It is alſo very probable which *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* now relates, and which is followed by many of our Engliſh *Hiſtorians*, that *Aurelius Ambroſius* after his firſt Victory over the *Saxons*, called the Princes and Great Men together at *York*, and gave Order for the repairing the Churches which the *Saxons* had deſtroyed; and that after due care taken in other places, he marched to *London*, which had ſuffered as well as other Cities; and having called the diſperſed Citizens together went about

about the repairing of it; all his deſign being the reſtoring the Church and Kingdom; from thence he went to *Wincheſter* and to *Saliſbury*, doing there as he had done at other places: But in the paſſage thither *Geoffrey* launches out to purpoſe in his Hiſtory of *Stonehenge*, tranſlated (ſays he) by *Merlin* out of *Ireland*, to make a Monument for the *Britiſh* Nobles ſlain there by *Hengiſts* Treachery: Which is ſuch an Extravagancy that it is to be wondered any ſhould follow him in it, and yet *Mat. Weſtminſter* tranſcribes the main of it, and * *Walter* of *Coventry* ſets it down for Authentick Hiſtory; but he adds two Circumſtances, which make it ſeem probable that *Stonehenge* had ſome relation to *Ambroſius*, (*viz.*) that here *Ambroſius* was Crowned, and was not long after buried; *Polydore Virgil* makes it the Monument of *Ambroſius*; and *John* of *Tinmouth* in the Life of *Dubricius*, calls it *Mons Ambroſii*; and the name of *Ambreſburg*, a Town near it, doth much confirm the probability, of its being founded by *Ambroſius*, rather than either by the *Romans* or *Danes*, as ſome of our late Antiquaries and Architects have ſuppoſed. But I ſhall not inſiſt any longer on this Subject; *Geoffery* adds yet further concerning Eccleſiaſtical Matters in his time, that at a ſolemn Council he appointed two Metropolitans for the two Sees, at that time vacant, (*viz.*) *Sampſon* one of Eminent Piety for *York*, and *Dubricius* for *Caer-leon*; but *Mathew Weſtminſter* ſaith, that *Sampſon* was afterward driven into *Armorica*, and there was made Arch-biſhop of *Dole*, among the *Britains*, which is very likely to be true, being confirmed by *Sigebert* in his Chronicle, *Anno Dom. 566.*

Anno Dom. CCCCLXV.

MS. Penes R. Epiſc. Wigorn.

It is obſerved by *H.* of *Huntington* that after the *Britains* had a little reſpite from their Enemies, they fell into Civil diſſentions among themſelves, which is very agreeable to what *Gildas* hath ſaid; of this *Geoffrey* gives us no improbable account, when he relates that one of *Vortigerns* Sons called *Paſcentius*, raiſed a Rebellion in the *North* againſt *Ambroſius* among the *Britains*, who were overcome by him and put to flight; what became of *Vortigern* is uncertain, nor can the *Britiſh* Writers themſelves agree either about the time or the manner of his Death; *Nennius*, hath two ſeveral ſtories about it, the one certainly falſe, and the other very improbable; The firſt is, that St. *German* followed him, into a Country in *South Wales* (which was called by his own Name *Guorthigernian*) where he lay hid with his Women in a Caſtle which he had built, called *Din Guortigern*, near the River *Thebi*; to which Caſtle when St. *German* came, he prayed, and faſted there with his Clergy three whole Days and Nights (it ſeems without any intermiſſion) when the Caſtle about Midnight was ſet on Fire from Heaven, and *Vortigern* with his Wives and Family were all burnt, and this *Nennius* ſays, he found in the Book or Legend of St. *German*; yet he declares, That others relate how that *Vortigern* becoming hateful to all ſorts and degrees of Men, none would keep him company from the greateſt to the leaſt; till at laſt, as he wandred from place to place, his Heart was broken (I ſuppoſe for grief) but *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* with more probability relates, that *Vortigern*, being again depoſed, was beſieged and burnt in this Caſtle by his Succeſſour *Aurelius Ambroſius*, who ſet it on Fire.

But now it is time to return to our *Saxon* Chronicle; where after Eight Years interval, without any action mentioned, [We now find *Hengiſt* and *Æſc* joyned Battel with the *Britains*, and took many Spoils, and

Anno Dom. CCCCLXXIII. *Sax. Ann.*

Sax. An. the *Welſhmen* vaniſh'd before the *Engliſh* like Stubble before the Fire, as the *Saxon* Chronicle words it.

Anno Dom. CCCGLXXVII. After this there is no more ſaid of any Victories gained by *Hengiſt*; but now after Four Years interval, began the Kingdom of the *South Saxons*; for *Ælla* with his Three Sons, *Cymen*, *Wlencing*, or *Pleting*, (as *Huntington* calls him) and *Ciſſa*, landing in *Britain* at a place called *Cymens ora* (which ſignifies in the *Saxon* Tongue *Cymens* Shore or Coaſt,) there they ſlew a great many *Britains*, and made the reſt fly into the Wood or Forreſt, called *Andredes Leage* (ſuppoſed to be part of the wild of *Kent*, and the Woody parts of *Suſſex*) where now are, or were lately *Aiſhdowne*, and *Arundel* Forreſts, with ſeveral others now diſforreſted. *Henry Huntington* giveth a large account of this Action, and tells us that upon the *Saxons* firſt landing, a great many *Britains* immediately drew together at the Alarm, and ſtreight ways a great Fight was begun, but the *Saxons* being taller and ſtronger Men, received them couragiouſly; and the *Britains* coming on very raſhly in ſmall ſtragling Parties were killed by the *Saxons*, who were drawn up in cloſe Order, and ſo the *Britains* were routed upon the firſt encounter; whereupon theſe *Saxons* poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Sea Coaſt of *Suſſex*, enlarging their Territories more and more, until the Eighth Year after their coming; when *Ælla* fought againſt the *Britains*, near *Mearcredes*, *Burnamſtede* or *Mecredeſburne* (but where it lies is uncertain) now it ſeems (as *H. Huntington* relates) all the Kings and Princes of the *Britains* were got together, and fought with *Ælla* and his Sons, where the Victory remained doubtful, for both Armies returned home very much weakned; whereupon *Ælla* ſent unto his own Country for freſh ſupplies.

Anno Dom. CCCCLXXXV.

Vid. *Dr. Powel's Catalogue of the Kings of* Wales. The ſame Year alſo *Aurelius Ambroſius*, is ſuppoſed by the *Welſh* Chronicles to be choſen King (having been before only General) of the *Britains*, and to have Reigned Nineteen Years. *Nennius* tells us, That he being King of all *Britain*, beſtowed *Buelt*, and another Country in *South Wales*, upon *Paſcent* Son to *Vortigern*.

About Three Years after this, *Hengiſt* King of *Kent* dyed; For this Year (as the *Saxon* Annals relate) *Æſc* (who is alſo called *Oiſc*, and by our Hiſtorians, called *Oſric*) his Son began his Reign, which continued Twenty Four Years; but of *Hengiſt* his Father, *Will.* of *Malmesbury* very well obſerves, that he obtained a Crown by Craft, as much as Valour; but *Æſc* his Son (who ſucceeded him) maintained his Kingdom by the Valour of his Father, rather than his own Merit, and did not much encreaſe his Dominions: This happened in the Time of *Zeno* the Emperour. Nor can I here omit what *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*, and (from him) *Mathew* of *Weſtminſter* falſly relate, concerning the Death of *Hengiſt*; That fighting againſt *Aurelius Amlroſius*, he was taken Priſoner near *Coninsburgh* in *Yorkſhire*; and not long afterwards beheaded by *Eldol* (a feigned) Duke of *Glouceſter*; which ſince it is not found in the *Saxon* Chronicle, nor in any other Authentick Hiſtorian, deſerves little credit.

Anno Dom. CCCCXC. *Ælla* and *Ciſſa* having now received freſh recruits out of *Germany* (wherein they much confided) did this Year beſiege *Andredeſceaſter* (ſuppoſed to be that we now call *Newenden* in *Kent*) and took it by Force, putting all the *Britains* to the Sword; but *H. Huntington* is very particular in the manner of this Siege, and tells us that the *Britains* raiſed a great Army to relieve it, and made many aſſaults upon the *Saxons* Rear, whil'ſt they lay

lay before the Town; who thereupon raiſing the Siege, turned all their Forces againſt the *Britains*; whil'ſt they being more nimble, preſently ran away to the Woods, when the *Saxons* returning again to the Siege, they were as ſoon upon their backs; by which means the *Saxons* being for a time tired out, received a great loſs, till they divided their Army into two bodies; ſo that whil'ſt the one aſſaulted the City, the other ſhould defend the Aſſailants: whereby at laſt the Citizens being quite ſpent with hunger and fatigue, could no longer endure the Force of the Beſiegers, and all periſhed by the Sword, even to the very Women and Children, none eſcaping; and the *Saxons* quite deſtroyed that City, which remained a vaſt heap of Ruins in his Time, thô the Town of *Newenden* was afterwards built where it ſtood in the Reign of *Edward* the I. *Anno Dom.* CCCCXC *Sax. Ann.*

But news being carried into *Germany*, of the good ſucceſs of the *Saxons*, it gave occaſion for new Commanders, together with their Armies to come over hither to try their Fortunes; and thus Five Years after began the Kingdom of the *Weſt* Saxons.

For now Two Commanders, *viz. Cerdic*, and *Cynric* his Son, landing in *Britain*, with Five Ships at a place, called *Cerdiciſora*, (i. e. *Cerdic*'s Shore) the ſame day fought with the *Britains*: this *Cerdic* was the Tenth in deſcent from *Woden*; His pedegree (which is needleſs here to be recited) I have referred to another place; but in Six Years after their coming, he and his Sons conquered all the Country of the *Weſt Saxons*: This *Cerdic* reigned Twenty Five Years; to his Son *Cynric* ~~whom~~ ſucceeded. *Anno Dom.* CCCCXCV. *A whose*

Then follows, in the *Saxons* Annals, the whole Succeſſion of theſe Kings asfar as K. *Edward* (called the *Martyr*,) Son of *Edgar*, which I have omitted, becauſe it ſerves for no other uſe, but to let us ſee about what time theſe Annals were drawn into the form we now have them; but to return to the Hiſtory, *H. Huntington* further informs us, that the ſame day in which *Cerdic* landed, there aſſembled a great multitude of *Britains* to oppoſe him; the *Saxons* ſtanding in Battel array before their Ships, the *Britains* boldly aſſaulted them, but were forced to return without any great Execution, becauſe the *Saxons* could not be over come, though they fought till Night parted them; whereupon the *Britains* finding the *Saxons* too ſtrong to be dealt with, were forced to retreat, it proving a drawn Battel; but after this, *Cerdic* and his Son ſeiſed all the Countries upon the Sea Coaſt, though not without divers Battels.

But about Six Years after came over to their aſſiſtance, *Porta* with his Two Sons *Bleda* and *Megla*, who landed in *Britain* with two Ships at a place, which (from him) is ſtill called *Portsmouth*: Here as ſoon as they landed, they ſlew a Young *Britiſh Prince*, or Commander, who (as *H. Huntington* relates) being then Governour of this Province, advancing with a great multitude, without any Order they all periſhed in the twinckling of an Eye, ſo that *Port* and his Sons obtained a great Victory; but in *Anno Dom.* 500. *Anno Dom.* DI.

Aurelius Ambroſius King of the *Britains*, is ſaid by the *Welſh* Chronicles to have dyed, being poyſoned as (*Geoffery* relates) by the procurement of *Paſcent*, Son to *Vortigern*, who had before rebelled againſt him; Thô who ſucceeded him is uncertain: for as to his ſuppoſed Brother *Uther Pendragon*, whom *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* would here bring in, he is looked upon even by the *Britiſh* Antiquaries, as a mere imaginary King of his own; Therefore this muſt be owned for the moſt obſcure time of all the *Vi. Dr. Powel's Catalogue of Britiſh Kings.*

the *Welsh* History; but this is certain, that for about the space of Seven Years, there is no mention made of any Wars between the *Saxons* and the *Britains*, until

Anno Dom. DVIII. *Cerdic* and *Cynric* slew the great *British* King, *Natanleod* or *Nazaleod*, together with 5000 Men, from which time that Province is called *Natanleage*, as far as *Cerdicsford*; but *H. Huntington* is more particular in this War, and tells us, That this *Natanleod* was the greatest and most powerful King of the *Britains*; who having gathered together his whole Forces, *Cerdic* and his Son were fain to send for aid to *Æsc* King of *Kent*, and *Ælla* King of the *South* Saxons, as also from *Port* (who came lately over) and that before the Battel, the *Saxon* Army was divided into two bodies, whereof *Cerdic* Commanded the one, and his Son *Cynric* the other; that the Battle being begun, King *Nazaleod*, seeing the *Saxons* Right Wing to be the strongest, fell upon it with all his Forces, and immediately routed it; whereupon *Cerdic* being put to flight, there happned a great slaughter on that side, which, when it was perceived by his Son *Cynric* from the Left Wing, he rushed upon the backs of the pursuers: So that the Battle being again renewed, King *Nazaleod* was Slain, and his Army totally defeated, whereby the *Saxons* obtaining a great Victory, remain'd undisturbed for a long time, and then came to them some Years after many Valiant assistants out of *Germany*.

But to make some Reflections upon this Story, before we proceed further, it is worth our enquiry, who this *Nazaleod* was; some think him to be *Ambrosius* above mentioned, but others take him for his pretended Brother *Uther Pendragon*, whil'st others again suppose him not to be any King at all, but only the General of the King of the *Britains*, thô what King that was, remains as uncertain, and since it is so much in the dark, I shall not undertake to determine it.

It is also as uncertain who now succeeded this *Nazaleod*; most of the * *Welsh* Annals here leave an *inter-regnum* of about Six Years, and do not begin the Reign of K. *Arthur*, till the Year 514, or 515. So likewise, whether he was sole King of the *Britains* is much questioned; since some ancient Manuscripts, *Welsh* Chronicles and Poems, make him to have been only King of *Cornwall*. As to his Father, Arch-bishop *Usher* very well conjectures, that this *Uther*, who is said to have been his Father, was no other than *Nazaleod* above mentioned; who for his great Actions was called in *Welsh*, *Uther*, which signifies as much as Wonderful or Terrible; and thus (as *Nennius* tells us) *Artur* (whose name signifies in *Welsh* an horrible bear) was also called *Mabuter*, that is a horrible Son, because in his Childhood he was very cruel, or rather because he was the Son of this *Nazaleod*, Sirnamed *Uther*: out of which *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* forged the Name of *Uter Pendragon*; if this could be proved, as it is an ingenious conjecture of the learned Lord Primate, it would go a great way to clear the *British* History of these obscure times: But since we are now treating of King *Arthur*, and that it is certain he gained many considerable Victories over the *Saxons*, thô the particular Years are not set down by *Nennius*, or any other Author; I shall here set them down altogether as they are found in *Nennius*; his first Battle was fought near the Mouth of the River, which is called *Glein* or *Gleni* (which is supposed by some to have been in *Devonshire*, but by others (and that more likely) to have been *Glein* in *Lincolnshire*): the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Battels were near another River called *Duglas*, which is in the Country of *Linvis*

* Vid. *Those Annals at the end of* Dooms-Day Book *in the Exchequr.*

or

or *Linnis*, (by ſome ſuppoſed to be the River *Dug* or *Due*, in *Lincoln-ſhire*, but others place it in *Lancaſhire*, where there is a River called *Dugles* near *Wigan*;) the Sixth Battel was by a River called *Baſſas* (which is ſuppoſed to run by *Boſton* in *Lincoln-ſhire*) the Eighth Battel was near the Caſtle of *Gunion* or *Guinion*, in which *Arthur* carried the Picture of *Chriſt*'s Croſs, and of the Virgin *Mary* upon his back, or as *Mat. Weſtminſter* has it painted on his Target; and the Pagans were that day put to flight, and many of them ſlain, ſo that they received a very great overthrow, the Ninth Battel was fought near the City of *Legions*, that is in the *Britiſh* Tongue *Kaer-Leon*, (now *Cheſter*;) the Tenth was near a River called *Ribroit* or *Arderic*; the Eleventh was upon the Mountain, which is called *Agned Cath Reginian* (which is ſome place in *Somerſet-ſhire*, but by *Humphrey Lloyd* it is ſuppoſed to have been *Edinburgh*;) *H. Huntington* confeſſes theſe places to be unknown in his time, and therefore can be only gueſſed at in ours: As for the Twelfth Battel, ſince the certain time of it is fixed, we ſhall ſpeak of that by and by: but the learned Dr. *Gale* (to whom we are beholding for this laſt Edition of *Gildas*, and *Nennius* printed at *Oxon*, as alſo for the various readings, and Notes at the end of him) ſuppoſes that all the Battels here reckoned up, were performed in the ſpace of Forty Years, aforegoing, and althô they may be here attributed to King *Arthur*, yet might be fought under *Vortigern*, *Ambroſius* and others; but that ſome of theſe Battles were really fought by King *Arthur*, againſt the *Saxons*, is acknowledged by all our *Engliſh* Writers; and *Ranulph Higden* in his *Polychronicon* expreſly relates, that it is found in ſome ancient Chronicles, that K. *Cerdic* fighting often with *Arthur*, thô he were overcome, yet ſtill came on again more fiercely; until *Arthur* being quite wearied out, after the Six and Twentieth Year of *Cerdic*'s coming over, gave him up *Hampſhire* and *Somerſetſhire*; which Countries he then called *Weſt-Sexe*: And *Thomas Rudburne*, in his greater Chronicle about this time we now treat of, relates, That *Cerdic* fought oftentimes with King *Arthur*, who being at laſt weary of War, made a League with *Cerdic*, who thereupon granted to the *Corniſh-men* to enjoy the Chriſtian Religion under a Yearly Tribute; which is likely enough to be true, ſuppoſing, as we have already ſaid, that he was only King of *Cornwal*, and which ſhews this Prince not to have been ſuch a mighty Monarch, as *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* would make him. Which is likewiſe confeſſed by the *Welſh* Hiſtorian *Caradoc* of *Lancarvan*, in his Life of *Gildas*; where he relates, That *Glaſtenbury* was in *Gildas* his time beſieged by King *Arthur* with a great Army out of *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire*, becauſe Queen *Gueniver*, his Wife had been raviſh'd from him by *Melvas*, who then Reigned in *Somerſetſhire*, and that ſhe was there kept by him becauſe of the Strength of that Place; whereupon King *Arthur* raiſing a great Army out of *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire*, marched to take the Town, when the Abbot of *Glaſtenbury* accompanied with *Gildas* went between the two Armies, and perſwaded *Melvas* his King to reſtore the raviſh'd Wife; which being done, both Kings were reconciled: Which plainly ſhews this *Arthur* to have been but of ſmall Power, as well as Reputation, who could thus tamely ſwallow ſuch an Affront. But to return to the *Saxon* Annals, which relate, [That *Stufe* and *Withgar* (Nephews to King *Cerdic*) arrived in *Britain* with three Ships at the Port called *Cerdics-Ora*, and fighting againſt the *Britains*, put them to flight. *H. Huntington* makes a long Deſcription of this Battel, which, ſince it is not much to the purpoſe,

Anno Dom. DVIII.

vid. Uſher de Ant. Britan. Eccl. *c.* 13.

Sax. Ann.

Anno Dom. DXIV.

Anno Dom. DXIV. pose, I omit, only he tells us, That the *British* Army was drawn up on a Hill side, as also in the Valley; which at first put the *Saxons* in much fear, till recovering themselves, they put them all to the Rout. Under this Year also *Ranulph Higden*, in *Polychron*, places the Death of *Æsc* the Son of *Hengist*, to whom succeeded *Otta* his Son, who Reigned 22 Years, without any thing related of him, either in the *Saxon* Annals, or any other History.

About this time also, (tho without assigning the Year,) the same Author places the Death of *Ælla* King of the *South-Saxons*, who had all the Kings and chief Men in *Britain* under his Command, to whom succeeded his Son *Cyssa*; but in a short time, his Posterity (whose Names are no where mentioned) grew weaker and weaker, till they became subject to other Kings.

Anno Dom. DXIX. This Year *Cerdic* and *Cynric* took upon them the Title of *Kings of the West-Saxons*, and the same Year fought against the *Britains* at a place called *Cerdice's-Ford*, (now *Charford* in *Hampshire*,) from which time the Royal Race of the *Saxon* Kings have reigned there; and the same Year the Emperour *Justin* the Elder began to reign.

It seems King *Cerdic* was hitherto very modest, for tho he had now been a Conquerour for 24 Years, yet did he never take upon him the Title of *King* till now, when he had gained a very large Territory, and his Affairs were well established by this great Victory at *Cerdice's-Ford*; but the Time when this Kingdom began is the more observable, because at last it conquered all the other six *Saxon* Kingdoms, and so obtained the sole Command of all *England*; so that (says *H. Huntingdon*) the Times of all other Kingdoms being applied to these Kings, may be by them the better distinguished.

Anno Dom. DXX. In this Year, as all the best *British* Manuscripts, as well as printed Chronicles, relate, was fought the great Battel of *Badon-Hill*, (which is supposed to be the same with *Banesdown* near *Bathe*,) where the *British* Writers suppose King *Arthur* to have Commanded in Person; tho divers of our Authors make him to have been only General to *Aurelius Ambrosius*, which is not at all likely; since according to the best *British* Accounts *Aurelius* died above 20 Years before this Battel, This *Nennius* makes to be the twelfth Battel he had fought with the *Saxons*; yet since Mr. *Milton*, as well as others, have been pleased to question, whether there was ever any such King who Reigned in *Britain*, it were not amiss if we did a little clear and establish that Point before we proceed any further, since so great and remarkable a part of the History of the *British* Kings depends upon it. The Objections that are made against *Arthur*'s being a King in *Britain* are these: First, That *Gildas* makes no mention of him. Secondly, That he is not so much as mentioned by any ancient *British* Historian, except *Nennius*, who lived near 300 Years after, and whom all grant to have been a very credulous, trivial Writer, and to have vented a great many Fables. Thirdly, That tho *William* of *Malmesbury* and *H. Huntington* both make mention of this *Arthur*, and his Victories over the *Saxons*, yet that the latter took all he has written concerning him from *Nennius*, as the former did either from him, or else from some Monkish Legends in the Abby of *Glastenbury*; and that he knew no more of this *Arthur* above 500 Years ago, when he wrote his History, than we do at this day. Lastly, That the pretended History of *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* hath made such incredible Romances concerning this

this Prince's Actions and Conqueſts, not only in *Britain*, but in *France*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Norway*, and other Countries, as are ſufficient to ſhock the Credit of his whole Hiſtory: It being a likely matter, that he, who could not maintain his own Country, ſhould have Forces and Leiſure ſufficient to conquer the Kingdoms of ſo many Foreign Princes. *Anno Dom.* DXX.

To each of which Objections we ſhall return theſe Anſwers. That in the firſt place, as to *Gildas* his not mentioning him, it is at the beſt but a Negative Argument, ſince it is evident that he did not deſign any exact Hiſtory of the Affairs of his Country, but only to give a ſhort Account of the Cauſes of the Ruine of it by the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Saxons*, the chief of which he aſcribes to GOD's Vengeance upon the *Britains* for their great Wickedneſs, and corruption of Manners; nor does he mention any Kings or Commanders of thoſe Times, except *Vortigern*, and *Aurelius Ambroſius*. As for *Nennius*, thô what is objected againſt him be true, yet ſince he lived near 300 Years after *Arthur*'s Death, (as appears by the Preface to his Hiſtory,) it is highly probable he ſet down what he there wrote, if not from ſome other more ancient Writers, yet at the leaſt from the general Tradition of his Country-men at that time, who can never be ſuppoſed to have been able to forge this whole Story of K. *Arthur*, and the Battles he fought; and thô it be true, that the *Saxon Annals* make no mention of this King, yet if theſe were alſo written from Traditions long after theſe Things were done, being not put into the Form we now have them till long after the *Saxons* became *Chriſtians*, it is no wonder if there be no mention made of him; eſpecially ſince they could not do it without Recording to Poſterity the many Defeats he gave them; but notwithſtanding this, divers of our beſt and moſt ancient *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, as *Radulphus de Dicito*, and *Thomas Rudburn*, do mention King *Cerdic*'s fighting divers Battles with King *Arthur*. But as for *William* of *Malmesbury* and *H. Huntington*, thô it might be true, they neither of them knew any thing of them, but what they had from *Nennius*, or the Legends of *Glaſtenbury*; yet are not the ancient Regiſters of that Monaſtery to be wholly ſlighted as falſe, ſince King *Arthur* was there buried: But *William* of *Malmesbury*, in his Book of the Antiquities of that Church, makes King *Arthur* to have begun his Reign over the *Britains* in the Tenth Year of King *Cerdic*, in which he is alſo followed by *Ran. Higden* in *Polychronicon*, and *Joh. Tinmuth* in his *Golden Hiſtory*; and thô the Tomb of King *Arthur* was not found in the time of *William* of *Malmesbury*, yet was it ſome Years after diſcovered, about the end of the Reign of *Henry* the Second, as *Giraldus Cambrenſis* relates at large, both in his Book *De Inſtitutione Principis*, and in his *Speculo Eccleſiaſtico*; where he gives a large Account of the manner of finding his Coffin, (which was made out of a ſolid Oak,) as alſo of the largeneſs of his Bones which he ſaw and handled; together with an Inſcription upon a Leaden Croſs of about a Foot long, fixed to the lower ſide of a broad Stone laid three Foot above the Coffin, on which was inſcribed this Epitaph, *Hic jacet ſepultus inclytus Rex Arthurus in Inſula Avalonia*; which Croſs being preſerved in the Monaſtery of *Glaſtenbury* till *Leland*'s time, he ſaw and took a Copy of it, and is the very Inſcription which Mr. *Camden* hath given us the Draught of in his *Britannia*. *Somerſetſhire*, *New Edit.* p. 65.

But as for the laſt Objection, thô it be true what *William* of *Malmesbury* very well obſerves, that the *Britains* had vented a great many Fables of him, yet he ſtill acknowledges him to have been a Prince more worthy to

Anno Dom. DXX. be celebrated in true Histories, than Romances; and thô it must be confessed, that the Stories the *Welsh* had then made of him, encouraged *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* to write those incredible Fables of his Conquests; yet does it not therefore follow, that all that is written of him must be Lies; since a true History may be corrupted, and yet the Substance of it remain true. But whoever desires to see more in justification of the History of King *Arthur*, how much of it is true, and what most likely to *Cap. 5. p. 332.* be false, may, if they please, consult Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s Antiquities of the *British* Churches. But to return to our *Saxon* Annals, in which, for the space of 7 Years, there is nothing at all mentioned until the time

Sax. Ann. 'When *Cerdic* and *Cenric* fought against the *Britains*, in a place called *An.* DXXVII. 'Cerdics-Leah. To which Year also *H. Huntington* refers the beginning of 'the *East-Saxon* Kingdom by *Erchenwin* the Son of *Offa*. He seems to be 'the only Prince who is derived from one *Saxnat*, and not from *Woden*; thô 'of this Prince they tell us nothing, except his Name and Pedigree, relating neither the Number of his Forces, the Place of his Landing, nor so 'much as the least Encounter he had with the *Britains*. In the same Obscurity 'we might have also passed over *Sledda* his Son, had he not married *Ricila* Daughter of *Emerick*, King of *Kent*, and Sister to *Ethelbert* the first 'Christian King; so that this Kingdom being at first Tributary to that of 'Kent, and then to that of the *Mercians*, never came to be very considerable, thô it had *London* (the chief City of *England*) under its Dominion; But in the Year

Anno Dom. DXXX. '530, *Cerdic* and *Cenric* conquered the Isle of *Wight*, and slew a great 'many Men in *Withgarabyrig*.

Anno Dom. DXXXIV. 'But 4 Years after, *Cerdic* King of the *West-Saxons* died, and *Cenric* his 'Son succeeded him, and Ruled 26 Years.

'These two Kings bestowed the Isle of *Wight* on *Stuf* and *Withgar*, 'who were Nephews to *Cerdic*. This (according to *H. Huntingdon*) hap'pen'd in the time of *Justinian* the Emperour.

Anno Dom. DXXXVI. '*Offa* King of *Kent* dying, his Son *Ermeric* succeeded him. *Ran. Higden* places it (thô falsly) *An.* 544.

Anno Dom. DXXXVIII. 'This Year the Sun was Eclipsed the 14th of the Calends of *March*, 'from early in the Morning, to the third Hour, (*i. e.* till nine of the Clock.) 'And the Year following,

Anno Dom. DXL. 'The Sun was again Eclipsed the 12th of the Calends of *June*, and the 'Stars shewed themselves for near half an hour after nine in the Morning.

But to take a View of the *British* History,

Anno Dom. DXLII. King *Arthur* died this Year, (as all the *British* Writers agree,) but as for the manner of his Death, it is uncertain. The *British* Chronicles suppose him to have been slain in a Fight at *Camala* against his own Nephew *Mordred*, who had usurped the Crown in his absence. It is more uncertain who succeeded him; *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* makes *Arthur* at his Death to have bequeath'd the Crown to one *Constantine* his Cousin, Son of *Cador* Duke of *Cornwal*, whom he makes to have fought several times with the Sons of *Mordred*, that he slew them, and after 4 Years Reign died: But divers of the ancientest *British* Chronicles we have seen make no mention of this *Constantine*, but leave here an *Inter-regnum* of near 11 Years. But to return to our *Saxon* Annals.

Sax. Ann. 'Withgar died, and was buried at *Withgarasbyrig*; which Place being *Ann.* DXLIV. 'called after his own Name, was certainly some Place in the Isle of *Wight*; 'and is supposed to be the same with *Carisbrook* Castle in the same Island.

Let

Let us now look back to the *Britiſh* Affairs: King *Conſtantine* being ſuppoſed by *Geoffery* to have died about this time, he makes his Nephew *Aurelius Conan* to have ſucceeded him, who Reigning about two Years, was followed by *Vortipore*; who alſo dying four Years after, was ſucceeded by *Malgo*, (called by *Gildas*, *Malgoclunus*,) and is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Maelgwn Guined*, (ſo often mentioned in the *Welſh* Annals;) ſo that according to *Geoffery*, theſe three Princes reigned ſucceſſively after one another, which can by no means be reconciled with *Gildas*'s Epiſtle, who ſpeaks to all of them, as living and reigning at one and the ſame time; ſo that it is moſt likely that *Malgo*, or *Malgocunus*, was only King of *North-Wales*, or elſe of the Northern Parts of *Britain*, (as ſome of the *Welſh* Chronicles affirm;) but that *Vortipore* was King of that part of *South-Wales* called *Demetia*, *Gildas* himſelf relates, whilſt *Aurelius Conan* ruled in *Powis* Land, or ſome other Southern Province, (as Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* with great probability ſuppoſes;) but *Gildas*'s Epiſtle, wherein he ſo ſharply inveighs againſt all theſe *Britiſh* Kings above-mentioned, is to this effect. *Anno Dom.* DXLIV.

"*Britain* has Kings, yet Tyrants; it has Judges, but preying upon, "and oppreſſing the Innocent; their Kings have Wives of their own, yet "are Whoremongers; often Swearing, yet as often Perjuring themſelves; "often making Wars, but thoſe unjuſt, or Civil Ones; proſecuting "Thieves, yet having the greateſt near them, even at their own Tables; "ſitting in the Seat of Juſtice, yet not obſerving the Rules of right "Judgment; deſpiſing the Innocent and Peaceable, and countenancing "the Bloody and Adulterous; keeping Men in Priſon, whom they have "put there rather out of Malice, than Deſert. And then proceeds particularly to all the Kings then reigning, beginning with *Conſtantine*, whom he calls *The Tyrannical Whelp* of an impure *Damonian Lioneſs*; and accuſes him this very Year, in which he wrote that Letter, to have been guilty of murdering two innocent Youths of Royal Blood at the very Altar, and under the Cope of the holy Abbot: (Theſe are ſuppoſed to have been the two Sons of *Mordred*.) He likewiſe accuſes this Prince, that being polluted with frequent Adulteries, he had, contrary to Chriſt's Precept, put away his own Wife.

In the next place, applying himſelf to *Aurelius Conan*, he accuſes him of the like, if not worſe Parricides, beſides Fornications and Adulteries; and that hateing the Peace of his Country, he had out of deſire of Prey fomented Civil Wars.

In the third place he comes to *Vortipore*, whom he calls *The wicked Son* of a *good Father*, and *Tyrant* of the *Demetæ*, (that is, *South-Welſhmen*) and whom he accuſes of the like Faults; and that thô his Head were then grey, yet he was guilty of Adultery, his Wife being put away; him he alſo adviſes to Repentance.

Next he proceeds to *Cuneglaſus*, (who is ſuppoſed by ſome Antiquaries to have been King of the *Northern* or *Cambrian Britains*;) but this is to be obſerved, that *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* takes no notice of him; which ſhews, that either he never ſaw this Copy of *Gildas*, or elſe, if he did, knew not where to place this Prince; having already made as many Kings to ſucceed each other, as the Time he had to beſtow upon them would allow: But whoever he was, *Gildas* accuſes him for fighting both againſt GOD and Men; againſt Men, by taking Arms againſt his own Country-men; againſt God, by infinite Wickedneſs; and beſides his other Faults, that having

Anno Dom. DXLIV.

put away his own Wife, he had married her Couſin who had vowed perpetual Chaſtity.

Then he concludes with a ſharp Reproof of *Maglocunus*, whom he calls the Iſland *Dragon*, and the Expeller of many other Tyrants; he alſo accuſes him of Sodomy, asking him, Why, being taller in Stature, and greater in Power than all the reſt of the Princes in *Britain*, he had made himſelf, in ſtead of being better, far worſe than they? Upbraiding him, that in his Youth he had murdered the King his Uncle, with many of his Men. After many other Reproofs, threatens him with ſpeedy Deſtruction unleſs he repent.

This is the Subſtance of *Gildas*'s Reproof to the *Britiſh* Princes; from which all that we can gather is, Firſt, that there were no leſs than five Kings at this time in *Britain*, thô by what Means or Title they came to the Crown is uncertain; more than that it ſeems probable, ſome of theſe Princes here mentioned were deſcended from *Aurelius Ambroſius*; thô (as *Gildas* obſerves) highly degenerated from the Virtue of their Anceſtors: But what great Actions theſe Kings did during their Reigns, or what good Qualities they were indued with, is not known, ſo that there is but a ſlender Account of them in the Rolls of Fame; which may make us ſuſpect they were guilty of but very few good Qualities, becauſe we here find a large Catalogue of their bad Ones. Who ſucceeded each of theſe Kings in their diſtinct Territories, the moſt authentick *Britiſh* Chronicles do not mention; and therefore, thô *Geoffery* makes one *Careticus* to have now governed that part of *Britain* which was ſtill left unconquered by the *Saxons*, and whom he will have to ſucceed *Malgo*; and that thereupon the *Saxons* ſent for one *Gormund* an *African* King with a great Army of his Countrymen, who making a League with the *Saxons*, ſet upon *Careticus*, and beſieged him in the City of *Circeſter*, and taking and burning it, afterwards fought with *Careticus*, and forced him to flie beyond the Mountains of *Wales*: Yet ſince neither in our *Saxon* Annals, nor any other good Hiſtorian, there is any thing to be found concerning theſe Kings, or any *Africans* that ever invaded *Britain*, it is to be looked upon as no better than one of the bold Inventions of this Author.

But as I have given you *Gildas*'s Character of their Kings, ſo I ſhall now give you that of their Clergy, whom he thus reproves. *Britain* (ſays he) *hath Biſhops, but without Diſcretion; many Miniſters, but thoſe Impudent; many Clerks, but ſubtle Prowlers; Paſtors in Name, but indeed Wolves; intent upon all Occaſions not to feed the Flock, but to pamper and well line themſelves, making uſe of their Churches only for Lucre's ſake; teaching the People ſound Doctrine, but they themſelves ſhewing evil Example; rarely Officiating at the Altar, and then ſcarce ever ſtanding there with pure Hearts; not correcting the People for their Sins, as guilty of the ſame themſelves; deſpiſing the Precepts of Chriſt, and fulfilling their own Luſts; uſurping the Chair of* Peter, *but through the blindneſs of their own worldly Luſts ſtumbling upon the Seat of* Judas; *deadly haters of Truth, and lovers of Lies; looking upon the poor Chriſtians with Eyes of Pride and Contempt, but fawning upon the wickedeſt rich Men without Shame; great Promoters of other Men's Alms with ſet Exhortations, but themſelves ever contributing leaſt; concealing, or ſlightly touching the reigning Sins of the Age, but highly aggravating their own Injuries as done to Chriſt himſelf; ſeeking Preferments and Degrees in the Church more than Heaven; and having ſo gained them, make it more their ſtudy how to keep, than to illuſtrate them by their good Examples; dull, and ſtupid to the Reproofs of holy Men,*

(if

(if ever they hear them at all,) *but ſhew themſelves very attentive to the trivial Diſcourſes of the Laity; ready to act any unlawful Things; carrying their heads a loft, but having their affections* (notwithſtanding the checks of their own Conſciences) *as low as Hell; ſad at the loſs of a penny, but joyed if they can get one in Apoſtolical Cenſures, either through their own Ignorance, or the greatneſs of the Sins; Dull and Mute, but very skillful in the cheating Tricks of Worldly buſineſs; from which wicked ſort of Converſation many run into Prieſts Orders, which they buy for Money, taking the Prieſthood, without obſerving its Rules and Inſtitution, or knowing what belongs to matters of Faith or Manners.* And then proceeding in a tedious invective againſt Simony, he at laſt thus addreſſes himſelf to the Laity: *What can ye expect, O unhappy People, from theſe Beaſts, all Bellies! Shall theſe amend thee, who* (as the Prophet ſays) *weary themſelves in commiting Iniquity? Shalt thou ſee with their Eyes, which regard only thoſe ways that lead to Hell; leave them rather,* (as bids our Saviour), *leaſt ye fall both blindfold into the ſame Perdition. But are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not ſo groſly: But what did it avail* Eli, *to be himſelf blameleſs, whil'ſt he connived at his Sons, that were wicked? Who of theſe hath been envied for his better Life? Who of them have hated to conſort with ſuch, or withſtood their entring into the Miniſtry, or zealouſly endeavoured their caſting out?* This is the Senſe of what he there ſays, it being not only tedious, but impoſſible to Tranſlate *Verbatim*, ſo barbarous and obſcure a Writer, thô otherwiſe he ſeems to have been a Man of great Wit, and ardent Piety, above what that Age would admit of: But hence we may learn what the State of the Government and Religion among the *Britains* was in that long Calm of Peace, which the Victory at *Badon* Hill had produced.

Anno Dom. ~~DLXIV.~~ LXLIV

Alſo at the end of his Hiſtory, he gives a farther account of the ſad ſtate of Affairs, and great corruption of Manners in thoſe Times;

And complains, " That the Cities of his Country were not then in-
" habited, as before, but lay ruined and deſerted; for though Foreign
" Wars were ceaſed for a time, yet ſo were not the Civil, ſo that there
" did ſtill remain upon the face of the Iſland evident marks of ſo miſ-
" erable a deſtruction; but that alſo as long as the memory of that un-
" looked for aſſiſtance laſted, their Kings, as well as their Biſhops and Prieſts
" did pretty well obſerve due Orders; but thoſe deceaſing, as the
" next Generation ſucceeded, which had not ſeen the former Calamities,
" and were only ſenſible of the preſent Proſperity, all the Principles of
" Truth and Juſtice were totally ſhaken and ſubverted: So that
" ſcarce any footſteps remained of them in all the Orders and De-
" grees of Men above mentioned, except ſome, and thoſe but few, very few
" in reſpect of thoſe who go to Hell; ſo that although they are the only
" true Sons of our Mother the Church, yet by reaſon of the ſmallneſs
" of their number, ſhe can ſcarce take any notice of them, albeit they
" lye in her very Boſome.

This much may ſuffice to give an account, as well of this Epiſtle of *Gildas*, as of his Hiſtory, which *Caradoc* of *Lancarvon* in his Legendary Life of this Author ſuppoſes to have been writ whil'ſt he lived at *Glaſtenbury*. But theſe paſſages, I thought good to Tranſcribe from him, as not unuſeful to be inſerted in theſe Annals; not out of any deſire to rip up, or expoſe the faults of the ancient *Britiſh* Clergy or Nation, much leſs to inſult over their Calamities; but rather to ſerve as a warning to us, who live in this looſe and corrupt Age, that we may avoid the like Sins, leſt we provoke God to ſend the like Judgments upon us: But to return to the *Saxon* Chronicle;

This

Sax. Ann. [This Year began the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, or in the Words of our Annals; *Ida* began to Reign, from whom is derived the Royal Family *Anno Dom.* DLXVII. of the *Northumbrian* Kings; the *Saxon* Annals here give us a long pedegree of this *Ida*, who reigned Twelve Years, and built *Bebbanburgh* (now *Bamborough* Caſtle in *Northumberland*) which was at firſt encompaſſed only with a Trench, and afterwards with a Wall.

H. Huntington ſays, This Prince was always in War, and *Will.* of *Malmesbury*, and *Mat. Weſtminſter*, make him to have had Twelve Sons partly by Wives, and partly by Concubines: And the latter alſo tells us that he together with his Sons came into *Britain*, and landed at *Flensburgh* with Forty Ships.

But though *Ida* was the firſt that took upon him the Title of King, yet there were Princes of the *Saxons*, in that Country many Years before; for the ſame Authors tell us, That *Hengiſt* had long before ſent his Brother *Ottha*, and his Son *Ebuſa*, Men of great Experience in War, to Conquer the North Parts of *Britain*; who purſuing his directions, met with a ſucceſs anſwerable to their endeavours; for fighting often times with the Natives of the Country, and conquering all thoſe who indeavoured to reſiſt them, they received the reſt into their Protection, and ſo enjoyed the fruits of Peace. But though they had by their own induſtry, as well as the conſent of their Subjects, gained ſome Power in thoſe Parts; yet did they never till now take upon them the Title of Kings, the ſame moderation deſcending alſo to their Poſterity: So that for near an Hundred Years, the Princes, Earls, or Dukes of *Northumberland* lived like Vaſſals, under the Protection of the Kings of *Kent*. But this Nation being naturally haughty, in the Year above recited, (that is Sixty Years after the Death of *Hengiſt*) this Principality was changed into a Kingdom, *Ida* firſt reigning there; who without doubt was a very gallant Man, being then in the prime of his Youth; but whether he enjoyed that Principality in his own Right, or whether he had it by Election, our Author will not take upon him to determine, becauſe the Truth was very obſcure; only it was certain, that thô he was deſcended of an Ancient and Royal Family, yet by his Great and Noble Qualities, he added much to the greatneſs of his Birth, and that being invincible in War, he tempered the Severity of Kingly Majeſty with his own natural affability. To return now to the affairs of the Weſt *Saxons*, *Anno* 552.

Will. Malm. lib. 1. *cap.* 3.

After Five Years, *Cynric* fought againſt the *Britains*, at a place which is called *Searebyrig* (*i. e.* Old *Sarum*) and put the *Britains* to flight; then follows a Repetition of his Pedigree, as far as King *Ethelbert*, who was the firſt Chriſtian King; which ſhews that theſe *Annals* were continued by ſeveral hands, at ſeveral times long after thoſe Kings lived.]

About this time, ſome *Britiſh* Chronicles place the Death of *Malgoclunus*, or *Mailgwn Gwined*, thô Mr. *R. Vaughan* a Learned *Welſh* Antiquary would rather underſtand this of his Civil than Natural Death; that is, to his reſigning the Crown, and profeſſing himſelf a Monk, as *Gildas* in his Epiſtle ſaith he did; For it is certain he lived and reigned long after; and he is in the *Welſh* Annals reckoned as the Supreme, or ſole King of the *Britains*; being, (as it ſeems) after the breach of this Vow, Choſen by the *Welſh* Nobility and People to that Dignity, ſome Years after: So that divers of the *Welſh* Chronologers, begin his Reign over all *Wales* and *Cumberland* from this very Year, thô *Humphrey Lluyd*

in

in his Deſcription of *Britain*, out of an ancient *Britiſh* Law-Book, begins it about the Year 560, which is moſt likely. He is ſaid by *John Roſſe*, in his Hiſtory, to have built *Bangor* near the River *Menai*, where now is an Epiſcopal See. But to return to our *Saxon* Annals,

'This Year *Cynric*, and *Ceawlin* his Son, fought a Battle againſt the *Britains* at *Berinbyrig*, (now *Banbury* in *Oxfordſhire*,) and put them to flight. *Sax. Ann.*
'*H. Huntington* is very large in the Deſcription of this Battle, relating, *Ann.* DLVI.
'That the *Britains* having gathered together all their Forces to revenge the 'Loſſes they had received for five Years aforegoing, marched as far as '*Beranbury*, where they drew up their Men in nine Diviſions; but the '*Saxons* being drawn up in one great Body, and ſetting boldly upon them, 'having broken their Lances, finiſhed the Victory with their Swords, 'which remained doubtful till night drew on. Some Years after this, '(*viz.*)

'*Ceawlin* began alſo to reign over the *Weſt-Saxons* in the room of *Cynric* *Anno Dom.* 'his Father; the ſame Year *Ida* dying, *Ælla* began to reign over the DLX. '*Northumbers*. His Pedigree likewiſe follows, thô needleſs to be inſerted; 'but it terminates in *Woden*, thô from another Anceſtor than *Ida*'s.

'But you are here to obſerve, That now the *Northumbrian* Kingdom be- *Sax. An.* 'came divided into two, for this *Ælla* reigned over the Kingdom of *Deira*, 'while *Adda*, the eldeſt Son of *Ida*, reigned at the ſame time over the '*Bernicians*, (as *Florence* of *Worceſter* teſtifies.)

'This Year alſo *Ethelbert* ſucceeded in the Kingdom of *Kent*, which he 'held for 53 Years. In his time Pope *Gregory* ſent us Baptiſm, (that is, 'made the *Engliſh Saxons* Chriſtians,) in the 32d Year of this King's 'Reign.

This Year (as *Bede*, and alſo the *Saxon* Annals relate,) *Columba* the *Anno Dom.* Prieſt or Presbyter came out of *Ireland*, (which in his Epitome he alſo DLXV. calls *Scotland*,) to preach the Word of GOD to the Northern *Picts*, that is, thoſe that were divided from the Southern by a large Tract of *Lib.* 3. *c.* 4. high Mountains; for the Southern *Picts* had been already converted from Idolatry to the Chriſtian Faith by *Nynias*, a Reverend Biſhop of the *Britiſh* Nation, (as hath been already declared.) But *Columba* came into *Britain* in the 9th Year of the Reign of *Bridius* the Son of *Meiloch* King of the *Picts*, and having converted the ſaid Nation to the Chriſtian Faith, received the Iſland [of *Hy*], therein to build a Monaſtery. Then *Bede*, after giving us a ſhort Deſcription of this Iſland and Monaſtery, *Ibid.* has this remarkable Paſſage, *viz.* "But this Iſland (*viz. Hy*,) is always "wont to have for its Governour the Abbot or Presbyter, to whoſe Au- "thority all the Province, and even the Biſhops themſelves, after an "unuſual Order, ought to be ſubject, according to the Example of "their firſt Teacher, who was never a Biſhop, but a Monk. But the *Saxon* Chronicle is more expreſs, and ſays, "That there muſt be always "in *Hy* an Abbot, and not a Biſhop, and that all the Biſhops of *Scotland* ought to be ſubject to him.

From the above-mentioned Paſſage in *Bede*, ſome Writers have inferr'd, That Biſhops were not then thought ſo neceſſary, ſince the Church of *Scotland* was able to ſubſiſt ſo long without them; and the Abbot of *Hy*, without being ordained Biſhop, exerciſed Epiſcopal Authority over thoſe that were Biſhops; to which, Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* in his before-cited Work, *De Britan. Eccleſ. Antiquit.* anſwers, That this Authority of the Abbots *Cap.* 16. *p.* 367. of *Hy*, their exerciſing Juriſdiction over the Biſhops of *Scotland*, was a Supe-

Anno Dom. DLXV. Superiority of meer Juriſdiction, and not of Order; and he there cites certain ancient Annals of *Ulſter*, to prove, That this little Iſland had always a Biſhop reſiding in it, either in or near that Monaſtery: Which is alſo further enforced in the Learned Biſhop *Lloyd*'s Hiſtorical Account *Cap.* 5. of *Church Government, &c.* where he brings ſeveral Authorities to prove, that this *Columba* received his Orders from *Finean* Biſhop of *Meath* in *Ireland*, before ever he came from thence; and that if he refuſed being made a Biſhop, it was but of a pure Monkiſh Humility, having from his Youth devoted himſelf to a Monaſtic Life; but that he himſelf did own the Order of a Biſhop to be above that of a Presbyter, is urged from *Adamannus* his Succeſſor, who wrote his Life; particularly mentioning *Columba*'s refuſing to break the Bread to be received at the Communion, together with a concealed Biſhop, (as two Prieſts uſed to do in their way of Conſecration) but would needs make him break it alone, (as a Biſhop ought to do,) asking him, Why he had endeavoured to conceal himſelf, that they might give him due Veneration? Which Words of *Columba* a Presbyter to a Biſhop, are ſuppoſed ſufficiently to ſhew, that he acknowledged the Epiſcopal Order ſuperiour to his own; and that the *Scots* ever acknowledged, that Biſhops were neceſſary for the Ordaining of others in the Miniſtery, the ſaid Biſhop further urges from *Lib.* 3. *Bede*, who there tells us, "There was a Biſhop of all that Province; as "alſo from another place in the ſaid Author, where he relates, That "when King *Oſwald* becoming a Chriſtian, deſired to have a Biſhop from "*Hy*, to plant a Church among his *Northumbrians*; *Aidan* was ſent to "him, having firſt received the Degree of a Biſhop, in the time when "*Segenius*, Abbot and Prieſt, was over that Monaſtery; and alſo, that "after he came into *Northumberland*, he choſe the Place for his Epiſco-"pal See in the Iſle of *Lindisfarn*, where he was with his Clergy; and "there he was Abbot with his Monks, who all belong to the Care of "the Biſhop, where he was alſo ſucceeded by divers other Biſhops; till "that Church being deſtroyed by the *Danes*, the Biſhop's See was remo-"ved to *Durham*. I need ſay no more upon this Subject, but ſhall refer *Ibid. cap.* 5,6,8. the Reader to the ſaid Learned Biſhop's *Diſſertation*, to prove, that no other Church-Government, but Epiſcopal, was ever ſetled amongſt the *Scots*, *Picts*, or *Saxons*, upon their Converſion to Chriſtianity. But that we may return again to our *Saxon* Annals.

Sax. Ann. 'Adda King of *Bernicia* dying this Year, (as *Florence* of *Worceſter* and *An.* DLXVII. 'Matthew of *Weſtminſter* relate) one *Glappa* reigned in his ſtead two Years; 'but who he was, or how deſcended, theſe Authors do not tell us.

The ſame Year died *Maelgwn Guineth* King of the *Britains*, after five Years Reign over all that part of *Britain* that was left them: This is according to the account of that Learned Antiquary Mr. *Robert Vaughan*; thô *Mat.* of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Powell*, and Sir *John Price*, make him to have began his Reign long after, *viz.* the former of theſe in 581, and the latter in 590; both which Opinions the ſaid Mr. *Vaughan* Learnedly confutes in a Manuſcript I have now in my poſſeſſion; but who ſucceeded *Maelgwn Guineth* as King of all the *Britains*, ſince the *Welſh* Annals are ſilent, I ſhall be ſo too; for as to thoſe Succeſſors which *Geoffery* hath given him, I have already ſaid ſufficient to deſtroy his Credit in this matter; and *Will.* of *Newberie*'s Cenſure of him is not leſs ſharp than true: "That concerning the Succeſſors of *Arthur*, he does not lie with leſs "Impudence, when he gives them the Monarchy of all *Britain*, even to "the 7th Generation.

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'The next year *Ceawlin*, and *Cutha* his Brother, beginning a Civil 'War, fought with King *Ethelbert*, and drove him back into *Kent*, and 'killed two of his Commanders, *Oſtac* and *Cnebba*, at *Wibbendon*, (now *Wimbledon* in *Surrey*.) This King *Ethelbert* (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* obſerves) was in the beginning of his Reign a Scorn to the Neighbouring Princes; for being beaten in one or two Battels, he could ſcarce defend his own Territories: But when in his riper Years he learned more Experience in War, in a ſhort time he brought under his Subjection all the Nations of the *Engliſh-Saxons*, except the *Northumbrians*; and that he might alſo gain the Friendſhip of Foreigners, he became allied to the King of the *Franks* by the Marriage of *Bertha* his Daughter. But of this King we hear no more for many years, till his Converſion to the Chriſtian Faith. *Anno Dom.* DLXVIII.

Glappa King of *Bernicia* dying, *Theodwulf* ſucceeded him for one year. But then he alſo deceaſing, *Anno Dom.* DLXIX.

Freodwulf reigned after him for ſeven or eight years more. We are beholding for the Succeſſion of theſe two Kings, to *Florence* of *Worceſter* and *Rog. Hoveden*, being omitted by all other Authors; they are alſo more exact in diſtinguiſhing this Kingdom from that of *Deira*, moſt of the reſt confounding them together. *Anno Dom.* DLXX.

Cuthwulf the Brother of *Ceawlin* (as it is in *H. Huntington*) fought againſt the *Britains* at *Bedicanford* (now *Bedford*), and took four Towns, *viz. Lugeanburh* (now *Loughborough*) in *Leiceſterſhire*, or elſe *Leighton* in *Bedfordſhire*; and *Eglesburh* (now *Ailesbury*) in *Bucks*; with *Bennington* and *Egoneſham* (now called *Benſington* and *Exiſham*) in *Oxfordſhire*. *Anno Dom.* DLXXI.

About this time, as is ſuppoſed, (for the Year is not ſet down in the *Saxon* Annals, nor any other Hiſtorian) began the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles* under *Uffa* (the Eighth from *Woden*) tho it ſeems there were before him divers other petty *Saxon* Princes, who had invaded and fixed themſelves in the Countries we now call *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; for in one Copy of *Matth.* of *Weſtminſter* which Mr. *Twine* had ſeen, (tho it be not found in our printed ones) he ſaith, That *Anno* 527. the *Pagans* came out of *Germany* and took poſſeſſion of the Countrey of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and tormented the Chriſtians with all ſorts of Cruelty; but it ſeems this *Uffa* in Strength and Policy overpowering the reſt of thoſe Petty Princes, got himſelf made ſole King, and governed with that Glory, that *H. Huntingdon* tells us, the Kings deſcended from him were called *Uffings*, though how long he reigned is uncertain, only that dying he left the Crown to *Titul* or *Titillus* his Son, of whom likewiſe nothing is recorded, and therefore *Will.* of *Malmesbury* takes no notice of theſe two Princes: The firſt he ſpeaks of is *Redwald*, the Tenth from *Woden*, whom he calls the greateſt King of the *Eaſt-Angles*; but ſince his Reign began after this Period, I ſhall reſerve the ſpeaking further of him to the next Book. *Anno Dom.* DLXXV. *Vid.* Will. Malmesb. *l.* 1. H. Huntingd. *l.* 2.

To return to the *Saxon* Annals: 'This year *Ceawlin* and *Cuthwin* his 'Son fought with and ſlew three *Britiſh* Kings, *viz. Commail*, *Candidan*, 'and *Farinmaile*, at a place which is called *Deorham* (now *Durham*) 'in *Glouceſterſhire*, and then took three Cities, *Glewanceſter* (now *Glo-'ceſter*), *Cirenceſter*, and *Bathonceſter*, (now *Bathe*.) *Anno Dom.* DLXXVII.

Who theſe three Kings were, is very doubtful; ſome ſuppoſe the firſt and ſecond of them to be *Cuniglaſus* and *Aurelius Conan*, both men-

Anno Dom. DLXXVII. tioned by *Gildas*; but for the third, I cannot tell what to make of him, there being no such King mentioned in any of the old *British* Chronicles; so all that we can guess is, that he was some Petty Prince, whose Name is wholly omitted in the *Welsh* Annals, or else mistaken in ours. From the time of this Battel, the *Britains* or *Welshmen* (as the *English* call them) being driven into that rough and mountainous Countrey we now call *Wales*, lying beyond the Rivers of *Dee* and *Severn*, made fewer Invasions into (what we call) *England*.

This year, as the *Welsh* Chronicle, called *Triades*, relates (being an Ancient Manuscript written near 1000 years ago), the Battel of *Arderydd* was fought on the Borders of *Scotland*, between *Aeddan Vradog*, (*i.e.* the Treacherous) and *Guendelew* Son of *Keidiaw*, *British* Princes of the North Parts of *Britain*, on the one side; and *Reiderch-hoel*, (*i.e.* the Liberal) a *British* King of *Cumberland*, on the other side, and that upon a very slight occasion, a Lark's-Nest, and two Dogs: In which Battel *Guendelew* was slain, though his men fought and skirmish'd with the other *Britains* for Six Weeks to revenge his Death. After which Fight *Aedan* being there overcome, fled into the Isle of *Man*.

The like Story is related by *Hector Boethius*, concerning the Battel between *Ædan* King of the *Scots*, and the *Picts*, upon the like occasion; so that either the *Scots* borrowed it from the *British* History, or else this had it from them; though the former be the most likely. But how this can agree with our *Saxon* Annals, who make *Adda* King of *Bernicia* to have died Ten Years before, I know not; one of them must certainly be mistaken, since there was but one King of *Northumberland* who was called *Adda*.

This year, or the next, King *Freothwulf* dying, *Theodoric* the Son of *Ida* (according to *Florence* of *Worcester* and *Matth. Westminster*) succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, *Ælla* still reigning in *Deira*. This *Theodoric* and his Sons (according to the Ancient Author of the *English-Saxon* Genealogies at the end of *Nennius*, lately put forth by Dr. *Gale*) fought with *Urbgen*, or *Urien*, King of *Cumberland*, and his Sons, with various Success, who besieged *Theodoric* in the Isle of *Medcant*, (now *Turne* Island) until by the means of *Morgant*, a Prince of the same Countrey who envied his Valour, *Urien* was in that Expedition murthered by his own men: But the Succession of these Kings of *Northumberland* is very obscure and uncertain.

For the Author of the abovecited Genealogies makes one *Freodguald* to have succeeded this *Theodoric* or *Deoric* (as he calls him); but whether he was the same with *Freothwulf*, mentioned by *Florence*, is hard to determine; and after this *Freodguald*, who reigned seven years, one *Hussa* is said to have succeeded, who reigned seven years likewise; but whether in *Deira* or *Bernicia*, he does not say; in which he is also followed by *Rog. Hoveden*, in his Prologue to his History; but the Succession of these Kings having no certain Time assigned them, I can only set them down as I find them. Here is a large Gap left in the *Saxon* Annals, where nothing occurs further of *English* Affairs for seven years. To supply which, we must have recourse to the *British* Affairs in those Countries we now call *Wales*. Where (to shew you the Uncertainty of the *British* Chronology),

Anno Dom. DLXXXI. According to *Matthew* of *Westminster*, *Malgo*, or *Magoclunus*, whom the *Welsh* Annals call *Mael Guineth*, was elected King of all the *Britains*

tains of *Wales* (having been long before King of *North-Wales*, as the word *Gwineth* in the *Welſh* Tongue ſignifies). And *Humphrey Lloyd*, in his Fragment of the Deſcription of *Wales*, from an Ancient Book of *Britiſh* Laws, thus gives us the manner of his Election. *Anno Dom.* DLXXXI.

After the *Saxons* had obtained the Kingdom and Crown of *London* upon the Expulſion of the *Britains*, all the People of *Wales* met at the mouth of the River *Dee* to Elect a King; and thither came the men of *Gwineth* (or *North-Wales*), the men of *Powis-land*, the men of *Dehaubarth*, *Glamorgan*, and divers other Countries; who all elected *Mael Gwineth* King:

Whom *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* fables to have been King not only of all this Iſland, but alſo to have conquered *Ireland*, *Iceland*, *Gothland*, *Norway*, *Denmark*, and the *Orcades*; a ſtory ſo ridiculous, that the very telling it is a ſufficient Confutation: And all this he collects from thoſe words of *Gildas*, wherein he calls him the *Iſland Dragon*, and a driver out of many Tyrants; and becauſe to expreſs his great wickedneſs he ſays, *He was drunk with the Wine of* Sodom; *Geoffry* will needs conclude him to have been guilty of *Sodomy*. This Prince is ſuppoſed to have reigned as Supreme King of *Wales* about ſix years.

Ceawlin King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and *Cutha*, fought againſt the *Britains* at a place called *Frethanleag* (now *Frethern*) in *Glouceſterſhire*, where *Cutha* was ſlain; yet *Ceawlin* now took many Towns, with great Treaſures, and other Spoil, and ſo returned home: As *H. Huntington* relates, the *Britains* had at firſt the better, but *Ceawlin* having ſent for freſh Recruits, overcame the Conquerors. *William* of *Malmesbury* mentions a Son of *Ceawlin*'s, of the ſame Name, to have been killed before his face; but either the Copy he had of theſe Annals differed from thoſe we have left us, or elſe he was no other than this *Cutha* here mentioned, who was his Brother. *Anno Dom.* DLXXXIV.

About this time began the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, (according to *H. Huntington* and *Matth.* of *Weſtminſter*) whoſe firſt King was *Crida*, or *Creoda*; this, though the laſt erected, yet was one of the largeſt of the *Engliſh Saxon* Kingdoms, and was alſo one of the laſt that was conquered by the *Weſt-Saxons*. *Anno Dom.* DLXXXV.

This Year alſo (according to the *Welſh* Annals) happened a great Slaughter of the *Britains* of the North; for now *Gurgi* and *Fredur*, two *Britiſh* Princes, being Brothers and Twins, the Sons of *Oliver Goſgard Vawr*, (*i. e. Oliver* with the great Train) a Prince of *Cumberland*, fought with *Ædda*, or *Adda*, the *Saxon* King of *Northumberland*, at a place called *Caergrew*, where both the Brothers were ſlain, many of their men treacherouſly deſerting them the Night before the Battel.

'This year *Ælla* King of *Deira* died [after 30 years Reign], and *Athelric* ſucceeded him, and reigned 5 years over all *Northumberland*, having (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* relates) obtained the Kingdom in his Old Age, his Youth being ſpent in a very narrow Fortune; yet having, according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*'s Account, reigned two years over *Bernicia* in *Ælla*'s time. And this year alſo, according to *Matth.* of *Weſtminſter*, this *Athelric* (for ſo I ſuppoſe it ſhould be, and not *Ethelfrid*, who had not yet begun to reign) married *Acca*, Daughter to *Ælla* King of *Deira*, and on her got ſeven Sons, whoſe Names he there gives us. *Anno Dom.* DLXXXVIII.

Anno Dom. DLXXXVIII.

Alſo this year in the *Welſh* Annals, as well as thoſe of *Ulſter*, *Conſtantine* is mention'd to be converted to the Lord; whom Archbiſhop *Uſher* underſtands to have been that wicked *Conſtantine*, King of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, whom *Gildas* has before inveighed againſt, and who at this time, being now bereft of his Wife and Children, was alſo weary of his Kingdom, and therefore went privately into *Ireland*, and there building a Monaſtery, took upon him the Habit of a Monk; as *John* of *Tinmouth*, in his Life of St. *David*, relates. And this *Conſtantine* *Hector Boethius* in his * *Scotiſh* Hiſtory, will have to have been ſent over by a certain *Iriſh* Biſhop to preach the Goſpel to the *Scots*, and being by them martyr'd, to have been ſome Ages after canonized for a Saint: But this ſounds like a Legend, ſince the *Scots* had been long before converted by St. *Patrick* to the Chriſtian Faith.

* *Lib.* 9.

Anno Dom. DXCI.

This year there was a great and bloody Battel fought at *Wodensbeorge* (now called *Wodensburg*, a little Village in *Wiltſhire*) between the *Britains* and the *Saxons*, though it is not here ſaid who were the Generals on either ſide; only *H. Huntington* tells us, that the *Britains* having drawn up their Army after the *Roman* manner, and the *Saxons* charging them boldly, but confuſedly, there followed a ſharp Battel, in which GOD gave the Victory to the *Britains*; for the *Saxons* being wont to have the better in all their Wars, being now grown more careleſs, were vanquiſhed, and the whole Army almoſt deſtroyed, which (as *W.* of *Malmesbury* relates) happened through the *Engliſh* joining with the *Britains* againſt him (though of what Countrey the *Engliſh* were, he does not tell us); ſo that *Ceawlin* being driven out of his Kingdom, and *Ceolric* Son to his Brother *Cuthwalf* obtaining it, reigned five years. *Ceawlin* being thus expell'd after 31 years Reign, was forced to take Refuge in ſome other Kingdom; but whether in this Iſland, or elſe beyond Sea, our Hiſtories are ſilent: He had been a little before the greateſt and moſt powerful of all the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings, his Atchievements being a Wonder to the *Engliſh*, and till then a Terror to the *Welſh* or *Britiſh*.

About this time *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* makes *Careticus* above-mentioned to have ſucceeded *Malgo* (who perhaps was the ſame with *Mael Gwineth*) in the Kingdom of the *Britains*, whom he deſcribes to have been a lover of Civil Wars, and to be hateful to God and all the *Britains*; ſo that the *Saxons* ſeeing his weakneſs, invited *Gormund* an *African* King out of *Ireland*, to Invade *England* with Six thouſand *Africans*, who joining with the *Saxons* invaded the Territories of *Careticus*, and beating him in many Battels, at laſt beſieged him in the City of *Cirenceſter*, which being taken and burnt, he again joined Battel with *Careticus*, and forced him to fly beyond *Severne* into *Wales*; and then *Gormund* deſtroying all the Neighbouring Cities, never left till he had deſtroyed the whole Iſland from Sea to Sea; and ſo for a time obtained the Supreme Dominion of the whole Kingdom.

But of theſe Kings *Gareticus* and *Garmund*, ſince not only the moſt Authentick *Welſh* Chronicles, but the *Saxon* Annals are wholly ſilent, I ſuppoſe them to have been only Romances, and invented by *Geoffrey* to fill up this Gap in his *Britiſh* Hiſtory; not that I will deny that one *Gormund* a *Daniſh* King might reign in *Ireland* about this time; but that he ever reigned in *England*, is utterly falſe, no other Hiſtorian but himſelf, and thoſe that borrow from him, making any mention of it.

This

This year *Gregory* was made Biſhop of *Rome*.

Anno Dom. DXCII.

Ceaulin (late King of the *Weſt-Saxons*) died in Baniſhment; and the ſame year died *Cwichelm* (his Brother), together with *Cryda* [King of the *Mercians*, to whom ſucceeded his Son *Wipha* or *Wippa*]; and *Ethelfred* began alſo to reign over both the *Northumbrian* Kingdoms, being the Son of *Ethelric* the Son of *Ida*. This Prince did not only defend his own Territories, but alſo invaded and ſeized thoſe of others. But the third year after was very remarkable,

Anno Dom. DXCIII.

Mat. Weſtm. in hoc Anno.

For now Pope *Gregory* ſent *Auguſtine* into *Britain* with many Monks to preach the Word to the *Engliſh* Nation.

Anno Dom. DXCVI.

As for the *Britiſh* Affairs, we have but little more to remark ever ſince the Death of *Maelgwin Gwineth*, for the ſpace of 24 years; only we find in the Book of *Landaffe*, that about this time *Tudric* King of *Glamorgan*, who was ſtill Victorious, is ſaid to have exchanged his Crown for an Hermitage; till going in Aid of his Son *Mouric*, whom the *Saxons* had reduced to great extremity, taking up Arms again, he defended him againſt them at *Tinterne*, by the River *Wye*, but he himſelf received a Mortal Wound.

But about the end of this Century (as *Groffry* of *Monmouth* relates) when the *Britains* could not agree for 24 years who ſhould be their Governor, at laſt they choſe *Cadwan* Prince of *North Wales* to be King of all the *Britains*; but the year of this Election is not ſet down by *Geoffry*, nor is this Prince mentioned by any other *Britiſh* Author or Chronicle, before he wrote. But I ſhall defer ſpeaking farther of this Prince, till I come to the next Book.

Ceolwulf began to reign over the *Weſt-Saxons*, who making continual Wars all his time, fought ſometimes againſt the other *Engliſh-Saxons*, ſometimes againſt the *Britains*, or elſe againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*; but (what is more remarkable) this year *Auguſtine* the Monk, with his Companions, arrived in *Britain*.

Anno Dom. DXCVII.

But before I conclude this Period, I cannot omit taking ſome further notice of the Civil as well as Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, in that part of *Britain*, now called *Wales*, where the Remainders of Chriſtianity in this ſide of our Iſland, were now wholly confined; *Bangor* in the *North*, and *Caer-Leon* upon *Uſk* in *South-Wales*, being the chief Places for Learning, as well as Religion, the laſt of theſe being alſo the See of an Archbiſhop; where was likewiſe a College of Philoſophers, of which (as *Alex. Elſebienſis* relates) *Dubritius*, Archbiſhop of that City, was the Founder; who reſigning his Biſhoprick, became an Anchoret in the Iſle of *Bardſey*; to whom ſucceeded *David* (afterwards Sainted), who flouriſhed about the year 509, and is ſaid to have been Uncle by the Mother's ſide to King *Arthur*; he removed the Epiſcopal See from *Caer-Leon* to *Menevia*, now called St. *David*'s, in *Pembrockſhire*. Nor can I paſs by ſeveral Learned and Holy Men among the *Britains* of this Age; as firſt, *Daniel* the moſt Pious Biſhop of *Bangor*; *Cadocus* Abbot of *Lancarvan* in *Glamorganſhire*, whoſe Life is written by *John* of *Tinmouth*. In the ſame Age alſo flouriſhed *Iltutus*, a Pious and Learned Man of that Countrey; to whom we may alſo add *Sampſon* his Scholar, conſecrated Biſhop by *Dubritius*, Succeſſor to St. *David*; this *Sampſon* was afterwards Archbiſhop of *Dole* in *Britain*, having upon his leaving *Britain* carried away the Pall along with him, (as hath been already mentioned): Not to omit *Patern* and *Petroc*, the former a Preacher

Vid. Uſſerii Britan. Eccleſ. Antiquit. cap. 5, 12, 13.

Preacher at *Llan Patern* in *Cardiganſhire*, and the other in *Cornwal*; beſides *Congal* Abbot of *Bangor*, and *Kentigern* the famous Biſhop of *Ellwye* in *North-Wales*, as alſo *Aſaph* his Scholar, and Succeſſor in the ſame See, now from him called St. *Aſaph*; to whom I may alſo add *Talieſſen*, the famous *Britiſh* Poet, whoſe Verſes are preſerved to this day. All theſe flouriſhed from the beginning till the middle of the Sixth Century, which now as much abounded in Learned and Pious Men, as the former Age was wanting of them.

Thus, omitting Fables, we have given you a View of whatever we find can be relied on for Truth, tranſacted in *Britain* ſince the *Romans* firſt conquered and then forſook it: Wherein we may obſerve the many Miſeries and Deſolations brought by Divine Providence on a wicked and perverſe Nation; driven (when nothing elſe would reform them) out of a Rich Countrey into a Mountainous and Barren Corner, by Strangers and Heathens: So much more intolerable in the Eye of Heaven is the diſhonouring the Chriſtian Faith and Religion by Unchriſtian Works, than downright Infidelity. Yet am I not of *Bede*'s Opinion, That the *Britains* omiſſion to preach the Goſpel to the *Engliſh-Saxons* (though they inhabited the ſame Iſland) was any of their crying Sins; ſince it was not to be expected, that they could either Preach, or the *Saxons* would ever Receive the Goſpel from thoſe who were their utter Enemies, and had taken their Countrey from them by Violence: Yet God was not wanting to this Nation, but appointed other Preachers to convert it to the Chriſtian Faith; which how it was brought about, ſhall be the Subject of the enſuing Book.

The End of the Third Book.

THE

Leaſt the Names of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings which have been in t
began to reign, ſhould render their Succeſſion perplexed, and h
and *Mat. Weſtminſter*, placed the ſeveral Kingdoms of the *Sa*
the End of this Period, *(viz.) Anno Dom.* 597.

Note, *The Years in this Table do not always follow the Printed Text of the* Saxon *Ann*
I thought to be the beſt Account. *The Succeſſion of* Britiſh *Kings is acc*

Anno Dom.	*Kings of* Kent.	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of the* South-Saxons.	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of the* Weſt-Saxons.	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of the* Eaſt-Saxons.
457	* Hengiſt *reigned* 31 *years.*						
	* *He was not choſen King till above ſeven years after his arrival, which was* An. 449.						
488	Æsk, *or* Oric, *his Son*, 24 *years.*						
		491	Ælla *reigned* 24 *years.*				
512	Otha, *or* Oiſc, *his Son*, 20 *years.*						
		515	Ciſſa *reigned, uncertain how many years.*				
532	Ermenric, *his Son*, 29 *years.*			519	Cerdic *reigned* 15 *years.*	527	Erkenwin, *or* Eſcwin.
				534	Cynric, *his Son, reigned* 26 *years.*		Sigebert.
						535	Swithelm.
			After whom reigned divers Kings, whoſe Names are not to be found in our Annals or Hiſtorians.				
561	Ethelbert, *his Son.*			560	Ceawlin, *his Son*, 31 *years.*		
						587	Sledda, 9 *years.*
				591	Ceolric, *his Kinſman*, 5 *years.*		
						596	Seabert.
				597	Ceolwulf 14 *years.*		

former Book set down promiscuously according to the Years in which they
d to be remembred; I have from the *Saxon* Annals, *Florence* of *Worcester*,
n Heptarchy, together with their Kings, in a *Chronological* Order, as far as

, since the Copies often differ, sometimes one year, and sometimes more; and then I have always followed that which
ling to the Account I received from the Most Reverend Father in God, Humphrey *Lord Bishop of* Bangor.

Kings of Northumberland *in the Provinces called*			*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of the* East-Angles.	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of* Mercia.	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of the* Britains.
Bernicia.	*Anno Dom.*	Deira.					445	Vortiger.
							454	Vortimer *his Son; his Father being Deposed.*
							458	Vortiger *again restored after the Death of his Son.*
							465	Aurelius Ambrosius *made General of the* Britains, Vortiger *still living.*
Ida, *Son of* Eoppa, *reigned over both Kingdoms* 12 *years.*							481	Aurelius *chosen King, after the Death of* Vortiger.
Adda, *or* Odda, *his Son, reigned* 5 *years.*	559	Ælla, *the Son of* Yffi, *reigned near* 30 *years.*					508	Nazaleod, *(or* Nathanleod*) Chief King of the* Britains; *who whether he was not the same with* Aurelius Ambrosius, *is doubtful.*
Clappa 7 *years.*				Uffa *reigned uncertain how long.*				
Theodwulf 1 *year.*								
Freothwulf 7 *years.*								
			578	Titylus, *or* Tytila, *his Son, reigned uncertain too how long.*				
Theodoric 7 *years.*					585	Crida, *or* Creoda, *how long he reigned is uncertain.*		*Here follows an* Inter-regnum *of about six years.*
Æthelric 2 *years.*								
These two last were Sons of Ida, *and rul'd here, whilst* Ælla *reigned in* Deira.	589	Edwin, *his Son, who being soon expell'd by* Æthelfrid *King of* Bernicia, *reigned over both Kingdoms* 14 *years, till* Edwin *was again restored.*					515	*K.* Arthur *reigned twenty seven years.*
							542	*After whose Death followed Nine years* Interregnum.
This Æthelric *last mention'd, began also to reign over both these Kingdoms, after the death of* Ælla, *and reigned in all* 5 *years.*						Wippa, *or* Pybba, *his Son, the like.*		
			593	Redwald, *his Son.*			551	Mailgwin Gwined *was elected King of all the* Britains.
Æthelfred *his Son reigned* 24 *over both Kingdoms.*						Ceorl *the like.*	586	Mailgwin *died; after whom was a* 17 *years* Interregnum.

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Anno Dom.	*King*
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488	Æsk, *Son*
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532	Erm 25
561	Ethe

THE General History OF BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND:

As well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil.

BOOK IV.

From the Preaching of the Chriſtian Religion *by* Auguſtine *the* Monk, *to* Ecbert, *the firſt Chief or Supreme* King *of* ENGLAND; *containing Two Hundred and Three Years.*

THIS Fourth Period will give us a new and more pleaſant Proſpect of the Affairs of *Britain*: For as the Goſpel of Chriſt did now diſpel that *Egyptian* Darkneſs of *Paganiſm*, under which it had ſo long laboured; ſo, together with *Chriſtianity*, Human Learning (and conſequently the Art of compoſing Hiſtories or Annals) entred alſo with it; the Monaſteries, which were not long after founded, being then the only Univerſities in which the Liberal Arts and Sciences were in thoſe times chiefly taught and profeſſed; which though it was not without a great mixture of that *Gothic* Barbariſm that had then overſpread all *Europe*, and even *Italy* it ſelf, yet was it ſufficient (in ſome meaſure) to inſtruct men not only in Divine, but Civil Knowledge; the Monks of that Age poſſeſſing the greateſt ſhare of Learning, and being almoſt the only Hiſtorians as well as Divines: Therefore we muſt be beholding to them for what Accounts we have, not only of the Eccleſiaſtical but Civil Affairs of thoſe Times; for *Bede*, our firſt *Engliſh* Hiſtorian, was himſelf a Monk: And the *Saxon* Annals (which we here give you) were firſt collected and written in divers Monaſteries of *England*; and to which

is to be aſcribed that difference which is found between the Copies of that Chronicle, as to the Dates of Years, and other Matters; for before there was ſcarce any thing remembred by Tradition, but the great Wars and Battels fought by the *Saxon* Kings againſt the *Britains*; ſo, after the Monks came to commit things to writing, they began to make us underſtand ſomewhat of their Civil Conſtitutions, and the Acts of Peace as well as War; tho it muſt be confeſſed they are not ſo exact in the former as they might and ought to have been; minding more the relating of Viſions and Miracles, which they ſuppoſed to have happen'd and been done in thoſe times, for the Confirmation of ſome new Doctrines then not fully received: Yet however, I doubt not but from thoſe Remains they have left us, both the Conſtitution of their Government, and the manner of the Succeſſion of their Kings, may be clearly made out; of both which, in the former Period, we were wholly ignorant: But for this we are chiefly beholding to thoſe *Engliſh-Saxon* Laws that are left us, which were made by the Supreme Authority of each Kingdom in their *Witten Gemot*, *Mycel Gemot*, or great Council (which we now call a *Parliament*); from which times moſt of the Laws made in thoſe Councils were carefully preſerv'd, and would have been convey'd to us more entire, had it not been for the loſs of ſo many curious Monuments of Antiquity, at the ſuppreſſion of Monaſteries in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII.

But ſince it muſt be confeſſed, that it was to the Learning which Chriſtianity brought in, that we owe the knowledge we have of the Hiſtory of our Ancient Times, we ſhall begin where we left off in the former Book, and ſhew you by what means this part of *Britain* was brought to the knowledge of Chriſt, and all the Kingdoms of the *Saxon* Heptarchy became, by degrees, united in the ſame Faith: For the doing of which it is neceſſary that we look ſome years backward, and give you Venerable *Bede*'s Relation, how Pope *Gregory* (ſirnamed *The Great*, to whom the *Engliſh* Nation owes its Converſion) came to ſend *Auguſtine* the Monk to preach the Goſpel here in *Britain*; which he thus relates, as he received it down by Tradition.

Bede, *l.* 2. *c.* 1. The Report is, That many Merchants coming to *Rome*, great ſtore of Commodities being expoſed in the Market-place to be ſold, Chapmen flocking in apace, *Gregory* alſo himſelf going thither (tho rather out of Curioſity than to buy), ſaw among other things, certain handſome Boys expoſed to ſale; whom, when he beheld, he demanded from what Countrey they were brought; and anſwer being made, That they came out of the Iſle of *Britain*; then he asked again, Whether thoſe Iſlanders were Chriſtians? To which it was anſwered, They were Heathens; when, fetching a deep ſigh, he ſaid, *It was pity the Father of Darkneſs ſhould be Maſter of ſuch bright Faces:* They alſo told him, that they were called *Angles*, of the Kingdom of *Deira*, and that their Kings were named *Ælla:* On each of which Names *Bede* either invents, or elſe had heard, that Pope *Gregory* made divers *Latin* Alluſions; which ſince, if tranſlated, they would ſeem dry or trivial to moſt Readers, I therefore paſs by. But *Will.* of *Malmesbury* further adds to this ſtory, That it was then, and long after, the Cuſtom of the Nation of the *Northumbers*, to ſell their own Children, or other near Relations, to Foreign Merchants; which ſhews them then to have been either extraordinary neceſſitous, or elſe to have been as barbarous and void of Natural Affection, as the *Negroes* of ſome parts of *Africa* are at this day.

Gregory

Gregory going immediately to the then Biſhop of *Rome*, (for himſelf was not ſo as yet,) intreated him to order ſome Preachers of God's Word to be ſent to the *Engliſh* Nation, by whoſe means it might be converted to Chriſt; and that he himſelf was ready to undertake the Performance of this Work, in caſe it would pleaſe the Pope to ſend him; who, although he was willing to grant his Requeſt, yet the Citizens of *Rome* (who had a great value for him,) would by no means permit that he ſhould go ſo far from that City.

But *Gregory* being not long after himſelf advanced to the Papacy, he performed by others his ſo long deſired deſign; for in his Fourth Year, being admoniſhed (ſaith *Bede*) by Divine inſtinct, he ſent *Auguſtine*, whom he had deſigned for Biſhop of the *Engliſh* Nation, and other Zealous Monks along with him, to preach the Goſpel in *Britain*; who being now upon their way, and diſcouraged by ſome falſe Reports, diſpatch'd *Auguſtine* in all their Names, beſeeching the Pope that they might return home, and not be ſent a Journey ſo full of hazard to a fierce and Infidel Nation, whoſe Language they underſtood not: But the Pope immediately ſent back their Meſſenger with Exhortatory Letters to them, not to be diſcouraged by vain Reports; but vigorouſly to purſue the work they had undertaken, ſince their labours would be attended with laſting Glory; both in this life and that to come, and that they ſhould obey *Auguſtine*, whom he had appointed for their Abbot; beſides which Letters the Pope Wrote alſo to *Eutherius*, Arch-Biſhop of *Arles*, wherein he recommended them to his Care and Protection, and that he would furniſh them with what they wanted; alſo recommending to him *Candidus* a Preſbyter, whom he had ſent to receive and diſpoſe of the Churches Revenues in *France*; beſides which there is nothing remarkable in theſe Letters, except the date which is in the Tenth of the Kalends of *Auguſt*, in the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of our Lord, *Mauritius Tiberius Auguſtus*, and the Fourteenth *Indiction*, which falls out in the Year of our Lord 596; though the Author of the old *Gregorian* Regiſter hath for ſome Reaſons omitted to put down the dates of theſe Epiſtles; perhaps leſt Poſterity might underſtand that the Pope at that time called the Emperour his LORD, and dated his Letters by the Year of his Reign. *Lib. 1. cap. 23.*

Aguſtine and his Companions, being thus confirmed by the Pope's Exhortation, proceeded in their Voyage, and paſſing thorough *France* took Sea, and landed in the Iſle of *Thanet*, (lying on the Eaſt part of *Kent*) with about Forty Perſons in his Company, together with ſome Interpreters of the *French* Nation: *Ethelbert* was at that time King of that Country; being the moſt powerful Prince that had Reigned there, as having extended the bounds of his Dominion, as far as the banks of the River *Humber*: As ſoon as *Auguſtine* arrived, he ſent to King *Ethelbert*, giving him to underſtand, that he came from *Rome*, and had brought good tidings of Eternal Happineſs to all them that would receive it; the King hearing this, commanded that they ſhould remain in the place where they landed, and that all neceſſaries ſhould be plentifully ſupplied them, till he had determined what to do; for he had heard of the Chriſtian Religion long before, as having married a Chriſtian Lady, called *Bertha*, Siſter to the King of *France*, (as hath been already ſaid) upon this condition, that ſhe ſhould have the free Exerciſe of her Religion, and liberty to have a Biſhop of her own, named *Lethard*, whom ſhe brought with her to aſſiſt and ſtrengthen her in the Faith.

The King after ſome Days came to the Iſland, and fearing Inchantments, ſate down in the open Air, commanding that *Auguſtine* and his Companions ſhould be brought into his preſence; for he was perſwaded by his Country Superſtition, that if they brought with them any Inchantments, they could not there ſo eaſily work upon him; but *Auguſtine* and his Companions Armed with the Power of God, and bearing a Silver Croſs before them, with the Image of our Lord and Saviour painted on a Banner, came on ſinging (as in a ſolemn Proceſſion) the Litany as they went, and praying unto God for the Eternal Salvation of thoſe to whom they were ſent: But when ſitting down with the King, they had preached the Word of Life to him and his Nobles, the King thus ſpoke; "The Doctrines and the promiſes ye have made, are indeed fair and inviting; But I am not as yet reſolved to embrace them, ſince I cannot ſuddenly conſent to quit that Religion I have ſo long profeſſed, together with the whole *Engliſh* Nation; yet becauſe ye are Strangers, and come a long Journey, and as it ſeems would impart to us the knowledge of that Religion you believe to be the beſt; we will not give you the leaſt Moleſtation, but rather will protect you, and take care that all things neceſſary ſhall be provided for your Maintenance; neither ſhall we prohibit you from gaining as many as you can, to the belief of your Religion.

And accordingly he allotted them their reſidence in the City of *Canterbury*, (which was the Metropolis of his Kingdom) neither did he hinder them from the freedom of Preaching publickly to whom they would.

When they came to the place provided for them, they began to imitate the Innocent Life of the Primitive Chriſtians, by applying themſelves to continual Prayers and Faſting, and eſpecially to the Preaching the Word of God, to all that would hear them; deſpiſing the things of this World as ſuperfluous; being content with the bare neceſſaries of Life; living exactly according to the Rules they taught others: the ſucceſs of which, was, That many believed, and were baptized, admiring the ſimplicity of their Lives, as well as the Purity of their Doctrine.

There was near this City, towards the *Eaſt*, an old ruinous Church anciently Built in honour of St. *Martyn*; whileſt the *Romans* inhabited *Britain*, in which the Queen was wont to perform her Devotions: Here they firſt began to aſſemble and exerciſe their Spiritual Functions, until the King being converted, they obtained a full liberty of Preaching, and building Churches. But when the King, by the pure Lives of theſe Holy Men, as alſo by the Miracles they wrought, (as our Author relates) became convinced of the Truth of their Doctrine, and was thereupon Baptiſed, many flocking in, from all Parts to hear the Goſpel, and leaving their Heathaniſm, joyned themſelves to the Church of Chriſt, (ſo powerful a Motive is the Example of a Prince to his Subjects.) At whoſe Faith and Converſion, the King extreamly rejoyced; yet nevertheleſs would not compel any to receive Chriſtianity; only thoſe that believed, he cheriſhed with a more tender regard; for he had learnt from the Authors of his Salvation, *That the Service of Chriſt ought to be voluntary, and not conſtrained*; neither did he defer long the giving his Teachers places fitting for their imployment, in his City of *Canterbury*; and confer'd upon them large Poſſeſſions: But this was not done till ſome time after, being confirmed

confirmed in a great Council of his Kingdom, as ſhall be ſhewn in its proper place.

But as ſoon as *Auguſtine* had by his Preaching converted the greateſt part of the *Kentiſh* Nation, he returned into *France*, where he was ordained Arch-Biſhop of the *Engliſh* Nation, by *Eutherius*, Arch-Biſhop of *Arles*, according to the commands they had received from Pope *Gregory*; but upon his coming back into *Britain*, he ſent immediately to *Rome*, *Laurence* a Prieſt, and *Peter* a Monk, to certifie the Pope, that the Chriſtian Faith was now received by the *Engliſh*, and that he was now made Biſhop; deſiring alſo his Opinion in certain Queſtions, he thought neceſſary to be reſolved: To all which, he ſpeedily received ſuch Anſwers from the Pope, as were proper to the Queſtion propoſed; ſome of which we have thought fit to inſert into our Hiſtory, becauſe they ſhew us, what was the State of Religion in the *Weſtern* Church, when *Auguſtine* came over hither. *Anno Dom.* CCCCXCVIII. *Ibid.*

His firſt Queſtion was, how the Biſhops ſhould converſe with their Clergy, as alſo concerning thoſe things that are Offered at the Altar, by the Oblations of the Faithful? And how many Portions there ought to be made of them? And how a Biſhop ought to behave himſelf in the Church? To theſe things the Pope anſwered to this effect.

That as for Biſhops, how they ought to carry themſelves in the Church, the Holy Scriptures teach, and eſpecially the Epiſtles of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*; in which he endeavours to teach him, how he ought to behave himſelf in the Houſe of God: alſo that out of every thing that ſhall be Offered at the Altar, there ought to be made four diviſions, *viz.* One for the Biſhop and his Family, for Hoſpitality, and Entertainment of Strangers; the Second for the Clergy; the Third for the Poor; and the Fourth for Repairing of Churches: But as you are well ſkilled in the Monaſtic Rules, nothing ought to be poſſeſſed by any Clergy-men in particular in the *Engliſh* Church, which lately by God's Grace is brought to the Faith; but you ought to imitate the Primitive Converts, among whom none enjoyed any thing as his own, of thoſe things he poſſeſſed, but all things were in common among them.

In the ſecond Queſtion, *Auguſtine* deſires to be inform'd, whether Prieſts, not able to contain, may Marry? And if they ſhall Marry, Whether they muſt return to the Secular Life?

This Queſtion *Bede* hath not, but prepoſterouſly joins the following Anſwer to the firſt Queſtion: Yet Sir *Henry Spelman* hath added it, out of the *Paris* Edition of Councils, *Anno* 1518.

Where the Anſwer of Pope *Gregory* is thus, That if there be any of the Clergy out of Holy Orders that cannot contain, they ought to Marry, and ſtill to receive their Stipends, concluding great care ought to be had of the Stipends of the Clergy, that they may be diligent in Service; and that there was no occaſion of making a long diſcourſe concerning their keeping Hoſpitality, when all the over-plus ought to be beſtowed upon Pious and Religious uſes?

Anno Dom. CCCCXCVIII.

The third Queſtion of *Auguſtine* was this, that ſince there is but one Faith, Why are there divers cuſtoms of Churches? One manner of ſaying Maſs in the Holy *Roman* Church, and another in thoſe of *Gaul*?

To which Pope *Gregory* anſwered to this effect: You know very well the cuſtom of the *Roman* Church in which you were bred; but it is my pleaſure, That if you can find either in the *Roman* Church, or thoſe of *Gaul*, or in any other Churches, any thing more pleaſing to God, carefully chooſe it, and what things ſoever you can gather from any other Churches, of Good and Pious Example, bring them into the *Engliſh* Church; for things are not to be belov'd for the places, but places for the good things that are in them.

Auguſtine's fourth Queſtion was, What Puniſhment ought to be inflicted on him that commits Sacriledge?

The Pope's Anſwer to this Queſtion being ſomewhat long, I ſhall only give you the ſubſtance of it. In the firſt place, He diſtinguiſhes between thoſe who commit Theft out of a wicked intent, and thoſe that offend out of neceſſity; from whence it follows, that ſome are to be puniſhed with Fines, others with Stripes, and ſome more ſeverely; and when (ſays he) you proceed againſt any with more rigour than ordinary, you muſt do it out of Charity, not out of Anger; becauſe the puniſhment is inflicted to this intent, that the party puniſhed may be ſaved: Then ſhews the end of ſuch puniſhments from the Example of Fathers correcting their Children, purely for their good, though they love them very well; he admoniſhes him to uſe a mean in chaſtiſing them, and not without the Rules of Reaſon: But if you ask how things taken from the Church are to be reſtored? God forbid that the Church ſhould receive any encreaſe for the loſs of meer Earthly things, or go about to make advantage of ſuch trifles.

The three following Queſtions, concerning in what degrees of Conſanguinity Men and Women may Marry, I ſhall omit, as being impertinent to our purpoſe; and ſhall proceed to the Eighth Queſtion which is this.

If, for the great diſtance of places, Biſhops cannot eaſily meet, Whether a Biſhop may be ordain'd, without the preſence of other Biſhops?

The Anſwer of Pope *Gregory* is to this effect; Certain it is, That in the *Engliſh* Church, wherein as yet there is no other Biſhop but your ſelf, you can ordain a Biſhop no other way than without Biſhops: for how can Biſhops come from *Gaul*, that may aſſiſt at the Ordination of a Biſhop in *Britain*? But we would have you ſo to appoint Biſhops, that they be not too far aſunder from one another, that there may be no hinderance; but that at the Ordination of a Biſhop others may be preſent, and ſuch other Presbyters alſo, whoſe preſence is requiſite, ought to have eaſie means of acceſs; when therefore Biſhops ſhall be ſo ordained in places near one another, the Ordination of a Biſhop ought never to be without Three or Four Biſhops aſſiſting, *&c.*

Auguſtine's

Auguſtine's Ninth Queſtion was this, How ought we to behave our ſelves towards the Biſhops of *Gaul*, and *Britain*?

Anno Dom. CCCXCVIII.

The Pope's Anſwer was to this purpoſe, for being ſomewhat long, we ſhall alſo contract it.

In the firſt place, The Pope allows him no Authority over the Biſhops of *Gaul*, any further than by Advice, or Spiritual Admonition, if they ſhould happen to be guilty of any faults, becauſe they were no ways ſubject to his Authority; and concludes thus; But all the Biſhops of *Britain* we commit to your Brotherhood; That the Ignorant may be Taught, the Weak by perſwaſions ſtrengthned, and the perverſe corrected by our Authority; The remaining Queſtions, concerning Women with Child, and other unneceſſary, if not immodeſt things, I omit.

This Year alſo, according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*, *Ceolric*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons* dying, *Ceolfus*, or *Ceulphus* ſucceeded him, and Reigned Twenty Four Years.

This Year *Redwald*, King of the *Eaſt Angles*, dying, his Son *Eorpenwald* Reigned in his ſtead, as *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates.

But *Bede* proceeds to tell us, That *Auguſtine* having ſettled his Archiepiſcopal See at *Canterbury*, rebuilt that old Church which had been firſt erected by the *Chriſtian Romans*, and having dedicated it in the Name of *Chriſt* our Saviour, he appointed it as a See for himſelf and his Succeſſours; he likewiſe founded a Monaſtery towards the *Eaſt*, not far from the City, where alſo *Ethelbert*, by his perſwaſion, built the Church of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; in which the Bodies of St. *Auguſtine* himſelf, and of all the other Biſhops of *Canterbury*, as alſo of the Kings of *Kent* ſhould be interred: *Peter* a Presbyter was made the firſt Abbot of this Monaſtery, who was drown'd going on a Meſſage into *France*; but *Auguſtine* never lived to to finiſh this Church, which was afterwards Conſecrated by Arch-Biſhop *Laurence* his Succeſſour.

Anno Dom. DXCIX.

Anno Dom. DC.

Ibid.

But the Reader is deſired to take notice, That according to a fair, but indifferent ancient Manuſcript, concerning the Foundation of the Church and Monaſtery of St. *Peter* and S. *Paul* (afterwards called St. *Auguſtine*'s) in *Canterbury*, which is now preſerved in the Library of *Trinity Hall* in *Cambridge* (part of which is printed in * Sir *H. Spelman*'s Vol. of Councils) it appears that though the Cathedral of *Chriſt Church* be firſt mentioned by *Bede*; yet that according to the ſame Author, it was not the firſt built, but rather the Church of St. *Pancrace*, which from a Heathen Temple was turned into a Chriſtian Church, where King *Ethelbert* himſelf was Baptized; and upon the ground belonging to which, the Church and Monaſtery of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* were firſt founded, as hath been already related from *Bede*.

* P. 111. *Dein.*

Auguſtine having about this time ſent the Pope word, that the Harveſt indeed was great, but the Labourers few, he therefore ſent him more Preachers of the Word; among whom the chiefeſt were *Mellitus*, *Juſtus*, *Paulinus*, and *Rufinian*; and with them all thoſe things which were neceſſary for the Service or Ornament of the Church, (ſuch as) Holy Veſſels and Altar-Cloaths, as alſo Sacerdotal Veſtments, together with divers Relicts, and a great many Books; he alſo ſignified to him in his Letters, That he had ſent him an Archiepiſcopal Pall; and thereby he gives him power to ordain Twelve other Biſhops in ſeveral places, all which ſhould be ſubject to his juriſdiction; only the Biſhop of *London* was to be

Anno Dom. DCI.

choſen

Anno Dom. DCI.

chosen by his own Synod, and should receive his Pall from the Apostolic See (for it seems the Pope then intended *London* for an Arch-bishoprick, but as for *York* (when converted) he gives him power to ordain whom he pleased Bishop there; who should likewise ordain Twelve Bishops more, and should enjoy the honour of a Metropolitan; yet so, that as long as *Augustine* lived, he should be subject to him, but after his Decease, he should not be at all subject to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, or any other Bishop; only, that he should have the precedence who was first ordained; then exhorts him to transact all things by a common consent, yet gives him a jurisdiction over all the Bishops of *Britain*, that they might learn how to perform their duties, as well by his Instruction as Example; this Letter bears date in the Eighteenth Year of the Emperour *Mauritius*, which falls out in the Year of our Lord Sixty, with which also the *Saxon* Annals agree; for under this very Year.

They place Pope *Gregory's* sending of the Pall to Arch Bishop *Augustine*, with many holy Teachers to assist him: Sometime after the sending these Messengers with these Letters, the Pope also writ other Letters to *Mellitus*, " Wherein he gives him Instructions concerning the Temples of Idols, " which the Pope would not have pull'd down, but only new Conse- " crated by the sprinkling of Holy Water, and erecting of new Altars; " and as for the Oxen that used to be sacrificed to their false Gods, he " would have such kind of Solemnities so to be observed, That on the " days of the Dedication of their Churches, or of the Holy Martyrs, " whose Relicts were there preserved, Booths should be made up of " boughs near the said Churches, where having kill'd those Oxen (that " were formerly wont to be sacrificed) they might make merry, in giving " God thanks; since it was certain, that it should be impossible to take " away all vain and Superstitious customs at once, out of Men's minds so " prejudiced by long Education.

" At the same time also the Pope returned an Answer to other Letters " which *Augustine* had before wrote to him; wherein, having congratu- " lated his great success in the Conversion of the *English* Nation, and " also taking notice of the great Miracles that Almighty God had done " by him; he tells him, That though he may rejoyce in some measure " for that Heavenly gift, yet with such a joy, as ought to be allay'd with " fear; for as he might rejoyce, that the Souls of the *English* were through " Miracles drawn to an inward Grace, so he ought to be afraid, least by " the Miracles that were now wrought, his Mind might be puffed up by " vain Glory; Therefore that he ought still to remember, that when the " Disciples, returning from their preaching with joy, said to their Hea- " venly Master, *Lord, in thy name the Devils be subject unto us*, they pre- " sently received a rebuke; rejoyce not for this, but *rather rejoyce, that* " *your Names are written in Heaven.*

Bede also tells us, That Pope *Gregory* about this time sent King *Ethelbert* many noble Presents, together with a Letter full of good Advice and Instructions; " Exhorting him to cultivate that " Grace which he had received by the especial providence of God; to " make haste to propagate the Christian Faith among his Subjects; to " increase the fervency of his own Feith, by furthering their Conver- " sion, to destroy the Worship of Idols; to establish the Manners of " his Subjects, in the purity of Life, by Exhorting, Encouraging, and " Correcting them, and by shewing himself an Example of good Works, " that so he may find his Reward in Heaven: Then proposing to him the " Example

" Example of *Conſtantine* the Emperour, who had freed the Common- *Anno Dom.*
" Wealth from Idols, to the Worſhip of our LORD *Jeſus Chriſt*, ad- DCI.
" viſing him to hearken to, and perform the good Advice, which ſhould
" be given him by *Auguſtine* the Biſhop, and that he ſhould not be
" troubled in Mind, if he ſhould ſee any Terrours, or Prodigies from
" Heaven, contrary to the ordinary courſe of the Seaſons, as Tempeſts,
" Famine, and the like; ſince the Lord had already foretold that ſuch
" things ſhould happen before the end of the World; then concludes
" with wiſhing a more perfect Converſion of the whole Nation, and that
" God would preſerve and perfect him in the Grace he had begun, and
" after a courſe of many Years would receive him into the fellowſhip of
" the Saints above. Theſe Letters bear the ſame date with the former, and ſo muſt be wrote in the ſame Year.

I have dwelt the longer on theſe things, to let you ſee that the primitive Chriſtian Temper, had not yet left the Biſhops of the *Roman* Church, thô infected with ſome Superſtitions.

Let us now return to our Civil Hiſtory, from which we have ſo long *Anno Dom.* digreſſed: About this time, when *Ethelbert* and his People were wholly DCII. taken up in Acts of Piety, *Ethelfrid* ſtill govern'd the Kingdom of *Northumberland*; who being a Warlike Prince, and moſt ambitious of Glory, had waſted the *Britains* more than any other *Saxon* King of his time; winning from them divers large Territories, which he either made Tributary, or planted with his own Subjects: whence *Adian* (as *Bede* or *Ædan*, or *Ægthan*, as the *Saxon* Chronicle calls him) growing Jealous of *Ethelfred*'s great Succeſs, came againſt him with a great and powerful Army, to a place called *Degſa-ſtan* (or *Degſtan*) and was there routed, loſing moſt of his Men; but in this Battel *Theobald* the Brother of *Ethelfrid* was ſlain, that part or wing of the Army which he commanded, being unfortunately cut off; yet nevertheleſs the loſs was ſo great on the *Scotiſh* ſide; that no King of the *Scots* durſt any more in hoſtile manner march into *Britain*, to the time that *Bede* wrote his Hiſtory, which was above a Hundred Years after: He alſo tells us, That this happned in the firſt Year of the Reign of the Emperour *Phocas*. *Buchanan* in his *Scotch* Hiſtory writes, that this *Ethelfrid* aſſiſted by *Keawlin* (whom he miſtiles King of the *Eaſt*, inſtead of the *Weſt-Saxons*) had before this time fought a Battel with this *Adian*, wherein *Cutha*, *Keawlin*'s Son was ſlain; but neither the *Saxon* Chronicle, nor any of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians mention any ſuch thing; for this *Cutha* (as appears by the ſaid Chronicle) was ſlain in the Year 584. fighting againſt the *Welſh*.

Bede *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 34.

The number of Chriſtians beginning now to multiply, not only in *Kent*, *Anno Dom.* but other Countries; *Auguſtine* found it neceſſary to ordain two other DCIV. Biſhops; *Mellitus* and *Juſtus*, ſending *Mellitus* to Preach the Goſpel to the Kingdom of the *Eaſt Saxons*, which was divided from that of *Kent* by the River *Thameſis*, (over which Nation, *Sebert*, the Son of *Richala*, the Siſter of K. *Ethelbert* then Reigned) thô under his Authority, for he had then the ſupreme command over all the Nations of the *Engliſh Saxons*, as far as the Banks of *Humber*; but when this Province had by the preaching of *Mellitus* received the Goſpel of Chriſt, K. *Sebert* (alſo baptized *Ethelbert*) cauſed the Church of St. *Paul* to be built at *London*, where *Mellitus* and his Succeſſours, ſhould fix their Epiſcopal See.

Id. Lib. II *c.* 3. *Sax. Ann.*

But as for the other Biſhop *Juſtus*, *Auguſtine* ordained him Biſhop in the Kingdom of *Kent*, of a certain little City, then called *Roſcaeſter* (now *Rocheſter*)

Anno Dom. DCIV.

Rocheſter) being about Twenty Miles from *Canterbury*, in which King *Ethelbert* built the Church of St. *Andrew*, and beſtowed good endowments on it.

Bede *Ib. c.* 2.

Hitherto *Auguſtine* had laboured only to convert Infidels; but nowhe took upon him, by vertue of his Archiepiſcopal, or rather Legatine Authority, which the Pope had conferr'd upon him, over all the Biſhops of *Britain*, (properly ſo called) to make a general Viſitation of his Province, and coming as far as the borders of *Wales*, (being aſſiſted by the power of King *Ethelbert*,) he ſummoned all the *Britiſh* Biſhops of the adjoyning Provinces, to a Synod, at a place called in *Bede*'s time, *Auguſtines Ake*, (or Oak) then Scituate on the confines of the *Wecti*, now the Dioceſs of *Worceſter*, and the *Weſt* ; *Saxons* (ſuppoſed to be ſomewhere on the edge of *Worceſter-ſhire*,) and began to perſwade them by brotherly Admonitions, that they would maintain the Catholick Unity, and alſo joyn in the work of Preaching the Goſpel to the Infidel Nations.

For there was then a great difference between them about the Rule of keeping *Eaſter*, which *Bede* tells us, The *Britains* did not keep at a right time; but obſerved it from the *Fourteenth* to the *Twentieth* Day of the Moon, which Computation is continued in a *Cycle* of Eighty Four Years; which account being ſomewhat obſcure, I ſhall, for the clearing of it, ſet down what the learned Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* hath given us upon this ſubject, in his *Hiſtorical Account of Church Government* (already cited in the laſt Book) where he takes notice, that this *Cycle* of Eighty Four Years, which was alſo called the *Roman Account*, * ſo lately as in Pope *Leo*'s Time, the *Scots* and *South Picts* uſed the ſame *Cycle*, from the time of their Converſion, and ſo did the *Britains*, without any manner of alteration ; but about Eighty Years after the rending in pieces of the *Roman* Empire, the *Romans* having left off the uſe of that *Cycle*, took up another of Nineteen Years: which, though it was better in many reſpects, yet was new in theſe Parts, and made a great difference from the former; and when the *Romans* had uſed this new *Cycle* another Eighty Years, coming then to have to do with theſe *Northern* Nations, (who were yet ignorant of it) they would needs impoſe the uſe of it upon them, as a neceſſary condition of their Communion, and ſo bore them down with two things which were really falſe; one, that the *Romans* had received their *Cycle* by Tradition from St. *Peter*; the other, that it was made uſe of every where, except in theſe Iſlands; to the firſt of theſe Aſſertions, the *Scots*, for want of knowing better, oppoſed only the Authority of St. *John* for their *Cycle*; as to the other, they could not tell what to ſay; whereas in truth (though they did not know it) the *Roman* account came but an Age or two before from *Alexandria*, and was not yet received in all the *Weſtern Church*, no not in ſome Parts of *France* it ſelf; but that in uſe among the *Scots* was the ſame *Cycle* that they and the *Britains* had ever uſed ſince their Converſion; and was the ſame that was anciently uſed in the *Roman* Church.

Page 67. * *Bucher de Canone Paſch.* 138, and 139. *Uſher*'s Religion of *Ireland*, c. 9. p. 93. Vi. *Dr. Stillingfleets anſwer to* S. C. p. 319, *&c.*

Bede *Lib.* 3. 25. *f.* 235, 236.

Bucher Ibid.

But to return to *Bede*'s Relation of this Synod, where, when after a long Diſpute, the *Britiſh* Clergy could neither by Intreaties, nor Reproofs of *Auguſtine*, be brought to a Compliance, but that they would prefer their own old Traditions before the Conſent of the Chriſtian (*i. e.* the *Roman*) Church; the Arch-Biſhop (as *Bede* relates) offered to decide this Controverſie by a Miracle, deſiring that ſome ſick or impotent Perſon being brought before them, his Doctrine by whom the Man ſhould be

be cured was to be followed, and believed to be from GOD; which when the other Party had at laſt, (thô unwillingly) conſented to, there was then found out a certain *Engliſh-man* who was quite blind, and being offered to the *Britiſh* Biſhops, could receive no Cure from them; when *Auguſtine*, moved by a juſt Neceſſity, prayed to GOD, That he would reſtore this blind Man to his Sight; whereupon he was immediately cured, and *Auguſtine* was cried up by all, as the only Diſpenſer of God's Word. Then the *Britains* confeſſed indeed, That they believed that the Doctrine which *Auguſtine* preached was the Truth; but that they could not, without the general Conſent of their own Nation, quit the ancient Rites and Cuſtoms of their Country; wherefore they deſired, that more of their Clergy being aſſembled, there ſhould be a General Synod held about it; which when it was agreed to, there came (as they relate) ſeveral *Britiſh* Biſhops, (their Annals relate them to have been Seven in all,) together with ſeveral Learned Men, eſpecially from the Monaſtery of *Bangor*, over which one *Dinoth* is ſaid to have been then Abbot, and in which there was ſo many Monks, all living by their own Labour, that being divided into ſeven Diviſions under as many Rectors, each of theſe Diviſions had not leſs than 300 Men. *Anno Dom.* DCIV.

But their Abbot *Dinoth*, and his Clergy, a little before their going to the aforeſaid Synod, went firſt to a certain Man both Holy and Wiſe, who led an Anchorite's Life among them, whom they asked, 'Whether 'they ſhould lay aſide their ancient Traditions at the Preaching of *Au-* 'guſtine, or no? Who made this Anſwer, *If he is a Man of God, follow him.* They ſaid, 'How ſhall we know this? He replied, *The Lord ſays,* "*Take* "*my Yoak upon you, for I am meek and humble in Heart: Perhaps that he him-ſelf beareth the Yoak of Chriſt, and offereth the ſame to be born of you; but if he be cruel and proud, it is apparent that he is not of God, neither need you to regard what he ſaith.* They ſaid again, 'But how ſhall we make a Diſco-'very of that? He replied, *Contrive it ſo, that he and his Company may come firſt into the place of the Synod, and if he ſhall riſe up to you when you ap-proach, know then that he is the Servant of Chriſt, and obediently hear him; but if he ſhall deſpiſe you, nor will riſe up to you, when you are more in number, let him be ſlighted by you alſo.* They did as he directed them; and it fell out that *Auguſtine* bearing himſelf as the Pope's Legate, and their *Metropoli-tan*, as they drew near ſate ſtill in his Chair; which when they ſaw, they grew preſently angry, accuſing him of Pride, and endeavouring in all Things he ſaid to contradict him. ~~But~~

He began thus to diſcourſe to them: *Whereas ye do many Things con-trary to our received Cuſtoms, and the Conſent of the Catholick Church; never-theleſs, if ye will obey me in theſe few Things, to wit, That ye celebrate* Eaſter *in its proper Time; That ye perform the Miniſtery of Baptiſm according to the Cuſtom of the Holy* Roman *Apoſtolick Church; That ye preach the Word of GOD together with us to the* Engliſh *Nation: Then, as for all other Things which ye practiſe, although contrary to our Cuſtoms, we will quickly tolerate them.* But they made anſwer, 'That they would do none of thoſe Things, 'neither would they acknowledge him for their Arch-Biſhop. And diſcourſing further among themſelves, they ſaid, 'if he would not juſt 'now riſe up unto us, how much more, when we ſhall be ſubject to 'him, will he then look upon us as nothing? To whom *Auguſtine* is reported thus threatningly to have denounced againſt them: *If ye will not now accept of Peace with your Brethren, ye are like to find War from your*

Anno Dom. DCIV. *Enemies; and since ye would not preach the Way of Life to the* Engliſh *Nation, ye ſhall ſuffer by their hands the Puniſhment of Death.* Which in every Thing (the Divine Judgment concurring) was fulfilled as he had foretold; thô *Bede* here further tells us, that *Auguſtine* lived not to ſee the Iſſue of this Prediction, for he died a good while before; but of this, we ſhall ſpeak in its due time: And though *Bede* places the fulfilling of this Prediction immediately after its Relation, yet ſince I intend to refer every thing to its proper Time wherein it happened, I ſhall defer the ſpeaking of this for ſome Years.

But Sir *Henry Spelman*, out of an ancient *Britiſh* Manuſcript of Mr. *Peter Moſton*'s, a *Welſh* Gentleman, gives us a much more particular Account of the Anſwer which the Abbot of *Bangor* then made to Arch-Biſhop *Auguſtine*, which being Tranſlated out of the *Welſh* Original, is to this effect. *Be it known, and without doubt, unto you, that we all are, and every one of us, obedient and ſubject to the Church of GOD, and the Pope of* Rome, *and to every godly Chriſtian, to love every one in his Degree in perfect Charity, and to help them by Word and Deed to be the Children of GOD: And other Obedience than this I do not know due to him, whom you name to be* Pope, *nor as the Father of Fathers, to be claim'd, and to be demanded. And this Obedience we are ready to give, and to pay to him, and to every Chriſtian continually: Beſides, we are under the Government of the Biſhop of* Caerleon *upon* Uske, *who is to overſee under GOD over us, to cauſe us to keep the way Spiritual.*

Vi. Spelman's *Concil. p.* 108.

From whence we may obſerve, that the Chriſtian Religion came not firſt into *Britain* by the Preaching of any Perſons ſent from *Rome*, for then they would ſtill have owned Canonical Obedience to the Pope, as well as the *Engliſh* did afterwards; therefore it is moſt likely, according to the Traditions given you in the Second Book, that it was firſt preached and propagated here by ſome Apoſtle or Diſciple of the *Eaſtern* or *Aſiatick* Church: And thô a late *Romiſh* Writer very much arraigns the Credit of this Manuſcript, as made ſince the Days of King *Henry* the Eighth, and cavils at the *Welſh* thereof, as Modern, and full of falſe Spelling, yet is not this any material Exception againſt it; ſince the *Welſh* uſed in it is not ſo Modern as he would make it, as I am credibly informed by thoſe who are Criticks in that Language; and as for the Spelling, that may be the fault of the Tranſcribers: And thô the Archiepiſcopal See was then removed from *Caer-Leon* to St. *David*'s, yet it might ſtill retain the former Title, as of the firſt and moſt famous Place.

Anno Dom. DCV. About which time Arch-Biſhop *Auguſtine* is ſuppoſed by the beſt * Chronologers to have departed this Life; thô the certain Year of his Death is not to be found, either in *Bede*, or the *Saxon* Chronicle. His Body was buried abroad near the Church of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, till that could be finiſhed and dedicated; which, as ſoon as that was done, was decently buried in the Porch on the North-ſide of the Church, in which were alſo buried all the ſucceeding Arch-Biſhops, except two, *viz. Theodore* and *Birthwald*, who were buried in the Church, becauſe the Porch would contain no more; but his Epitaph, thô it mentions his being ſent by the Pope to convert the *Engliſh* Nation, and his being the firſt Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; and that he died in the 7th of the Kalends of *June*, in the Reign of King *Ethelbert*; yet omits the Year of that King's Reign, as well as that of our Lord, in which he died; (I ſuppoſe, becauſe the Year of Chriſt was not then commonly made uſe of,

* *Vi.* Annales Baron. Florence *of* Worceſter.

of, either in the Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Accounts of that Time;) but of this, we ſhall treat further hereafter. *Anno Dom.* DCV.

Under this Year *Bede* alſo places the Death of Pope *Gregory* the Great, of whoſe Life and Actions he gives us a long Account, to which I refer you; but the *Saxon* Chronicle puts off the Death of this Pope to the next Year; but I rather follow *Bede* as the ancienter and more authentick Author.

The ſame Year is alſo very remarkable for Civil, as well as Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in this Iſland; for now King *Ethelbert* ſummoned a *Mycel Synod*, or Great Council, as well of the Clergy as Laity, wherein by their common Conſent and Approbation all the Grants and Charters of this King, whereby he had ſettled great Endowments on *Chriſt-Church*, and that of St. *Pancrace* in *Canterbury*, were confirmed, which had been before the old ruinous Church of St. *Martin* without the City already mentioned; but the Charters now made and confirmed by King *Ethelbert* in this Council are almoſt word for word the ſame with thoſe he had made by himſelf before, with heavy Imprecations againſt any, who ſhould dare to infringe them, as you may ſee in Sir *H. Spelman*'s Firſt Volume of *Britiſh Councils*; where this Learned Author in his Notes farther ſhews us, that theſe Charters above-mentioned are very ſuſpicious of being forged in many reſpects; as Firſt, That this King there ſtiles himſelf King of the *Engliſh* in general, whereas indeed he was no more than King of *Kent*: Secondly, Becauſe the Year of our Lord is expreſſed at their Concluſion, which was not in uſe till long after: Beſides, an old Manuſcript of the Church of *Canterbury* ſays expreſly, That the Monks of that Monaſtery had their Lands and Priviledges by a long and peaceable Poſſeſſion according to Cuſtom, until King *Wightred*, *Anno Dom.* 693, made them a confirmation of all their Priviledges by a Charter under his Seal. There are alſo other Exceptions againſt the Bull that is there recited to be Arch-Biſhop *Auguſtine*'s, which you may ſee at large in thoſe Learned Notes above-mentioned. *Vi* Spelman's *Council*, 1 *Vol.* p. 118, 119, 120.

In this great Council or Synod, among many other Secular Laws and Decrees, theſe deſerve particularly to be taken notice of; the firſt Law aſſigns the Penalty of Sacriledge, appointing what Amends is to be made for Things taken from a Biſhop, by a Reſtitution of nine times the value; from a Prieſt by a Ninth, and from a Deacon by a Threefold Reſtitution.

The Second Law is, That if the King ſummon'd his People, and any Man ſhould preſume then to do them Injury, he ſhall make double Amends to the Party, and beſides ſhall pay Fifty Shillings to the King.

The Third Law is, That if the King ſhall drink in a Man's Houſe, and there be any Injury done in his Preſence, the Party ſo doing it ſhall make double Satisfaction; the reſt that follow, ſince they belong only to the Correction of Manners, are omitted.

To theſe Laws *Bede* relates, when he ſays, That King *Ethelbert*, amongſt other good Things which he conferr'd upon his Nation, appointed certain Laws concerning Judgments, by the Councel of his wiſe Men, according to the Example of the *Romans*, which being written in the *Engliſh* Tongue, were yet kept and obſerved by them to this time; and then mentions ſome of thoſe Laws to the ſame effect as they are already expreſſed.

Anno Dom. DCVII. This Year was fulfilled Arch-Biſhop *Auguſtine*'s Prediction upon the *Britains*; for (as *Bede* and the *Saxon Annals* relate) *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland* now led his Army to *Leger-Ceaſter*, and there killed a great multitude of *Britains*, and ſo was fulfilled the Prophecy of *Auguſtine* above-mentioned; and there were then killed 200 Prieſts or Monks, who came thither to prey for the *Britiſh* Army; (but in *Florence* of *Worceſter*'s Copy it was 2200;) but *Brockmaile*, who was to be their Protector, eſcaped with about 50 Men.

Ibid. cap.

Lib. II. *H. Huntington* gives a more particular account of this Action, and ſays; That King *Ethelfrid*, having gathered together a powerful Army, made a great Slaughter of the *Britains* near the City of *Legions*, which is called by the Engliſh *Lege Ceſtre*, but more rightly by the Britains *Caerlegion*; ſo that it is evident it cannot be *Leiceſter*, as our common Hiſtorians write, but *Weſt-Cheſter*, which lay near the Borders of King *Ethelfrid*'s Kingdom, where this Battle was fought: This Author further adds, That when the King ſaw thoſe Prieſts or Monks of the Abby of *Bangor*, who came out to pray for the Army, ranged by themſelves in a place of Safety, having one *Brockmaile* for their Defender, and that the King knew for what end they came thither; he preſently ſaid, *If theſe Men pray to their GOD againſt us, though they do not make uſe of Arms, yet do they as really fight againſt us, as if they did*: And ſo he commanded his Forces to be firſt turned upon them, who being all cut off, he preſently defeated the reſt of the Army without any great difficulty; and he alſo agrees with *Florence* of *Worceſter*'s Relation of the number of the Monks there ſlain, and accuſes their Defender *Brockmaile* of Cowardice, who left the poor Monks, whom he was to defend, to be cut to pieces. But *William* of *Malmesbury* relates this Matter ſomewhat otherwiſe, thô he ſays expreſly, that this Fight was at *Cheſter*, (then in the hands of the *Britains*;) which when King *Ethelfrid* went about to beſiege, the Townſmen reſolving to ſuffer any thing rather than a Siege, truſting in their Numbers, ſallied out to fight, whom when by an Ambuſh laid near the City, he had eaſily overcome; he then falling upon the Monks, who were come in great Numbers to pray for the Succeſs of the *Britiſh* Army, of which (ſays this Author) there muſt certainly have been an incredible Number, ſince even in his time there were left ſuch vaſt Remains of Churches and Cloyſters, and ſo great a heap of Ruines, as you can ſcarce (ſays he) find any where elſe: The Place is called *Bangor*, which was then an Abby of Monks, but is now turned into a Biſhoprick; yet here our Author was miſtaken, for this *Bangor*, where the Monaſtery was, is in *Flintſhire*, not far from the River *Dee*; whereas that which is the Seat of the Biſhoprick is in *Caernarvanſhire*, not far from the River or Streight of *Menai*, which parts that Country from the Iſle of *Angleſey*. But of all theſe great Ruines mentioned by *Malmesbury*, there is now nothing left, ſave thoſe of the two principal Gates of this old City, the one of which is on that ſide towards *England*, and the other towards *Wales*, being about a Mile aſunder, the River *Dee* running betwixt them.

Lib. I. *cap.*

But before we proceed further, it is fit we enquire into the Truth of that Story of *Geffery of Monmouth*, who will needs have Arch-Biſhop *Auguſtine* to have perſwaded King *Ethelbert* to incite *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland* thus to make War upon the *Britains*, and to deſtroy theſe Monks, as you have heard, in which he is alſo followed by other later

later Writers, and particularly by *Nicholas Trivet*, an ancient Author, in his Hiſtory, (lately printed at *Paris* among the Collections of Monſieur *Dachery*;) as alſo by Arch-Biſhop *Parker*, Author of the *Latin* Hiſtory *De Antiquitate Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*; and likewiſe in Biſhop *Jewel*'s Apology; the former of which, thô *Bede* hath expreſly told us, that *Auguſtine* was dead long before this happened, yet will have theſe Words of *Bede* to have been foiſted in, contrary to the old *Saxon* Manuſcripts which is not ſo; for it is found in them all, thô not in the *Saxon* Verſion; but beſides the Reſpect which we ought to have for ſo good a Man as *Auguſtine* is ſuppoſed to have been, and which inclines us to believe, that it was not likely he ſhould have a Hand in ſo cruel an Action; I doubt not but to prove from other Arguments, (ſuppoſing this Paſſage of *Bede* not to be his,) that *Auguſtine* died about the Year 605, where I have already placed it. In the firſt place therefore, I ſhall not deny, that *William* of *Malmesbury*, in his Firſt Book *De Geſt. Pontif. Anglor.* as well as divers other Hiſtorians of later Times, ſuppoſe *Auguſtine* to have ſate Arch-Biſhop 15 (and in ſome Copies 16) Years, and then he muſt certainly have ſurvived this Maſſacre of the Monks of *Bangor*; but if I can prove they were miſtaken in this Account, all that had been ſaid to prove *Auguſtine* guilty of it, will ſignifie nothing: For Firſt, *Bede* relates, that *Auguſtine*, being yet alive, ordained *Laurence* for his Succeſſor, leſt himſelf being dead, the yet weak State of that Church, if vacant, (thô for never ſo ſmall a time) might happen to ſuffer, which it muſt be ſuppoſed he did, when he found himſelf in a declining condition, and not like long to ſurvive. Now that this happened in the Year 605, may be alſo proved by theſe Circumſtances: *Bede* hath already told us, that *Auguſtine*, in the Year 604, had ordained *Mellitus* and *Juſtus* Biſhops; immediately after which Relation, follows that, concerning *Auguſtine*'s Death, which he would ſcarce have mentioned there, had not one followed the other within a ſhort time; and that it was ſo, appears in the Manuſcript Text of *Adrian*, the Abbot of *Canterbury*, who lived within leſs than 60 Years after, and who obtained a Priviledge from Pope *Deuſdedit*, concerning the Free Election of the Abbot of that Monaſtery, at the end of which there is this Paſſage: *Anno Dom.* 605. died the holy Biſhop *Gregory IV° Idus Martii*, and in the ſame Year alſo Biſhop *Auguſtine VII° Kal. Junii*; with whom alſo agree *Marianus*, *Scotus*, and *Florence* of *Worceſter*, in their Chronicles; the former of whom, under *Anno Dom.* 605, hath theſe Words: *Auguſtine* having ordained *Laurence* the Presbyter *Arch-Biſhop* in his ſtead, after a ſhort time departed to the Heavenly Kingdom; thô in *Florence*'s Copy it is placed under the Year 604, which Difference might eaſily happen by the careleſneſs of Tranſcribers. This is alſo obſerved by *Will. Thorne*, the Hiſtorian and Monk of *Canterbury*, (from an old Book of the *Life* and *Miracles* of this St. *Auguſtine*, that now is loſt,) who in his Chronicle ſays expreſly, That many have erred concerning the Death of St. *Auguſtine*, thinking him to have died *Anno Dom.* 613. The cauſe of which Errour is owing to the falſe Dates of ſome Chronicles, who make him to have ſate Arch Biſhop Sixteen Years; whereas *Bede* in his ſecond Book ſays, That he ordained *Mellitus* and *Juſtus* to be Biſhops a little before his Death, and there gives us the ſame reaſon as I have already done; with whom alſo agrees an ancient Anonymous Chronicle in the Library at *Lambeth*; as alſo the ſhort Annals of the Church of *Rocheſter*, which contain the Succeſſions of the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury*, both

Anno Dom. DCVII.

Lib. 2. *c.* 4.

Vi. *X. Script col.*

both which place the Death of Arch-Bishop *Augustine*, and the Succession of *Laurentius*, in *Anno Dom.* 604; but of this you may see more in the First Volume of *Anglia Sacra*, published by the learned Mr. *Wharton* deceased; wherein you may also find a short dissertation on this Subject, and to whom I own my self obliged for the light, I have had towards settling this obscure Question. Now having cleared Arch-Bishop *Agustine*'s Memory of that Crime, which is laid to his Charge; I shall proceed to the Ecclesiastical History of this time.

Anno Dom. DCVIII.

Laurentius, who succeeded *Augustine* in the See of *Canterbury*, having seen the *English* Church not only founded, but much encreased, began about this time to bestow his Pastoral care, not only upon the *English* and *British* Inhabitants of this Island, but also upon the *Scots* who inhabited *Ireland*; because he knew that at that time they, as well as the *Britains*, did not observe *Easter* according to the *Nicene* Canon (the occasion of which Controversie I have already given you), Therefore the new Arch-Bishop thought it fit to write an Epistle on purpose to the *Irish* Bishops, wherein he exhorted them to maintain the Catholick Unity, in the observation of *Easter*; in which Letters this is remarkable, That they are directed to all the Bishops, *per Universam Scotiam*, That is, through out all *Ireland* (for so it was then commonly called for near Four Hundred Years after this) and he therein complains of *Dragamus* an *Irish* Bishop, who coming over hither would not so much as Eat in the same House with him; at which time also *Laurentius* wrote Letters, not only to his fellow Bishops in *Ireland*, but also to the *British* Clergy in *Wales*, to the same purpose as the former; but how well he succeeded therein, the present time (says *Bede*) declares; about which Year also *Mellitus* Bishop of *London* was sent to *Rome* to confer with Pope *Boniface*, concerning the necessary Affairs of the *English* Church, when the Pope held a Synod at *Rome* with the Bishops of *Italy*, concerning the Life and Conversation of the Monks, where he sate with them: This Synod was held in the Eighth Year of Emperour *Phocas*, and the Bishop at his return, brought back the Decrees of that Council, together with the Pope's Letters to Arch-Bishop *Laurence*, and all the Clergy, as also to King *Ethelbert*, and the whole *English* Nation.

Bede *Lib.* 2.

Anno Dom. DCXI.

This Year also, *Sebert* King of the *East-Saxons*, Founded the Church and Abbey of *Westminster*, and *Mellitus* the Bishop Dedicated it to St. *Peter*, tho for what Order of Monks is uncertain, since they were driven out after the Death of *Sebert*, by his Successours, who continued Pagans for many Years after.

Vi. *Monast. Ang. T.* 1. *p* 5.

This Year (according to *Florence*) *Ceolwulf* dying, *Cynegils* began to Reign over the *West Saxons*, (for Thirty One Years) being the Son of *Ceolric*, who was the Son of *Cutha*, who (as we have heard) was slain fighting against the *Britains* some Years before.

Anno Dom. DCXIV.

Cynegils and *Cwichelme*, fought against the *Britains* at *Beamdune* (now *Bindon* in *Dorsetshire*;) and there slew Two Thousand and Forty Six Men; which Battel *H. Huntington* thus describes; The *Saxon* and *British* Troops being drawn up in Battel Array, the Fight immediately began, when the *Britains* fearing the weight of the *Saxon* Battel Axes, and long Launces, turn'd their backs, and fled; so that the *Saxons* obtain'd the Victory, without any great loss on their side; and he also agrees pretty near in the number of the slain, with our *Saxon* Annals; This *Cwichelme* here mentioned is by *Will.* of *Malmesbury* said to be Brother of *Cynegils*,

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and to be by him taken as his Partner in the Royal Power. But *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *Mat. Weſtminſter* do make *Cwichelme* to have been the Son of *Cinegils*, thô the former Opinion be the more likely; but let it be either of them, it is certain that they were both of them Stout and good natured Perſons, who governed with that mutual Love and Concord, as it was a wonder to the Age in which they liv'd, ſo ought it to be an example to all future times. *Anno Dom.* DCXIV.

Thô the Cathedral of *Chriſt Church* in *Canterbury*, had been already built about Twenty Years; yet it ſeems the Monaſtery adjoyning to it was not founded till this Year, as appears not only from the Manuſcript above mentioned (once belonging to the Monaſtery of St. *Auguſtine*) but alſo from *Will.* of *Malmesbury*; that in the time of Arch-Biſhop *Laurence*, and about this very Year that it was firſt repleniſhed with Monks, as appears by a Letter of Pope *Boniface* to King *Ethelbert*; whereby he approves of, and confirms the Foundation of the ſaid Abby, by the ſaid Arch-Biſhop; which Letter, though *Will.* of *Malmesbury* had promiſed to recite, yet being by him forgot, or elſe ommitted in our Printed Copies, is to be found at large in the ſaid Manuſcript; concerning which Monaſtery the atorecited Author farther adds, " That though ſome had ſaid that Arch-Biſhop " *Ælfric* had thruſt out the Clerks (*i. e.* ſecular *Chanons*) out of that " Church, and had placed Monks in their rooms, yet was it not at all " probable, ſince it appeared by the ſaid Epiſtle of Pope *Boniface*, that " there had been Monks in the Church of St. *Saviour*, from the firſt " foundation of that Monaſtery, in the time of Arch-Biſhop *Laurence*, " who ſucceeded St. *Auguſtine*. *Anno Dom.* DCXV. *De Juſt. Pont. f. Lib.* 1.

But it hath been ~~denyed~~, by Cardinal *Baronius*, in his Annals, as alſo by ſome later Antiquaries, of what Order theſe Monks were, whom *Auguſtine* and *Laurentius* placed in theſe two Monaſteries above mention'd: and that a late ingenious Authour in his Preface to a Treatiſe, called *Notitia Monaſtica*, hath queſtioned whether they were of the *Benedictine* Order, ſince he rather ſuppoſes, That the *Benedictine* Rule was ſcarce heard of in *England*, till ſome Hundreds of Years after, and never perfectly obſerved, till after the Conqueſt; but he ſhould have done well to have told us, what other Order they were of, ſince the general Tradition in moſt of the Ancient *Engliſh* Monaſteries of the *Benedictine* Order, was, That they had obſerved that Rule from their firſt foundation: And the *Saxon* Annals under the Year 509, do expreſly affirm, *That St.* Benedict, *the Father of all the Monks dyed that Year:* And he had long before his Death founded his Order in *Italy*, and of which *Auguſtine* himſelf is ſuppoſed to have been: and though I alſo acknowledge, that all the ancient Monaſteries of *England* were not at firſt of that Order, ſince thoſe that were founded in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, by the Biſhops *Aidan* and *Coleman* followed the ſame Rule with the Monks of *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, *viz.* That of St. *Baſil*, which all the *Eaſtern* Monks did then, and do to this day obſerve; yet even theſe did about an Hundred Years after quit that Rule, and follow the more Modern one of St. *Benedict*; and therefore *Stephen Heddie*, in his * Life of St. *Wilfred* Biſhop of *York*, (lately publiſhed by the learned Dr. *Gale*,) hath expreſly told us, That the ſaid Biſhop returning home into his own Country (*i. e.* the Kingdom of *Northumberland*) and carrying along with him the Rule of St. *Benedict*, very much improved the Conſtitutions of God's Churches; by which he meant the Monaſteries of thoſe Parts: And therefore the

* p. 14.

Chronology

Anno Dom. DCXV. Chronology once belonging to the Abby of St. *Auguſtine*'s in *Canterbury*, (printed in the *Decem ſcriptores* after *Will. Thornes* Chronicle) under *Anno* 666, upon very good grounds thus obſerves, That this Year Biſhop *Wilfred* cauſed the Rule of St. *Benedict* to be obſerved in *England*, That is in the *North* Parts, into which he then went; for if that Rule had not been obſerved in the *Southern* Parts before, How could it be ſaid that he carried it out from thence along with him? but to conclude; there having been a diſpute among the *Roman* Catholicks beyond the Seas, about Seventy Years ago concerning this matter; ſome of them affirming, that all the ancient *Engliſh* Monks, before the Conqueſt were of the Order of St. *Equitus*, or elſe of ſome other Order; whereupon thoſe of the *Benedictine* Order wrote over to our Antiquaries in *England*, (*viz.*) Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *H. Spelman*, Mr. *Camden*, and Mr. *Selden*; appealing to their Judgment herein: From whom they received a Letter under all their Hands, wherein they expreſly certified, that there was never any ſuch Order as that of St. *Equitus*; and further affirm, That there were only Two Orders of Monks in uſe amongſt our Anceſtours of the *Engliſh Saxon* Church; One of thoſe who followed the Rites of the *Ægyptian* Monks, and the other of *Benedictine*'s who came over with *Auguſtine*, and ſo continued from that time to their diſſolution under King *Henry* the Eighth; to which Letter, or Certificate, all the ſaid learned Perſons above mentioned did put their Hands, as appears by the Certificate it ſelf; which you will find Printed in *Clem. Reyner de Appoſtolatu Benedictini* in *Anglia*. This, though perhaps it may ſeem an impertinent digreſſion to ſome; yet, I hope, will not prove ſo to thoſe, who are lovers of Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities.

Coll. 222.

P. 220.

This Year *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* dyed, who was the firſt *Engliſh* King that received Baptiſm; *Bede* tells us, That this King dyed above Twenty Years after his Converſion, and was buried in St. *Martin*'s Porch, in the Church of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; after whoſe deceaſe *Eadbald* his Son ſucceeded to him in the Kingdom. The beginning of whoſe Reign I ſhall give you out of *Bede*, being much more particular than that in the Chronicle.

This King did not only refuſe the Faith of *Chriſt*, but alſo polluted himſelf with ſuch Fornication, which the Apoſtle ſays, ought not to be heard of among the Gentiles, in that he Married his Father's Wife; by which wickedneſs he gave occaſion to thoſe to return to their former Heatheniſm, who had embraced Chriſtianity in his Father's Reign, either out of Fear, or hopes of Favour; thô God's Judgments were not wanting to Correct this Infidel King, for he was tormented with frequent fits of Frenſie, and the poſſeſſion of an unclean Spirit; but the Death of *Sebert* King of the *Eaſt Saxons*, happening alſo about this time, extremely encreaſed the preſent Storm of Afflictions; for he left Three Sons Heirs to his Kingdom, who all relapſed to *Paganiſm*, having in their Father's lifetime ſeemed *Chriſtians*, but now permitted all their Subjects the free licence of worſhiping Idols; and when they ſaw the Biſhop Adminiſtring the Euchariſt to the People in the Church, they thus ſpoke to him in their Barbarous folly; "Why doſt thou not give us this White Bread, which "thou wert wont to Miniſter to our Father? To whom the Biſhop re- "plyed, That they muſt firſt be waſhed in that ſaving *Font*, in which "their Father had been Baptiſed, and then they might partake of the "ſame Bread; which though they deny'd to do, yet would they not deſiſt from requiring this Bread at his hands; which he ſtill refuſing them,

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they then plainly told him, That if he would not yield to them in ſo ſmall a matter, he muſt not ſtay any longer in their Dominions; and ſo commanded them to be gone; who being thus expelled, went thence into *Kent* to conſult with the Biſhops *Laurentius* and *Juſtus*, what was beſt to be done on this occaſion; where it was decreed by *common Conſent*, That it was better that all of them ſhould return into their own Countrey, there to ſerve God with freedom of Conſcience, than to live without any Fruit of their Labours amongſt ſuch Barbarous Rebels to the Chriſtian Faith; thereupon *Mellitus* and *Juſtus* departed firſt, and went into *France*, there reſolving to expect the iſſue of theſe things; but not long after, theſe Three Princes, who had driven out a Preacher of the Truth, and relapſed to the Worſhip of Idols, marching out to Battel againſt the *Weſt-Saxons*, were all cut off, together with their Army: However, though the Authors of this Apoſtacy were deſtroyed, yet the common people being once inured to wickedneſs, could not eaſily be brought back to the Faith of Chriſt. *Anno Dom.* DCXVI.

But when *Laurentius* was about to leave *Britain*, to follow *Mellitus* and *Juſtus*, he ordered a Pallet to be laid for him in the Church of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, on which (after many Prayers and Tears poured forth to God, he laid down to take his reſt; where, (if credit may be given to *Bede's* relation) St. *Peter*, in whoſe Church he had ſpent great part of the Night in watching and Prayer, appeared to him, and to make the Viſion more ſenſible, gave him many ſtripes for thus offering to deſert his Flock; at ſight whereof the King (to whom next morning he ſhewed the marks of what he had ſuffered, and by whom, and for what cauſe) relenting, in great fear renounced his Inceſtuous Marriage, and applied himſelf to the Chriſtian Faith more ſincerely than before, together with all his People; but the *Londoners* refuſing again to receive their Biſhop *Mellitus*, this King had not ſo much power as his Father to force them to it, whether they would or not; yet nevertheleſs, he with all his Nation, from the time that he was thus re-converted to Chriſt, endeavoured wholly to ſubmit himſelf to the Divine Precepts, and then near the Monaſtery of the Apoſtles built a Church, in honour of the bleſſed Virgin, which was conſecrated by Archbiſhop *Mellitus*: But to return again to Civil Affairs. Bede, *Ibid.*

This Year alſo *Edwin*, of the Blood-Royal of *Northumberland*, having been forced to fly from *Ethelfrid*, then King of that Countrey, had wander'd for ſome Years as a baniſhed Man, through divers Kingdoms, till at laſt he took refuge with *Redwald*, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, beſeeching him to ſave his Life from ſo cruel and unjuſt a Perſecution; who thereupon receiving him into his protection, granted his Requeſt; but whilſt he thus ſojourned with King *Redwald*, he had a Viſion or Apparition, which was the cauſe of his future Converſion, and which though it looks very much like a Monkiſh Legend, yet ſince it is related by ſo grave an Author as *Bede*, I ſhall here from him ſet down. *Id. Ibid.*

So ſoon as *Ethelfrid* heard where *Edwin* was, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Redwald*, offering him a great Sum of Money to put him to death; which being refuſed, he ſtill repeated, and increaſed his offers, twice or thrice threatning War, if he were refuſed; till at laſt the King being either prevailed upon by his great proffers, or terrified by his threatnings, yielded, promiſing either to kill *Edwin*, or to deliver him to his Ambaſſadors; which when a certain Friend of *Edwin's*, then near the King,

Anno Dom. DCXVI. came to know, the firſt hour of the Night he went in haſte to his Chamber, and calling him forth for better ſecreſy, revealed to him his Danger, and offer'd him his Aid to make his Eſcape, where neither *Redwald* nor *Ethelfrid* ſhould ever find him: But he not approving of that courſe, as ſeeming diſhonourable, without more manifeſt cauſe to begin firſt to diſtruſt one who ſo long had been his only Refuge, choſe rather to dye by his Hand, than by any other more Ignoble: Whereupon his Friend departing, *Edwin* being thus left alone without the Palace-Gate, full of ſad and perplexed Thoughts, diſcerns about the dead of Night a man approaching towards him, neither by Countenance nor Habit to him known, who after a ſhort Salutation asked him, 'Why at this Hour, 'when all others were at Reſt, he alone ſate ſo ſadly waking on a cold 'ſtone? *Edwin* wondering not a little who he might be, asked him again, *What his ſitting within doors or without, concerned him?* To whom he again replied, 'Think not that who thou art, or why ſitting here, 'or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown. But what would 'you promiſe to that man who would free you out of all theſe Troubles, 'and perſuade *Redwald* not to moleſt you, nor give you up to your Ene-'mies? *All that I am able*, anſwered *Edwin* to the Unknown: Then he proceeds thus; 'What if the ſame Perſon ſhould promiſe to make you 'greater than any *Engliſh* King hath been before you? *I ſhould not doubt*, replied *Edwin*, *to be anſwerably Grateful.* 'But what if to all this he would 'inform you (ſaith the other) of a way to Happineſs beyond what 'any of your Anceſtors had known? Would you hearken to his Counſel? *Edwin*, without any Heſitancy, promiſed he would. Then the other, laying his right Hand on his Head, ſaid, 'When this Sign ſhall next be-'fall you, remember this Night, and this Diſcourſe; nor defer to per-'form what thou haſt now promiſed. And with theſe words diſappearing, he was not only convinced that it was not a Man, but a Spirit that had thus talked with him: But the Royal Youth was alſo much revived, when on the ſudden his Friend, who had been gone all this while to liſten farther what was like to be reſolved concerning him, comes back, and joyfully bids him go to his Repoſe, for that the King's Mind, tho for a while drawn aſide, was now fully reſolved, not only never to betray him, but to defend him againſt all his Enemies, as he had promiſed: In ſhort, the King was as good as his word, and not only refuſed to deliver him up, but alſo raiſing Forces, thereby helped him to regain his Kingdom: For the next Year, as the *Saxon* Annals relate,

Anno Dom. DCXVII. '*Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, was ſlain by *Redwald* King of the '*Eaſt-Angles*; and *Eadwin* the Son of *Ælla* ſucceeded him (in that 'Kingdom), who ſubjected all *Britain* to him, (except only *Kent*): 'He alſo baniſhed the Royal Youths, the Sons of *Ethelfrid*, (*viz.*) '*Ealfrid* the eldeſt Son, as alſo *Oſwald* and *Oſwin*; with many other 'Princes, whoſe Names would be tedious here to be repeated.

But *Will.* of *Malmesbury* gives us a more particular Account of this Fight; and that ſince War had been denounced by *Ethelfrid*, upon his refuſing to deliver *Edwin*, that thereupon *Redwald* determin'd to be beforehand with the Danger, and with an Army raiſed on the ſudden, ſurprize *Ethelfrid* (being not aware of an Invaſion), and in a Fight near to the Eaſt ſide of the River *Idel*, on the *Mercian* Border (now in *Nottinghamſhire*) ſlew him, diſpatching eaſily thoſe few Forces which he had got to march out over-haſtily with him; who yet (as a Teſtimony that his For-

Fortune, and not his Valour, was to be blamed) ſlew with his own Hands *Reiner* the King's Son. And *H. Huntington* adds, That this Battle was ſo great and bloody, that the River *Idel* was ſtained with the Blood: And that the Forces of King *Redwald* being very well drawn up, the King of the *Northumbers*, as if he had been ſure of the Victory, ruſhing in among the thickeſt Ranks, ſlew *Reiner* (above-mentioned,) and wholly routed that Wing of the Army: But *Redwald* not terrified with ſo great a Blow, but rather more incenſed, renewed the Fight with the two remaining Bodies, which being not to be broken by the *Northumbers*, *Ethelfrid* having got among the thickeſt of his Enemies, further than he ought in Prudence to have done, was after a great Slaughter there ſlain, upon which his whole Army fled; but his two Sons, (by *Acca*, King *Edwin*'s Siſter,) *Oſwald*, and *Oſwi*, eſcaped into *Scotland*. This End had King *Ethelfrid*, a Prince moſt skilful in War, thô utterly ignorant of the Chriſtian Religion. By this Victory *Redwald* became ſo far Superiour to the other *Saxon* Kings, that *Bede* reckons him as the next after *Ælla*, and *Ethelbert*, who had all *England* on this ſide *Humber* under his Obedience. *Anno Dom.* DCXVII.

But to look back a little to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; about this time *Laurentius* the Archbiſhop died, and was buried near *Auguſtine* his Predeceſſor; to whom ſucceeded *Mellitus*, who was Biſhop of *London*; this *Mellitus* is related by *Bede*, to have by his Prayers ſtopp'd a great Fire in *Canterbury*, by cauſing the Wind to blow the quite contrary way to what it did before; which at laſt quite falling, the Fire ceaſed with it. He ſat Archbiſhop only five Years.

This Year *Cadwallo* is ſuppoſed by *Radulphus de Diceto* to have ſucceeded his Father *Cadwan* in the Kingdom of *Britain*; though ſome of the *Welſh* Chronicles make him to have began to reign four Years before. But as for *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*, who gives a large and very improbable Account of this King's Martial Actions, (and therefore needleſs to be here repeated,) it is not his Cuſtom to cite any Authors, nor give any Year or Account when his Kings began to reign, or when they died. *Anno Dom.* DCXX.

This Year *Mellitus* deceaſed, and was buried with his Predeceſſors; to whom immediately ſucceeded *Juſtus*, who had been hitherto Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, but the Year following *Paulinus*, a *Roman*, was conſecrated by *Juſtus* to be Biſhop of the *Northumbers*; for *Bede* tells us, he had before received Authority from Pope *Boniface* to ordain what Biſhops he pleaſed, and as the preſent occaſion ſhould require; the Pope ſending alſo a Pall to beſtow upon him at the ſame time. To this Year *Bede* alſo refers the Converſion of the *Northumbers*, (that is, all thoſe *Engliſh-Saxons* who lived North of the River *Humber*,) together with *Edwin* their King, to the Chriſtian Faith; who, as an earneſt of his future Faith, had the Power of his Empire already ſo encreaſed, that he took the utmoſt Borders of *Britain* under his Protection; but the occaſion of his Converſion was through his Alliance with the King of *Kent*, by his marrying *Ethelburga* the Daughter of King *Ethelbert*; whom, when he ſent to deſire of her Brother *Eadbald*, for his Wife, it was anſwered, That it was not Lawful to beſtow a Chriſtian Virgin in Marriage with a Heathen: Which, when the Meſſengers related it to King *Edwin*, he promiſed he would act nothing contrary to that Faith which the Virgin profeſſed, but would rather permit a free exerciſe of her Religion to all thoſe Prieſts and others, who ſhould attend her: Neither did he deny to receive the ſame Religion himſelf, provided, (upon a juſt Examination,) it ſhould appear more Holy, *Anno Dom.* DCXXIV. *Bede*, *l.* II. *c* 8. *An.* DCXXV. *Ib. chap.* 9

Anno Dom. DCXXV. and worthy of GOD. Upon these Terms the Lady was sent to *Edwin*, and *Paulinus* being ordained Bishop, (as was before resolved on,) was sent as a Spiritual Guardian to the Virgin; who, when he came to King *Edwin*'s Court, used his utmost Endeavour to convert the Pagans to the Christian Faith, but to little purpose for a long time, tho' at last he prevailed by this occasion. For the year following,

Anno Dom. DCXXVI. When *Cuichelme*, (at that time one of the two *West-Saxon* Kings,) envious of the growing Greatness of King *Edwin*, sent privily one *Eomer*, an hired Cut-Throat, to assassinate him; He, under pretence of delivering a Message from his Master, with a poyson'd Weapon stabs at *Edwin* whil'st he was discoursing with him in his House, (by the River *Derwent* in *Yorkshire*,) on an Easter-day; which *Lilla*, one of the King's Attendants, at the lucky instant perceiving, having no other Means to defend him, interposed his own Body to receive the Blow, thrô which, notwithstanding, it reached the King's Person, with a dangerous Wound; the Murtherer being now encompassed with many Swords, and made more desperate by his own Danger, slew another of the King's Servants in the same manner.

That Night the Queen brought forth a Daughter, who was called *Eanfled*; and when the King, in the presence of *Paulinus*, gave Thanks to his Gods for the Birth of his Daughter, the Bishop, on the contrary, gave Thanks to our Lord *Christ*, that the Queen was safely delivered by his Prayers: At which, the King, being well pleased, promised the Bishop to renounce his Idols, and become the Servant of *Christ*, if he would grant him Life, and Victory against that King who had thus sent a Murtherer to kill him; and as an earnest thereof, he gave his new-born Daughter to be bred up in that Religion; who, with 12 other of his Family, on the day of *Pentecost*, was baptised; and by that time, being well recovered of his Wound, to punish the Authors of so foul a Fact, he march'd with an Army against the *West Saxons*; whom having subdued, and put some of those to Death who had conspired against him, and received others to Mercy, he return'd home victorious.

But I cannot omit here taking notice of a great Mistake in *Mat. Westminster*'s *Flores Historiarum*, who, under this Year, makes K. *Cuichelme*, abovementioned, to have been kill'd in this Battle, though from what Authority I know not; whereas it will appear by our Annals, that he was alive, and Christned near ten Years after.

But thô after this Victory K. *Edwin* forbore to worship Idols, yet ventured he not presently to receive Baptism, but first took care to be instructed aright by the Bishop *Paulinus* in the Principles of the Christian Faith; still conferring with himself, and others of his chief Men whom he thought most wise, what was best to be done in so weighty an Affair; and he himself, being a Man of a piercing Understanding, when he was alone often considered with himself which Religion was best to be followed.

Idem, c. 10. About this time also he received Letters from the Pope, wherein 'having briefly set forth the Doctrine of the *Trinity*, as the Foundation 'of the Christian Faith, and having extolled the Conversion of King *Ead-* 'bald, and Piety of the Queen his own Wife, he exhorts him to imitate 'their Examples, and casting away his Idols to receive Christ. The Pope 'writ also Letters at the same time to Queen *Ethelburga* his Wife, wherein 'he congratulated her Conversion, and praised her Piety, exhorting her

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'to perſiſt in the Courſe ſhe had begun, and to do her Endeavour to re- *Anno Dom.*
'claim her Husband from his Infidelity. But thô the King joyfully receiv- DCXXVI.
ved theſe Letters, yet did they not ſo much prevail with him, as the wonderful fulfilling of the Prediction of the Viſion above-mentioned; for when the King ſtill deferred the declaring himſelf a Chriſtian, Biſhop *Aidan* (as it is ſuppoſed) had that Tranſaction revealed to him; for one day coming in to the King, on a ſudden he laid his Hand upon his Head, and deſired him to *remember that Sign*; whereupon the King being much ſurpriſed, fell down at his Feet, but the Biſhop raiſing him up, ſaid thus: *GOD hath delivered you from your Enemies, and given you the Kingdom as you deſired; perform now what ſo long ſince you promiſed him, and receive his Doctrine, which I now bring you, and that Faith which will not only ſave your Soul from perpetual Torments, but alſo make you a Partaker of Eternal Happineſs.* Which, when the King heard, he confeſſed, 'That he would, nay, *Id. c. 13.*
'ought to receive this Faith; but (*ſaid he*) I muſt firſt conſult further 'with my chief Friends, and Councellors, concerning this Matter, that if 'they ſhould likewiſe receive it, we might all be Converted, and Bapti-'zed together. Which *Paulinus* agreeing to, and the King there holding a Council with his wiſe Men, asked them ſeverally, 'What they thought 'of this new Doctrine and Worſhip, which had been as yet unknown 'among them? To whom *Coifi*, chief of the Idol-Prieſts, preſently anſwered; *You may, Sir, conſider what is now preached to you, but to tell you freely my Opinion, the Religion we profeſs is good for nothing; for although no Man hath more ſtudiouſly obſerved the Worſhip of our Gods than my ſelf, yet nevertheleſs there are many who have received greater Benefits and Dignities from you than I have done, and have been more Happy and Proſperous in all their Undertakings; whereas, if theſe Gods had any Power, they would rather have aſſiſted me, who took ſuch care to ſerve them: Wherefore if, upon a good Examination, you find, that the New Doctrine now preached is far better than the Old, let us then receive it without delay.* To which Opinion, another of the great Men alſo yielding his Aſſent, further ſaid; *It ſeems, Sir, to me, that the preſent Life of Man upon Earth, in compariſon of that Time which to us is unknown, is like unto a little Sparrow, which, whilſt you feaſted in your Preſence-Chamber, flew in at one Window, and out at another; we ſaw it that ſhort time it remained in the Houſe, and it was then well ſhelter'd from Wind and Weather; but as ſoon as it got out into the cold Air, whither it went, we were altogether as ignorant, as from whence it came: Thus we can give ſome Account of our Souls, during its abode in the Body, whilſt honſed and harboured therein; but where it was before, or how it fareth afterward, is to us altogether unknown. If therefore* Paulinus *his Preaching can certainly inform us herein, it deſerveth, in my Opinion, to be well received.* To which Diſcourſes, *Coifi* alſo further added, *That he deſired to hear* Paulinus *himſelf preach concerning his God*: Which, when he had performed, (as the King had commanded him,) *Coifi* cried out, *I have long ſince underſtood, that what we worſhipped was nothing, for the more I ſought to underſtand the Truth in that Religion, the leſs ſtill I found of it.* So that it is in this Doctrine alone, that Truth clearly ſhines, and which is able to confer upon us Eternal Happineſs. In ſhort, the King not only gave *Paulinus* his Conſent to preach publickly, but alſo, renouncing his Idolatry, received the Chriſtian Faith. But *Coifi* the Chief Prieſt did not only declare, That the Temples and Altars of their falſe Gods ſhould be pulled down, and deſtroyed; but when the King asked him who ſhould undertake it, he freely offered himſelf to do it; and ſo deſiring of him a

Horſe

Anno Dom. DCXXVI. Horſe and Arms, taking a Lance in his Hand, he went to deſtroy the Idol Temples; the People at firſt thought him mad, becauſe it was not lawful for their Prieſts, either to bear Arms, or ride on Horſe-back: But as ſoon as *Coifi* came to the Idol Temple, he commanded thoſe that came with him to burn and utterly deſtroy it; and the place where it ſtood was ſhewn in *Bede*'s time, lying not far from *York*, Eaſtward near the River *Darwent*, being then called *Godmundingham*, where this Prieſt, by thus demoliſhing the Altars of his former Gods, made ſome Amends for his teaching Men to adore them. But the Year following,

Anno Dom. DCXXVII. *Ibid. c.* 14. King *Edwin*, with all his Noblemen, and a great many common People of his Kingdom, received Baptiſm; the King himſelf being baptized at *York* on *Eaſter* Day in the Church of St. *Peter*, which he had commanded with all ſpeed to be built of Wood for that purpoſe, in which City he alſo ſettled the Epiſcopal See, *Paulinus* being the firſt Biſhop; ~~there~~; but not long after the King had received Baptiſm, he himſelf took care to build a large and noble Church of Stone round about the former, which was ſtill left ſtanding till the other was finiſhed; but before the Walls of it could be raiſed, the King being killed, left the Work to be perfected by *Oſwald* his Succeſſor: So *Paulinus* continued, during all the reſt of this King's Reign, (which was about the ſpace of 6 Years,) to preach the Word of GOD in that Kingdom; in which Church there were alſo baptized divers others of Note, as *Oſfrid* and *Eadfrid*, the Sons of King *Edwin*, both which his former Wife *Quenburga*, the Daughter of *Ceorle* King of *Mercia*, had brought forth in their Baniſhment. There were likewiſe afterwards baptized divers others of the King's Children by his laſt Queen, who not long after dying, were buried in *York* Minſter. Beſides theſe, there were baptized *Iffi* the Son of Prince *Oſrid*, and ſeveral other Noblemen; and it is reported, that the People's Deſires to receive Baptiſm were then ſo fervent, that when on a time *Paulinus* came with the King and Queen to a certain Town of the King's, called *Adefrin*, he there ſpent a Month in doing nothing elſe but Catechiſing, and Baptizing thoſe that came to him from far and near to that end; for after his Inſtructing them, they were ſtrait baptized in the River *Gleni*, which he made uſe of as being convenient for that purpoſe.

Theſe Things were tranſacted in the Province of *Bernicia*; but in that of *Deira*, where he uſed to remain moſt commonly with the King, he baptized in the River of *Swale*, for in that preſent Infancy of the Church, Oratories and Fonts were not yet erected: But in the Country of *Done* he built a Church, which was burnt not long after by the Pagans when they killed King *Edwin*. Theſe Things, thô happening in ſeveral Years, *Bede* here relates all at once. But to return to Civil Affairs.

This Year *Cynegils* and *Cwichelm*, Kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*, fought with *Penda* King of *Mercia* at *Cirenceſter*, where alſo a League was made between them.

H. Huntington is larger in the Relation of this Fight, and tells us, that when both Armies had fought from Morning till Sun-ſet, neither of them giving Ground; the next Morning perceiving they ſhould be both ruined if they ſtood another Fight, they treated of a Peace, and ſo parted Friends.

It were to be wiſhed, that the Monkiſh Writers, who have left us the only Relations of theſe Wars, would alſo have told us the particular Cauſes and Grounds on which they were made; for want of which, we

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are left to gueſs in general, that Revenge or Ambition (the common Incentives to War among Princes) did alſo produce theſe we now treat of; but within two Years after (as the *Saxon Annals* relate) *Eorpwald* [King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*] was baptized. *Anno Dom.* DCXXVIII.

This *Bede* relates to have been done by the Perſuaſion of King *Edwin*, who after the Death of *Redwald*, had the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles* voluntarily delivered up to him by the People of that Province; but he out of Gratitude to his old Benefactor, permitted his Son *Eorpwald* quietly to hold that Kingdom, tho as his Tributary; who now caſting away his Idols, was baptized, together with many of his Subjects: His Father King *Redwald* had been alſo baptized in *Kent* by the means of King *Eadbald*, tho in returning home he was again perverted by his Wife and ſome others of her Superſtition, from the true Faith; ſo that he had at once in the ſame Temple one Altar for Chriſt, and another for Devils: But King *Eorpwald*, not long after his receiving the Faith, was ſlain by one *Richbert* a Heathen, but who he was, or why he did it, is not told us; ſo that the Kingdom for three years returned to Paganiſm, until *Sebert*, Brother to the laſt King, a moſt Learned and Chriſtian Prince, obtained the Crown; who whilſt his Brother lived being baniſhed into *France*, did there receive Baptiſm, of which as ſoon as he began his Reign he made his Subjects alſo Partakers: But to this Prince we ſhall ſpeak more largely anon. *Ibid. c.* 15.

About this time *Paulinus* alſo preached the Word to the Province of *Lindiſſi*, (now *Lincolnſhire*) and converted the Governor of *Lincoln*, whoſe Name was *Blecca*, with all his Family, to the Chriſtian Faith: In which City he built a Church of Stone of curious Workmanſhip, whoſe Roof being fallen down, either by length of Time, or Hoſtile Incurſions, the Walls were only ſtanding in *Bede*'s time: And concerning the Propagation of the Chriſtian Faith in this Province, a certain Prieſt and Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Bartenew* told *Bede*, That he himſelf was baptized by the Biſhop *Paulinus*, together with a great Multitude of people in the River *Trent*, near a City then called *Tiowulfingceaſter* (where it was, we know not) King *Edwin* being preſent; of whom *Bede* alſo tells us, That in his time a Woman with a Child in her hand might have gone from Sea to Sea; and that the King at certain Fountains near the Highways, cauſed Drinking-Pots of Braſs to be ſet upon Poſts, for the refreſhment of Travellers, which none either out of Love or Fear would preſume to meddle with; he alſo cauſed to be carried before him when he went through the ſtreets, a ſort of Banner which the *Romans* called *Tufa*, and which the *Engliſh* then called a *Tuff*. *Idem Ibid.*

About this time too Pope *Honorius* ſucceeded *Boniface* in the *Roman* See; and as ſoon as he heard that the Nation of *Northumbers* had received the Chriſtian Faith by the Preaching of *Paulinus*, he ſent him an Archiepiſcopal Pall, together with Exhortatory Letters to King *Edwin*, perſuading him to perſevere in the Faith which he had received; which Letter you may find at large in *Bede*; wherein it alſo appears, that *Honorius* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Paulinus* of *York*, had this Truſt lodged jointly in them, That whenſoever one of them died, the Survivor ſhould immediately conſecrate another Archbiſhop in his ſtead; for not long before, Archbiſhop *Juſtus* deceaſing, *Honorius* had been elected in his room; who coming to *Paulinus* as far as *Lincolne*, was there by him ordained Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Id. c.* 17. *Id. c.* 18.

Cadwallo

Anno Dom. DCXXXIII.

Cadwallo, King of the *Britains*, having been (as *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* relates) conquered by King *Edwin*, loſt ſo great a part of his Kingdom, that he was forced to fly into *Ireland*, from whence ſoon after returning with a great Army of *Iriſh*, he overcame *Penda* King of the *Mercians* in fight, and then made him join his Forces againſt King *Edwin*: All which is probable enough; for* *Bede* alſo tells us, That *Cadwallo* this year rebelling againſt King *Edwin*, together with *Penda*, invaded the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, when King *Edwin* raiſing an Army met them at a place called *Hethfield* (now *Hatfield* in *Yorkſhire*) and there fought a bloody Battel, wherein King *Edwin* himſelf was ſlain, and his whole Army quite routed; in which Fight *Oſfrid* his Son, a Warlike Young Prince alſo fell; but *Edfrid* the Younger being compelled by neceſſity to ſurrender himſelf to *Penda*, was afterwards by him murthered, contrary to his Oath. This happen'd in the 17*th.* year of King *Edwin*'s Reign, having till now been ſucceſsful in all his Undertakings.

* *Ibid. cap.* 20.

But there now enſued a very ſad Deſtruction of the *Engliſh* Nation of the *Northumbers*, ſince of theſe two Generals, the one was a profeſſed *Pagan*, and the other, though a Chriſtian in Name, yet ſhewed himſelf worſe than a *Pagan*; for *Cadwallo*, altho he profeſſed Chriſtianity, yet was ſo barbarous, that he ſpared neither Age not Sex, but put all to death with great Cruelty; tyranizing for a long while over all thoſe Provinces, and ſeeming reſolved quite to extirpate the *Engliſh* Nation; nor did he ſhew any reſpect to Churches or other Sacred Places; it being then the cuſtom of the *Britains* (in *Bede*'s time) to ſet at nought the Faith and Religion of the *Engliſh-Saxons*; neither would they have any thing to do with them, more than with *Pagans*: But the Head of the ſlain King was brought to *York*, and there depoſited in the Church of St. *Peter*, which he himſelf had begun, and *Oſwald* his Succeſſor finiſhed. All things being thus in confuſion in thoſe parts, and no Refuge or Safety any where to be expected, Queen *Æthelburga* returned by Sea into *Kent*, together with *Paulinus* the Archbiſhop, and was there received with great Honour by King *Eadbald* and Archbiſhop *Honorius*; ſhe was conducted thither by *Baſſe*, a Valiant Captain of King *Edwin*'s, who alſo brought with him *Eanfrede* the King's Daughter, as alſo *Uſcfrea* his Son, and *Iffi* his Grandſon by *Oſfrid*; whom their Mother afterward, for fear of the Kings *Eadbald* and *Oſwald*, ſent into *France* to King *Dagobert* to be brought up, where they both died in their Infancy.

At which time alſo the Church of *Rocheſter* wanting a Paſtor, (*Romanus* the Biſhop having been drowned in going on a Meſſage to *Rome*) *Paulinus* at the requeſt of King *Eadbald* and Archbiſhop *Honorius*, took upon him the care of that Church, which he held as long as he lived.

Anno Dom. DCXXXIV.

Ibid. Lib. 3. *Cap.* 1.

After the Death of King *Edwin*, *Oſric* the Son of *Elfric*, his Uncle by the Father's ſide, obtained the Kingdom of *Deira*, who had been before received by *Paulinus*; whilſt *Eanfrid*, of the ſame Blood-Royal, as being the Son of *Ethelfrid* the laſt King before *Edwin*, ruled the Kingdom of *Bernicia*; ſo that during the Reign of *Edwin*, all the Sons of *Ethelfrid*, with many more of the Young Nobility of that Country, lived in Exile either with the *Scots* or *Picts*, by whom they were inſtructed in their Religious Rites, whilſt both theſe Kings laſt mentioned abjured the Chriſtian Religion, which they had before learnt and profeſſed; and relapſing to their old Idolatry, were ſhortly after cut off by *Cadwalla*, King

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of the *Britains*; for the next Summer *Osric* having beſieged him in a certain Town, *Cadwallo* ſallying out with his Men, cut him off on a ſudden with all his Army; and then when he had ravaged the *Northumbrian* Provinces, not as a King, but a cruel Tyrant; and that at length *Eanfrid* came to him imprudently, with only Twelve Select Knights in his Company to treat of Peace, he put him to Death as he had done his Couſin before. *Anno Dom.* DCXXXIV.

That Year, ſaith *Bede*, Is ſtill at this day accounted unlucky, and hateful to all good Men, both in reſpect of the Apoſtacy of theſe Princes who renounced their Baptiſm; as alſo for the Tyranny of this *Britiſh* King: Whereupon it was agreed by thoſe who computed the Reigns of the *Northumbrian* Kings, to aboliſh the Memory of theſe Infidels, and to caſt this Year into the Reign of the Pious King *Oſwald*, who ſucceeding after the Death of his Brother *Eanfrid*, and marching with a ſmall Force, (but fortified by Faith in Chriſt) routed *Ceadwalla*, that Prince of the *Britains*, with his vaſt Army, which nothing could reſiſt, as he boaſted; and, who was ſlain in a place, which in the *Engliſh* Tongue is called *Deniſesbourn*, or *Brook*, the place (ſaith our Authour) is ſhewn at this day, and had in great Veneration; where *Oſwald* being to give Battle erected a large Wooden-Croſs, and he himſelf laboured in ſetting of it up; which when he had finiſhed, he thus ſpoke to his Army; *Let us now kneel down, and joyntly pray unto the Omnipotent, and only true God, that he would mercifully defend us from this proud Enemy; for he knows that we undertake a juſt War for defence of our Nation and Religion:* The place is in the *Engliſh* Tongue called *Heofenfield* (or *Heavenfield*), lying near to the Wall which the *Romans* built from Sea to Sea, (which we now call the *Pict*'s Wall:) The reſt of *Bede*'s Miracles concerning this place, and Croſs, I omit, as very incredible and Superſtitious. *Ibid cap.* 3. *Id. cap.* 1.

But before we leave this great Action of the Death of *Cadwallo*, I cannot omit taking notice of the Confidence of *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, who (notwithſtanding this expreſs Teſtimony of *Bede* to the contrary,) will make this *Cadwallo* not only to have overcome *Edwin*, and other *Saxon* Kings in divers Battles, and to have forced them to ſubmit themſelves to him, and do him Homage at *London*, and that living and dying Victorious, he was there buried, and his Body being put into a Braſen Statue of a Man on Horſe-back, was ſet over *Ludgate* for a terror to the *Saxons*, having Reigned Forty Eight Years; all which is notoriouſly falſe, for *London* had been part of the *Eaſt-Saxon* Kingdom, for above One Hundred Years, when this King was kill'd, who did not Reign Twenty Years in all.

But the ſame King *Oſwald*, as ſoon as ever he came to the Kingdom, deſiring that all his Subjects might profeſs the Chriſtian Faith, ſent to the *Scotch* Biſhops (for ſo I ſuppoſe the Words *Majores natu*, in *Bede* are to be rendered) among whom, whil'ſt he was in Baniſhment, he had together with his followers received Baptiſm, deſiring them that a Biſhop might be ſent him; by whoſe Preaching the People whom he Govern'd might be grounded in the Chriſtian Religion, and receive Baptiſm; nor was he long without an anſwer to his requeſt, for they ſoon ſent him *Aidan*, a Man of great Meekneſs, Piety and Moderation; only *Bede* finds fault with him, That he had Zeal, but not according to Knowledge, in that he obſerved *Eaſter* day according to the cuſtom of his own Nation, and that of the *Picts*, of which I have ſufficiently ſpoken already: But ſo *Id. cap.* 2.

Anno Dom. DCXVI. soon as this Bishop came to him, he gave him a place for his Episcopal See, in the Isle of *Lindisfarn*, where he himself desired it, which place is *Pena-Insula*, except when the Sea quite overflows that neck of Land which joyns it to *England*: But this King took care, by hearkening to the Instructions of this good Bishop, to propagate Christ's Church in his Kingdom, which during his Reign, extended over both *Deira*, and *Bernicia*, being then both united into one; and it was often observed as an unusual spectacle, that whil'st the Bishop Preacht (who being a *Scot* did not speak *English*, so as to be well understood,) the King being present, and with his Courtiers and Officers, having learn't the *Scotish* Tongue, during the time of his banishment, would himself interpret the Bishops Sermon to them, and many *Scotish* Priests coming into those Provinces of *Britain* where King *Oswald* Reigned, began to Preach, and Baptize those that believed; so that now Churches were built in divers places, to which the People assembling rejoyced to hear the Word of God; there were also given by the King several Lands and Possessions to build Monasteries, for they were chiefly Monks, who now came hither to Preach; for Bishop *Aidan* was himself a Monk sent from the Monastery of the Isle of *Hye*, of which we have said enough in the last Book.

Id. Cap. 5. But of the Humility and Piety of this Bishop *Aidan*, *Bede* gives us a very large account, in several instances of it; for he seems to have been an excellent pattern for succeeding Bishops and Clergy Men to follow: For he tells us, That all who travelled with him (I suppose in his Visitation or Conversions) were they professed Monks or only Lay-Bretheren, were obliged to bestow their time either in reading the Scriptures, or else in learning the Psalms by heart: but to let you see how much more Humility and Condescention are able to prevail than Pride and Austerity, *Bede* tells us, That the King of the *Scots* first sent another Bishop to King *Oswald*, who being of a very rough Austere Temper, could therefore do but little good among the *English*; so that being forced to return home again, he laid the fault upon their Rude, Irreclameable Dispositions; whereupon the *Scotch* Clergy being grieved at his return, called a Synod to consider what was best to be done in this case; when *Aidan*, who was then present, told this Bishop, That he thought he had been too harsh and severe to his Ignorant Auditors, and had not, according to the Apostle's Rule, first given them the Milk of milder Doctrine, till by degrees they should be able to receive, and digest the more perfect and harder precepts of God's Word; which as soon as they heard, they all turn'd their Eyes upon him, and resolved he should be sent to Convert the Ignorant, unbelieving *English*, because he was endued with Prudence, the Mother of all other Vertues, tho he was not wanting in those also.

Id. Cap. 6. The same Authour, also gives us as high a Character, with many Examples of the great Humility, Affability and Charity of King *Oswald*; as that being once at Dinner, it was told him, There were a great multitude of Poor People at his Gate, desiring Alms; whereupon he immediately sent them a large Silver Dish full of Meat from his own Table, and order'ed the Dish afterwards to be broken into small pieces and distributed among them; upon this Bishop *Aidan* taking him by the Right Hand, said thus; *Let this Hand never corrupt*, which saying gave occasion to the Miracle, (whether false or real I shall not now dispute) concerning the incorruptibility of King *Oswald*'s Right Arm, which *Bede* hath

hath given us ſo many ſtrange Relations of, and that it was preſerved uncorrupt in the Church of *Peterburgh* in his time: Of this King he alſo tells us, That by his Induſtry the Provinces of *Deira* and *Bernicia*, which had been almoſt in perpetual Diſcord, were now (as I may ſay) united into one People, ſo that he received all the Nations and Kingdoms of *Britain* under his Protection: He was Nephew to King *Edwin* by his Siſter *Acca*, and it was fit that ſo great a Predeceſſour ſhould have one of his own Blood to ſucceed him. *Anno Dom.* DCXXXIV.

But we ſhall proceed now to the Converſion of the *Weſt-Saxons*, which the ſame Author thus relates: At this time the Nation of the *Weſt-Saxons* (which were anciently called *Geviſſes*) received the Chriſtian Faith in the Reign of *Cynegils*, by the preaching of *Byrinus* an *Italian*, who being ordained Biſhop by *Aſterius* Biſhop of *Genoua*, by the Order of Pope *Honorius*, came into *Britain*; and thô he had promiſed the Pope to preach the Goſpel in the moſt inland parts of the Iſland, where it never had been heard of before, yet landing in the Country of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and finding them to be altogether Heathens, he thought it better to preach the Goſpel there, than to ſeek further; which, when he had done for ſome time, and that the King (being ſufficiently inſtructed) was to be Baptized, with his People, it happened that *Oſwald*, the Victorious King of the *Northumbers*, was there preſent, and received him coming out of the Font as his Godfather, intending alſo to make him his Son-in-Law, and then both Kings joyned in conferring on the ſaid Biſhop a City, which was called in Latin *Dorinea* (now *Dorcheſter*) in *Oxfordſhire*, there to fix his Epiſcopal See; but divers Years after, when many Churches had been built, and much People converted to Chriſt by his means, he at laſt deceaſed, and was buried in that City, (for ſo *Bede* ſtiles it,) thô it be now but a poor Country Town. *Anno Dom.* DCXXXV. *Id. c.* 7.

Will. of *Malmesbury* adds to this Relation of *Bede*, That King *Cynegils* was quickly perſwaded to ſubmit to the preaching of the Biſhop, but that *Cwichelme* his Brother, (and Partner in the Kingdom,) did for ſome time refuſe it; till being admoniſhed by Sickneſs, that he ſhould not neglect the Salvation of his Soul, he was at laſt baptized, and the ſame Year died, which is confirmed by the *Saxon* Chronicle under the Year following; thô omitting the Baptiſm of *Cynegils*, it only mentions that of *Cwichelme*, adding, *That the ſame Year he departed this Life, and that Biſhop* Felix *preached the Faith of Chriſt to the* Eaſt-Angles: This *Felix* was a *Burgundian*, the firſt Biſhop in *Dunwich* in *Suffolk*, where he founded his Epiſcopal See.

~~His Converſion was thus~~: For *Sigebert* having ſucceeded his Brother *Eorpwald* in the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and having, whilſt he was baniſhed into *France* by his Brother's Jealouſie, there received Baptiſm, did now, by the Aſſiſtance of Biſhop *Felix*, erect a School, (like thoſe he had ſeen in *France*,) where Youths might be taught Letters, having received *Schoolmaſters* out of *Kent*; but two Years after, this King being weary of Worldly Affairs, reſigned the Kingdom to his Couſin *Egric*, and became a Monk in a Monaſtery of his own founding: Nor can I here omit taking notice, that from *Bede*'s thus mentioning King *Sigebert*'s founding this School, *Polydore Virgil* and *Leland* conclude, that this School was in *Cambridge*, and that it gave Being to that Univerſity; and all the reaſon they have for it is, only becauſe *Cambridge* was in the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*; whereas neither *Bede*, nor any other ancient *Anno Dom.* DCXXXVI. Bede, *Id. c.* 18.

Anno Dom. DCXXXVI. Author, ſpecifies the Place where it was erected: And ſo it might be any where elſe, as well as in *Cambridge*; or if there, it was no better than a School to teach Boys the *Latin* Tongue: And it is certain, that in the time of King *Alfred* there was no School, much leſs an Univerſity there.

Ibid. But before I leave this King's Reign, I cannot forbear mentioning what *Bede* there tells us, That in his Reign one *Furſeus* (or *Furſee*) came out of *Ireland*, and preached the Goſpel to the *Eaſt-Angles*, converting many, and confirming divers others in the Faith; and having had a terrible Viſion of the Pains of Hell, did, by the Aſſiſtance of King *Sigebert*, erect a Monaſtery in a Town called *Cnobsbury*; which afterward *Anna*, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, enriched with noble Buildings and Revenues.

Anno Dom. DCXXXIX. This Year is remarkable, for *Byrinus* baptized King *Cuthred* at *Dorceaſter*, and at the Font received him for his Godſon. This *Cuthred*, tho here called *King*, yet was only a Prince of the Blood Royal, the Title of *Cyning* being often given to thoſe Princes in our *Saxon Annals*.

Anno Dom. DCXL. This Year *Eadbald*, King of *Kent*, departing this Life, having reigned 25 Years, left the Kingdom to *Earcombert* his Son, who held it 24 Years and ſome Months. The *Saxon* Annals ſay, This King *Eadbald* had two Sons, *Ermenred*, and *Earcombert*; but *Mat. Weſtminſter* (I know not from what Author) adds, That the Younger craftily ſupplanted the Elder, and got the Kingdom from him. This *Earcombert* was the firſt *Engliſh* King, who commanded Idols to be deſtroyed throughout his whole Kingdom; and who alſo by his Authority ordained, That the Forty Days before *Eaſter* (now called *Lent*) ſhould be obſerved, and that it ſhould not be contemned, appointed competent Puniſhments for thoſe that ſhould dare to tranſgreſs it.

Id. c. 8.

Ibid. This ſeems to have been the *Firſt Lent* that was obſerved in *England* by a Law; this King's Daughter, called *Earcongath*, or *Earcongota*, being a Virgin of great Piety, conſtantly ſerved God in a Monaſtery in the Kingdom of the *Franks*, founded by a noble Abbeſs in the Town called *Brige* (now *Bruges*) in *Flanders*, for there being at that time not many Monaſteries in *Britain*, many who deſired to undertake thoſe Vows, uſed to go over to the *French* Monaſteries, or elſe ſent their Daughters to be taught and profeſſed there, chiefly in the Monaſteries of *Brige*, *Cale*, and *Andelegium*.

The *Saxon Annals* here alſo mention, 'one *Ermenred* to have been Bro-'ther to King *Earcombert*, and to have begot two Sons, (*Ethelbert*, and *Ethelred*,) who afterwards ſuffered Death by the Hands of *Thunore*, one of his *Thanes*, whom the King employed in this cruel Execution.

Anno Dom. DCXLII. When *Oſwald*, the Moſt Chriſtian King of *Northumberland*, had now reigned 9 Years, (taking in that Year in which the two Apoſtate Kings were killed,) who were left out of the Catalogue, (as has been already ſaid,) he fought a great Battle with *Penda*, the *Pagan* King of the *Mercians*, in a place called *Maſer-Field* (now *Oſweſtre*) in *Shropſhire*,) and was there unfortunately ſlain in the 38th Year of his Age; the Greatneſs of whoſe Faith and Devotion towards GOD, appeared (ſaith *Bede*) by the many Miracles there wrought after his Death; which being both tedious and improbable, I omit, and refer thoſe that are Curious in ſuch Matters to the Author himſelf; but that they were long after generally believed, appears by theſe Paſſages in the *Saxon* Chronicle, (*viz.*) 'That 'his Holineſs and Miracles were afterwards highly celebrated through

Bede, *Id.* c. 9.

'the

'the whole Iſland, and that his Hand was ſtill preſerved at *Bebban-burg* 'uncorrupt. For *Penda* had moſt inhumanly cauſed his Body to be diſmembred, and his Head and Arms being cut off, to be ſet upon a Pole for a Trophie of his Victory. *Anno Dom.* DCXLII.

The ſame Year alſo *Penda*, King of *Mercia*, making War againſt the *Eaſt-Angles*, and ſtill getting the better of them; they urged *Sigebert*, who had been formerly their King, (but was now retired into a Monaſtery,) to come out to Battle, to encourage the Souldiers; and ſo fetching him out whether he would or no, as hoping that the Souldiers would be leſs apt to fly, having with them one who had been ſo ſtout a Commander: But he being mindful of his Vow, carrying nothing but a Staff in his Hand, was there ſlain, together with *Egric* the preſent King, and all the whole Army was routed, and diſperſed: But *Anna*, the Son of *Eni*, of the Royal Stock, ſucceeded them, being an excellent Man, but who alſo underwent the ſame Fate from this *Pagan* King, as ſhall be ſhewn in due time. Bede, *l.* 3. *c.* 18.

'This Year *Cenwall*, or *Cenwalc*, ſucceeded *Cynegils* his Father in the 'Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and reigned 31 Years. *Anno Dom.* DCXLIII.

This King commanded the old Church of * *Wincheſter* to be built, which had been deſigned by his Father *Cynegils*, thô he never lived to finiſh it; but *Hedda* ſate there as the firſt Biſhop. This King alſo gave to this Church, and Biſhoprick, all the Lands lying about *Wincheſter* for the ſpace of 7 *Leucas*, or Leagues; which Grant was alſo confirmed by King *Kenwalk*. * Vid. *Monaſt. Ang. T.* 1. *p.* 31. *Angl. Sacra*, *T.* 1. *Annal. Winton in Bib. Cotton.*

Note, That at the firſt Foundation, this Monaſtery was for Secular Chanons, till the Year 963; that Biſhop *Ethelwold*, by the Command of King *Edgar*, turned out theſe Chanons, and placed *Benedictine* Monks in their rooms.

'This Year *Paulinus* deceaſed at *Rocheſter*, who had been firſt Arch-'Biſhop of *York*, and afterwards Biſhop in this City, and was Biſhop '21 Years, 2 Months, and 12 Days *Oſwin*, the Son of *Oſric*, the 'Couſin of *Edwin*, was made King of *Deira*, and reigned 7 Years. The next Year, *Anno Dom.* DCXLIV.

In the room of *Paulinus*, Arch-Biſhop *Honorius* conſecrated *Ithamar* a *Kentiſh* Man, who was equal to his Predeceſſors in Learning and Piety. *Cenwalc* was driven out of his Kingdom by *Penda* King of the *Mercians*. *Anno Dom.* DCXLV.

Of which, *Bede* gives us a more particular Account, That refuſing to receive the Chriſtian Faith, he not long after loſt his Kingdom; for having divorced his Wife, the Siſter of *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, he had therefore not only War made upon him, but was driven out of his Kingdom upon that account; ſo that he was forced to retire to *Anna* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, with whom remaining 3 Years in Baniſhment, he came firſt to the knowledge of, and there received the true Faith, for that King was a good Man, and happy in a pious Iſſue. *L.* 3. *c.* 7.

'This Year King *Cenwalc* was baptized: And, as *William* of *Malmeſbury* relates, after 3 Years baniſhment, gathering freſh Forces, recovered his Kingdom, and proved the greateſt of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings that had reigned hitherto, as ſhall be in due time related: But *Bede* tells us, That after this King had been ſome time reſtored, there came out of *Ireland* a certain Biſhop called *Agelbert*, a *French* Man, who offered himſelf to the King to preach the Goſpel, whoſe Learning and Induſtry when the King underſtood, he offered him the Biſhoprick of that Province, and conſenting *Anno Dom.* DCXLVI. *Ibid.*

Anno Dom. DCXLVI. senting to the King's Desires, he remained there Bishop several Years; till the King finding he could not learn *English*, and growing weary of his bad Pronunciation, introduced another Bishop, one *Wini* of his own Nation, over his Head, who had been ordained in *France*, and so dividing the Province into two Dioceses, settled the latter in his Episcopal See at *Winchester*; at which *Agelbert* being offended, because the King had done it without his Knowledge and Consent, he returned into *France*, and there accepting of the Bishoprick of *Paris*, died an old Man; but not many Years after his departure, *Wini* being driven from his Bishoprick, retired to *Wulfer* King of *Mercia*, and buying of him the Episcopal See of the City of *London* for a Sum of Money, sate there Bishop as long as he lived; thus Simony crept very early into the *English Saxon* Church: So the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, was no small time without a Bishop, whereupon King *Cenwalc* being afflicted with great losses in his Wars, sent Messengers into *France*, to Bishop *Agelbert*, desiring him to return, and reassume the Bishoprick he had left; but he excused himself, that he could not return, being already engaged in another Charge; yet to comply as far as he could to the King's desires, he sent him his Nephew *Eleutherius* a Priest, to be ordained Bishop if he pleased; who being Honourably received by the King and People, and having been ordained Bishop by *Theodorus*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, did for many Years Govern alone the Diocese of the *West-Saxons*. This, tho happening in a course of some Years, is by *Bede* related as one continued Story.

Anno Dom. DCXLVIII. " This Year *Cenwalc* (King of the *West-Saxons*,) gave *Cuthred* his " Cousin Three Thousand Hides of Land, near *Æscæsdune*, (now called " *Aston* near *Wallingford*): This *Cuthred* was the Son of *Cwichelme*, and " he the Son of *Cynegils*: But two years after,

Anno Dom. DCL. " *Ægelbyrth*, a Bishop, (who came from *France*,) after *Byrinus* un- " dertook the Bishoprick of the *West-Saxons*, as has been already related at large by *Bede*.

Anno Dom. DCLI. " This Year K. *Oswin* was slain, xii. *Kal.* of *September*: And within " twelve days afterwards died also *Aidan* the Bishop.

Lib. 3. c. 14. But the manner of this King's Death is by *Bede* thus related, That King *Oswin* (who succeeded K. *Oswald* his Brother,) had, from the beginning of his Reign, a Consort, or Sharer of the Royal Dignity of the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, called *Oswi*, the Son of *Ufric*, of the Posterity of King *Edwin*; whilst *Oswin* govern'd the Province of *Deira* for Seven Years with great Happiness and Love of his Subjects; But *Oswy*, who reigned in the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, would not long maintain Peace with him; 'till at last fresh Dissentions still arising between them, he destroyed *Oswin* by Treachery; for both their Armies now lying near each other, as ready to fight, when *Oswin* saw, that being weaker in Force, he was not able to wage Battle with him who came against him with a much greater Army, he judg'd it better to lay aside all Thoughts of fighting, and to preserve himself and his Men for some better Opportunity: So he sent home his Army from a place called *Wilfers Dun*, and himself retired with only one ~~faithful~~ Follower, to lie concealed in the House of Earl *Hunwald*, whom he supposed to have been faithful to him; but it proved far otherwise, for by him he was betray'd, and there slain by the Command of K. *Oswi*, together with his faithful Servant *Tondhere*, in the ninth year of his Reign, at a place called *Ingerlingum*.

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This Fact of King *Oſwy*, as it was deteſtable to all Men, ſo it afterwards proved moſt hateful to himſelf; who, repenting of it, built there a Monaſtery to expiate the Crime, and to pray, as well for his own Soul as for that of the King he had kill'd. This King *Oſwin* was a Man of a beautiful Aſpect, tall of Stature, affable, and very bountiful; all which excellent Endowments, both of Mind and Body, procured him ſuch Reputation, that he was generally beloved; and many Noble Perſons, out of all the *Engliſh* Provinces, thought themſelves happy if they could get into his Service; but above all, his Humility and ſingular Modeſty were moſt remarkable, whereof *Bede* gives us this Inſtance: K. *Oſwin* had beſtowed an excellent Horſe upon *Aidan*, (that charitable B. of *Lindisfarne*,) but the Biſhop, when a poor Man ask'd an Alms, gave him the Horſe with all the rich Furniture upon him: The King hearing of this, as they were going to Dinner, ſaid to him, *My Lord Biſhop, Why would you give that Noble Horſe, that I beſtowed upon you for your own Saddle, to a poor Man? Have we not many worſe Horſes, and other Things, which would better ſerve the Poor, inſtead of this Horſe I made choice of for your own riding?* The Biſhop inſtantly replied, *Sir, What do you ſay? Is that Son of a Mare more dear to you than the Son of GOD?* With that they went to Dinner, the Biſhop took his Seat, but the King, being newly come in from Hunting, ſate down by the Fire with his Attendants; but remembring what the Biſhop had ſaid, he roſe ſuddenly up, and giving his Sword to his Servant, ran haſtily to the Biſhop, and falling down at his Feet, beſought him not to be angry, affirming, he would never after ſpeak, or concern himſelf, whatever he gave to the Children of GOD. The Biſhop being wonderfully amazed, and riſing haſtily from his Seat, raiſed him up, telling him, he was very well pleaſed if he would but ſit down to Dinner, and be chearful: The King then, at his Requeſt, began to be merry; but the Biſhop to be ſad, in ſo much that he ſhed Tears; of which his Prieſt taking Notice, and in their own Language (being the Scottiſh, which neither *Oſwin* nor his Servants underſtood,) demanded the Reaſon: *I know* (ſaith he,) *that the King will not live long, for till now I never beheld an humble King; whence I apprehend, that he will ſpeedily be taken away from us; for this Nation is not worthy of ſuch a Governor.* Not long after, this Preſage of the Biſhop was fulfilled in the Murther of *Oſwin* (as you have heard): But *Aidan* lived 'till the twelfth day after his Death, and then died himſelf on the laſt of *Auguſt*. Of the Miracles of which Biſhop, *Bede* gives us too long and incredible Account either to be believed, or inſerted here. *Anno Dom.* DCLI.

"This Year *Cenwal*, (King of the *Weſt-Saxons*,) fought at *Bradenford*, "near the River *Aſſene* (in *Wiltſhire*); but it is pity that our Annals had not told us againſt whom he fought, which I cannot find in any Author, tho it is moſt likely to have been againſt the *Mercians*; for *Ethelward*, in his Chronicle, ſays, That *Cenwal*, about this time, was engaged in a Civil War, which muſt be underſtood with thoſe of his own Country, and the *Mercians* were his next Neighbours. The next Year *Anno Dom.* DCLII.

"The Mid-land *Engliſh* (or *Mercians*) under *Peadda* their Eolderman "or Governour, received the Faith of Chriſt: Which Converſion *Bede* relates more at large; when, ſpeaking of this *Peadda*, the Son of *Penda*, as being a young Man, moſt worthy of the Name of a King, was, by his Father, ſet over a Province of that Nation; *Will.* of *Malmesbury* calls it part of that Kingdom; and that this Prince went to *Oſwy*, deſiring *Alfreda* his Daughter to Wife, but could by no means obtain her, unleſs he, *Anno Dom.* DCLIII.

* *Lib.* 3. *c.* 21.

together

Anno Dom. DCLIII. together with his whole Nation, would receive Baptiſm; but he having heard the Preaching of the Goſpel, through the Hope of a future Immortality, voluntarily profeſſed that he would be a Chriſtian, whether he had married the Virgin or not; being chiefly perſuaded to receive the Faith by *Alcfrid*, the Son of King *Oſwy*, who was his Friend and Kelation, having married *Cymburge* his Siſter: So that King was baptiſed by Biſhop *Finan*, together with all his Train, in that famous Town of the King's, which *Bede* calls *Admurum* (that is, *Walltown*, near the *Picts* Wall); and taking with him four Prieſts to teach and baptiſe his Nation, he return'd home with much Joy; theſe Prieſts coming with the King into this Province preach'd GOD's Word, and were as willingly heard and receiv'd; and both, the Noble as well as the inferior ſort, renouncing their Idolatry, were baptiſed; nor did King *Penda* himſelf prohibit them from preaching in his own Kingdom, if they would, but rather hated and deſpiſed thoſe, whom, profeſſing the Faith of Chriſt, he found not to perform Works ſuitable to it; calling them miſerable and contemptible Wretches, who failed to obey that GOD in whom they believed. Theſe Things fell out two Years before the Death of King *Penda*.

About the ſame time the *Eaſt-Saxons*, at the Inſtance of King *Oſwy*, again received the Chriſtian Faith, which they had formerly rejected, having (as you have heard,) driven away *Mellitus* their Biſhop; for *Sigebert*, who was now King of that Nation, having ſucceeded *Sigebert*, Sirnamed *The Little*; This Prince being a Friend to King *Oſwye*, and uſing to come ſometimes to viſit him into the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, he was wont often to tell him, *That thoſe could not be GODS that were the Works of Mens Hands; but that GOD was an Incomprehenſible Being, Inviſible, Omnipotent, and Eternal, who governed all Things both in Heaven and Earth, and would judge the World in Equity; and that all thoſe who would learn, and do His Will, ſhould receive Eternal Rewards:* Theſe and many other ſuch Things, when King *Oſwy* had often inculcated with a Brotherly Affection, at laſt by the Perſuaſion of that King, and of divers of his Friends, he alſo Believed, and was baptiſed, with all his Followers, at the ſame place where *Peadda* had been Chriſtned before, (*viz.* at *Wall-Town* above-mentioned). King *Sigebert*, being thus made a Chriſtian, returned to his own Kingdom, only asking of King *Oſwy* to appoint him ſome Teachers, who might convert and baptiſe his Nation into the Faith of Chriſt; ſo the King ſent to the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, and called back *Cedda*, who had been before ſent thither; and giving him a certain Prieſt for his Companion, ſent him to preach the Word to the *Eaſt-Saxons*: When theſe had paſſed through all places, and had gathered a very large Church, it happned ſome time after, that *Cedda*, returning home, went to *Lindisfarne*, to confer with Biſhop *Finan*; who, when he found the Work of the Goſpel to have ſo well proſpered under his Miniſtery, calling to him Two other Biſhops, ordained *Cedda* Biſhop over the Nation of the *Eaſt-Saxons*; who thereupon returned into his own Province, and finiſhing the Work he had begun with greater Authority, Built Churches in many places, and ordained Prieſts and Deacons, who might help him in the Preaching of the Word and Baptiſm; eſpecially in a City, which is called in the *Engliſh* Tongue, *Ithanceſtir*, as alſo in that which is called *Tylabury*; the former of which places was upon the Bank of the River *Pent*, and the other is near the *Thames* (now called *Tillbury*) in which having gathered together a ſmall company of Chriſt's Servants, he taught them

Bede *lb. c.* 22.

the

the Diſcipline of a Monaſtick Life, as far as they were capable to receive it.

This Year, (according to the *Saxon* Annals) Anna, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles *was Slain*; being overcome in Fight by King *Penda*, of whom *H. Huntington* gives us but a ſlender Account, only that *Anna* and his whole Army periſhed in a moment, by the edge of the Sword; ſo that ſcarce any of them remained *Anno Dom.* DCLIV

This Year alſo, one *Bottulf began to Build a Monaſtery at Icanho* (ſuppoſed to be *Boſton* in *Lincoln-ſhire*). As alſo *Honorius*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Deceaſed on 20. *Kal. Octob.* The ſame Year likewiſe (according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*) *Ercombert* King of *Kent* Deceaſing, *Egbert* his Son Succeeded him; in the beginning of whoſe Reign, *Æthelbert*, and *Æthelred*, the Sons of his Unkle *Ermenred*, being but Youths, were cruelly Murdered by one *Thanor*, the King's Servant, without his privity; whoſe Bodies were ſtrangely diſcovered, where they were buried, by a Light from Heaven: whereupon their Bodies were removed to the Monaſtery of *Warinens*: The Miracles that followed in the doing of which, I omit as incredible.

This Year King *Penda* was Slain at *Winwidfeld*, with Thirty others of the Royal Blood. *Anno Dom.* DCLV

Of which Battle *Bede* gives us a particular account; That *Oſwi* having long endured the Ravages, and Devaſtations of his Country by the Inroads of King *Penda*, and having had his ſtrong City of *Bebbanburg* (now *Bamburrough* Caſtle) aſſaulted, and ſet on Fire, and thereby very near taking, found himſelf too weak to reſiſt, and offering him many Rich Preſents, deſired to buy a Peace; which *Penda* proudly refuſing, and reſolving nothing leſs ſhould ſatisfie him than this King's deſtruction; *Oſwi* upon that turning his Gifts into Vows to God, implored the Divine Aſſiſtance; devoting his Daughter (then but one Year Old) to be a Nun, and with Twelve Portions of Land, (whereof each maintained Ten Families,) to build and endow Monaſteries: So it ſeems, his Vows proved more ſucceſsful than his Treaties; for hereupon, he with *Alfred* his Son, gathering a ſmall Army, therewith encountred, and diſcomfited the *Mercians*, having then Invaded and waſted the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, thô they were Thirty times more in number, and led by experienced Captains: This Battle was fought near a place called *Loyden* (now *Leeds* in *York-ſhire*;) beſides this *Ethelwald*, the Son of *Oſwald*, who ruled in *Deira*, took part with the *Mercians*, but in the Fight withdrew his Forces, and in a ſafe place waited for the Event; with which unſeaſonable Retreat, the *Mercians* perhaps, being terrified, and miſdoubting greater danger fled; their Commanders together with *Penda* himſelf, being almoſt all Slain; amongſt whom was *Ethelher*, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, who forgeting the Death of his Brother K. *Anna*, formerly Slain by *Penda*, now took part with him, and was the chief Authour of this War; many as they were flying were drown'd in the River *Winved*, then ſwoln above her Banks: The death of *Penda*, that Cruel, and Heathen King, cauſed a General rejoycing among the Chriſtians, according to the Old *Engliſh* ſaying, (mentioned by *Mathew Weſtminſter*) at *Winved*. So that after *Penda* had been the death of no leſs than Four or Five Chriſtian Kings, whom he ſlew in Battle, he himſelf underwent the ſame Fate; ſo little Difference is there between the deaths of Good, and Bad Princes; only the former are called God's Corrections, but the latter his Judgments. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 16

Anno Dom. DCLV. But to *Ethelher*, ſucceeded *Ethelwald* his Brother, and to *Penda* his Son *Peadda*, who being a Chriſtian and Son in Law to *Oſwi* himſelf, he allowed him to hold the Province of *South Mercia*, divided from the *Northern*, by the River of *Trent*, then containing (according to *Bede*) Five Thouſand Families,) to be held as Tributary to the *Northumbrian* Kingdom.

After this the *Mercians* became all *Chriſtians*, by the means of King *Oſwi*, and *Peadda*: and here that Copy of the *Saxon* Chronicle, Written in the Abby of *Peterburgh*, gives us a large account of the Foundation of that Abby, which is thus; "That in the Time of this *Peadda*, he "and *Oſwi*, the Brother of King *Oſwald* met, and conferred about build- "ing a Monaſtery, in honour of Chriſt and St. *Peter*, which they af- "terwards did, and gave it the Name of *Medeſhamſted*, from a certain "Well, which is there, called *Medeſwell*; ſo they laid the Foundations, "and when they had near finiſhed the Work, they committed it to the "Care of a certain Monk, called *Saxulf*, who was dear to God, and be- "loved of all the Nation; for he was a Rich, and Noble Perſon in his "time, but is now much richer in Chriſt.

This Year alſo, (*Honorius* the Archbiſhop deceaſing, on the 7th of the Calends of *April*) *Ithamer* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Conſecrated *Deus Dedit* to be Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. This was the firſt *Engliſh* Monk, that had ever been choſen Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and was alſo the firſt that was Conſecrated but by one Biſhop; for the better ſound ſake, he changed his Name to *Deus Dedit*, having been before called *Fridona*, or *Fridon*.

Anno Dom. DCLVI. This Year was *Peadda* Slain about *Eaſter*, by the Treachery of his Wife, the Daughter of K. *Oſwy*, and *Wulfher* (his Brother) the Son of *Penda* ſucceeded him.

Thô not until ſome Years after; for upon the Death of *Peadda*, King *Oſwi* ſeized alſo that part of the Kingdom, and held and laid it to his own Dominions.

Here the *Saxon* Chronicle proceeds to give us a further account, concerning the finiſhing of the aforeſaid Monaſtery of *Peterburgh*; but thô it was done ſome Years after, and the Relation be ſomewhat long, yet becauſe it ſhews more plainly than any other Hiſtory, the Form and Manner of erecting ſuch a Foundation, I ſhall give you the ſubſtance of it, omitting what is not pertinent to our purpoſe. The ſaid Chronicle proceeds thus,

"That in his (*viz. Wulfher*'s) Reign, the Abby of *Medeſhamſted* was "greatly encreaſed in Riches, for that King favoured it very much, for "the ſake of his own Brother, *Peadda*, and of *Oſwie*, his Brother in "the Chriſtian Faith; as alſo of *Saxulf* the Abbot; wherefore he ſaid "that he would render it yet more famous, and would highly adorn it, "being thereunto perſwaded By his Brothers, *Ethelred*, and *Merwalla*, "and his Siſters, *Kyneburg*, and *Kyneſwith*, as alſo by Arch-Biſhop *Deus* "*Dedit*, and all his Wiſe Men, both Clerks and Laicks that were in his "Kingdom; then the King ſending for the ſaid Abbot, told him, that "ſince his Brother *Peadda*, and his Friend *Oſwie* had begun this Monaſtery "and that he was Departed this Life, therefore the Abbot ſhould, "take diligent care to ſee it finiſhed, and he would provide all things, "as both Gold and Silver, Lands and poſſeſſions, and whatever elſe was "needful for it; whereupon the Abbot went home, and ſetting to the "Work, ſo far advanced it, that in few Years it was finiſhed; which

"when

" when it was told the King, he was very joyful, and ſent to give notice *Anno Dom.*
" of it to all his *Thanes* throughout the whole Nation, as alſo the Arch- DCLVI.
" Biſhop, Biſhops Earls and all who loved God, that they ſhould come
" to him; ſo he appointed them a day when the Monaſtery ſhould be
" Conſecrated; at which Conſecration King *Wulfer*, and his Brother
" *Ethelred*, and his Siſters were all preſent, as was alſo Arch-Biſhop
" *Deus Dedit*, and *Ithamer* Biſhop of *Roche*ſter, together with *Wina* Bi-
" ſhop of *London*, and ſeveral other Biſhops: There were alſo preſent all
" the *Thanes* that were in his Kingdom, when this Monaſtery was
" Conſecrated, in the Names of St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, and St. *Andrew*:
" Then the King riſing up from his Chair, ſpoke thus, with a loud
" Voice before all his *Thanes*; *Thanks be to the moſt High and Omnipotent*
" *GOD, for this honour which he hath done me*, and I will, That you all
" confirm my Words; I *Wulfer* do give this Day to St. *Peter*, and to
" *Saxulf*, and to the Monks of this Monaſtery, all theſe Lands, Waters,
" *&c.* and all the Territories lying round about them, which are of my
" Royal Patrimony; ſo freely that no Man ſhall have thence any Tri-
" bute or Revenue, beſides the Abbot and Monks, which Gift is this;

Then the King proceeded to declare the Meets and Bounds of the Lands, which he had given; which becauſe they are not to our purpoſe, I omit, only that they reach'd as far as *Stamford*, and were above Threeſcore Miles about; then ſaid the King, *The Gift indeed is ſmall, but I will, that they hold it ſo freely, that none may exact any* Gueld *or Tribute out of it, but what is paid to the Monks; and I do hereby free this Monaſtery, from being ſubject to any, but the See of* Rome; *but I will alſo, That all thoſe who cannot go thither, ſhould here implore to St.* Peter: " When the King had ſpoke theſe things, the
" Abbot made a requeſt to him, in the behalf of certain Religious Monks,
" who deſired to lead the Lives of *Anchorites*, and therefore prayed, that on
" a certain Iſland, a ſmall Monaſtery ſhould be Built, wherein they
" might live in Peace and Solitude; which was preſently granted by the
" King; then he alſo deſired his Brothers and Siſters, that for the good
" of their Souls, they would be witneſſes to his Charter; conjuring all
" thoſe who ſhould ſucceed him, to preſerve his Gift Inviolate, as they
" hoped to be partakers of Eternal Life, and would eſcape Eternal Tor-
" ments; then follow the Names of the Witneſſes, who were preſent,
" and who ſubſcribed, and with the ſign of the Croſs confirmed it, by
" their conſents; that is, King *Wulfer*, who firſt of all confirmed it with
" his Word, and then ſign'd it with the Croſs, and then ſpake thus,
I King Wulfer *with the Earls, Heoretoghs, and Thanes, being Witneſſes of my Gift, do confirm it with Chriſt's Croſs, before the Arch-Biſhop* Deus Dedit:
" Then follow the Subſcriptions of the Kings, and others of the Blood
" Royal, (*viz.*) *Oſwi*, King of *Northumberland*, King *Sygar*, King *Sibbi*;
" *Ethelred* the King's Brother, together with his Siſters above named, as
" alſo of *Deus Dedit*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; after whom follow the
" Subſcriptions of the reſt of the Biſhops, together with ſome Presbyters
" and *Saxulf* the Abbot; as alſo of divers Eoldermen or Governours of
" Countries, who with divers others of the King's great Men, did like-
" wiſe confirm it: This Charter was made in the Year after our Lord's
" Nativity, 664, being the Seventh Year of King *Wulfer*'s Reign: they
" did then alſo denounce the Curſe of God, and all his Saints againſt
" all that ſhould violate any thing that was there done; to which they
" all anſwered, *Amen*. As ſoon as this was over, the King ſent to *Rome* to

" Pope *Vitalian*, desiring him to confirm all that he had granted by his " Letters, or Bull, which the Pope immediately performed, being to the " same effect, with the King's Charter already mentioned; in this man- " ner was the Monastery of *Medeshamsted* Founded, which was after- " wards called *Burgh* (now *Peterburgh*.

But to return again to Civil Affairs, having dwelt I doubt too long upon Ecclesiastical.

Anno Dom. DCLVIII. " This Year, *Kenwalk* (King of the *West-Saxons*) fought against the " *Welsh*, at a place called *Peonnum*, and pursued them as far as *Pedridan*. Of which Fight *H. Huntington* gives us this further Account; That at the first Onset, the *Britains* were too hard for the *English*; but they abhoring flight as bad as Death it self, persisted in fighting with them, till the *Britains* growing tired, and disheartened, fled, and were pursued as hath been already said, so that they received a very great blow.

Anno Dom. DCLIX. " This Year, according to *Florence* of *Worcester*, *Hilda* the Abbess " Founded a Monastery at a place called *Streanshale*, wherein she lived " and dyed Abbess.

The same Year also, according to the same Author, *Inumin*, *Eaba*, and *Ealbert*, Eoldermen of *Mercia*, rebelled against King *Ofwi*, and proclaimed for their King, *Wulfer*, the Son of *Penda*, whom they had hitherto kept concealed; Also *Ædelbert*, or *Agilbert* the Bishop left King *Cenwalch*, and took the Bishoprick of *Paris*; and *Wina* held the Billioprick of *Wincheſter*, of both which *Bede* hath already given us a particular account.

The same Year also (according to *Florence* of *Worcester*,) *Cuthred* the Son of *Cuichelm* a Cousin to King *Cenwalch*, as also *Kenbryht* the Eolderman, great Grandson to King *Ceawlin*, and Father of King *Cadwalla* dyed.

Anno Dom. DCLXI. This Year (according to the *Saxon* Annals) King *Cenwalch* fought *about the time of* Easter *with King* Wulfher *at* Posentesbyrig [supposed to be *Pontesbury* in *Shropshire*;] and *Wulfher the Son of* Penda *wasted the Country as far as* Æscesdune, now *Aston* near *Wallingford*; and *Cuthred* the Son of *Cuichelm*, as also King *Kenbryht* dyed.

Lib. 11. *Cap.* 13. The same Year, according to † *Bede*, *Wulfher* took the Isle of *Wight*, with the Country of the *Meanvari*, and gave them to *Ethelwalh*, King of the *South Saxons*, because he had been that King's Godfather at his Baptism; and *Eoppa* the Priest, at the Command of Bishop *Wilfrid*, and King *Wulfher*, first of all offered Baptism to the Inhabitants of that Island; whether they accepted it or not, is very uncertain. But I cannot but here observe the uncertainty of the History of these Times; for *Ethelwerd* in his Chronicle under this Year, and at this very place above mentioned relates, that *Cenwalk* had the Victory, and carried away *Wulfher* Prisoner.

These *Meanvari* here mentioned by *Bede*, are supposed by Mr. *Camden* in his *Britannia*, to have been the People of that part of *Hampshire*, lying over against the Isle of *Wight*.

This Year also *Sigebert*, King of the *East-Saxons*, (tho' standing firm in the Christian Faith) was (as *Bede* tells us) wickedly Murder'd by the Conspiracy of two Brethren in places near about him, who being asked *Id. cap.* 22. what moved them to do so wicked a Deed? gave no other than this Barbarous Answer; *That they were angry with him for being so gentle to his Enemies, as to forgive them their Injuries whenever they besought him:* But the occasion of his death is much more remarkable; for one of those Earls who

who slew him, living in unlawful Wedlock, stood thereof excommunicated by the Bishop; so that no man might presume to enter into his House, much less to Eat with him; the King not regarding this Church-Censure, went to a Feast at his House, upon an Invitation, whom the Bishop meeting in his return, tho penitent for what he had done, and fallen at his Feet, yet gently touched with the Rod in his Hand, and being provoked thus foretold: *Because thou hast neglected to abstain from the House of this Excommunicate, in that House thou shalt dye*, and so it fell out, not long after, perhaps from that Prediction; God then bearing witness to his Minister, in the due power of Church Discipline, when Spiritually executed on the Contemner thereof: Yet *Bede* is so Charitable as to believe, that the unfortunate Death of this Religious Prince did not only attone for his fault, but might also increase his merit: To *Sigebert*, *Swidhelm* the Son of *Sexbald*, succeeded in that Kingdom, who was Baptized by Bishop *Cedda* in the Province of the *East-Angles*, in the Royal Village, called *Rendlesham*, *Edelwald* King of that Country (who was the Brother of King *Anna*) being his Godfather. *Anno Dom.* DCLXI. *M.*

" The Sun was now eclipsed *Vo: Non Maij*; and *Ercenbryht* King of " *Kent* departed this Life, and *Ecgbryht* his Son succeeded him in that Kingdom. *Anno Dom.* DCLXIV.

As for King *Ercombert*, *Will. Malmesbury* gives him a very good Character, being famous for his Religion to God, and his Love to his Country; but he had no Right to the Crown save only by Election, having an Elder Brother, called *Ermenred*, who was alive at the beginning of his Reign, and left two Sons behind him.

" *Coleman* also with his Companions then departed to his own Nation; " the same Year there was a great Plague over all the Isle of *Britain*, in " which perished *Tuda* the Bishop, and was buried at *Wagele* (which *Bede* " calls *Pegnaleth*:) also *Ceadda* and *Wilverth* were now Consecrated Bi- " shops; and the same Year too the Archbishop *Deus-Dedit* dyed, after " whom the See remained void for Four Years.

But of the occasion of this departure of *Coleman*, *Bede* hath given us a long and particular account, (*viz.*) That a Synod being called at *Streanshall* (now *Whitby* in *York-shire*) by the procurement of *Hilda* the Abbess of that place; tho by the Authority of King *Oswi*, (who was there present,) concerning the old Difference about the observation of *Easter*; *Wilfred* the Abbot, and *Romanus* a Priest, were very earnest for the observation of it, according to the Order of the Church of *Rome*; and *Coleman* Bishop of *Lindisfarne* was as zealous on the other side; but after many Arguments *pro* and *con*, (which you may find at large in *Bede*,) the Synod at last determining in favour of the *Romish Easter*, it so far displeased *Coleman*, that he was resolved to quit his Bishoprick, and depart into *Scotland*, to the *Isle* of *Hye*, (from whence he came,) rather than to comply with it; from whence he also departed into *Ireland*, (here called *Scotland*) where he built a Monastery in that Country, and lived all the rest of his days, and in which only *English* Men were admitted, at the time when *Bede* wrote his History. *Id. Cap.* 25.

But after the departure of *Coleman*, one *Tuda*, who had been ordained Bishop among the *Southern Scots*, was made Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, but he enjoyed that Bishoprick but a very little while.

But after the Death of Bishop *Tuda*, (according to the Life of Bishop *Wilfrid*) King *Oswi* held a great Council with the Wise Men of his Nation,

* *Lately published at* Oxford, *by the Learned Dr.* Gale.

Anno Dom. DCLXIV. tion, whom they ſhould chuſe in the vacant See, as moſt fit for that holy Function, when they all with one Conſent nominated and choſe Abbot *Wilfrid* as the fitteſt and worthieſt Perſon to ſucceed him; but being to be Conſecrated, he refuſed it from any Biſhop at home, becauſe he look'd upon them all as Uncanonical, being all ordained by *Scotiſh* Biſhops, who differed from the *Roman* Church about this Point of keeping *Eaſter*; ſo that he would needs go over into *France* for Ordination; where ſtaying too long, the King put *Ceadda* (who had lately come out of *Ireland*) into his Place; which *Wilfrid* upon his return much reſenting, retired to his Monaſtery at *Ripon*, and there reſided; as alſo ſometimes with *Wulfher*, King of *Mercia*, or elſe with *Ecgbert* King of *Kent*, till he was reſtored to his See.

Bede tells us, that the above-mentioned Eclipſe was followed by a ſudden Peſtilence the ſame Year, which firſt depopulating the Southern Parts of *Britain*, then proceeded to the Northern, wherein Biſhop *Tuda* deceaſed; it alſo invaded *Ireland*, and there took off many Religious, as well as Secular Perſons.

The ſame Year alſo (according to *Florence*) *Ercombert* King of *Kent* dying, left that Kingdom to *Egbert* his Son: Alſo *Ethelwald* King of the *Eaſt Angles* dying this Year, *Aldulf* ſucceeded him.

Lib. 4. c. 30. About this time (according to *Bede*) *Siger* and *Sebba*, ſucceeding *Swidhelm* in the Kingdom of the *Eaſt Saxons*, being unſteady in the Faith, and ſuppoſing the late great Peſtilence to have fell upon them for renouncing their old Superſtition, relapſed again to Idolatry, and rebuilt the Idol-Temples, hoping by that means to be defended from the preſent Mortality; but as ſoon as *Wulfher*, King of the *Mercians*, (to whom this Kingdom was then ſubject) heard of it, he ſent Biſhop *Jaruman* to them, who, together with their Fellow-Labourers, by their ſound Doctrine, and gentle Dealing, ſoon reclaimed them from their Apoſtacy.

Anno Dom. DCLXV. This Mortality is alſo partly confirmed by *Mat. Weſtminſter*, who the next Year relates ſo great a Mortality to have raged in *England*, that many Men going in Troops to the Sea-ſide, caſt themſelves in headlong, preferring a ſpeedy Death before the Torments of a long and painful Sickneſs; thô this ſeems to be no other than the great Peſtilence which raged the Year before, unleſs we ſuppoſe it to have laſted for 2 Years ſucceſſively.

The ſame Year alſo, according to the Account of an ancient *Britiſh* Chronicle, (lately in the Poſſeſſion of Mr. *Robert Vaughan*,) *Cadwallader*, laſt King of the *Britains*, having been forced by a great Famine and Mortality to quit his Native Country, and to ſojourn with *Alan* King of *Armorica*; finding no hopes of ever recovering his Kingdom, from thence went to *Rome*, where, profeſſing himſelf a Monk, he died about 8 Years after. Now, thô the *Britiſh* Hiſtory of *Caradoc* (Tranſlated by *Humphrey Lloyd*, and Publiſhed by Dr. *Powel*,) places *Cadwallader*'s going to *Rome* *Anno* 680, which, Mr. *Vaughan* in the Manuſcript I have by me, (and which is already cited in the former Book) proves, can neither agree with the Account of the ſaid old Chronicle, nor yet with the Time of the great Mortality above-mentioned; for *Caradoc* and *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* do both place *Cadwallader*'s going to *Rome* in the Year of the great Peſtilence, which (as *Bede* and *Mat. Weſtminſter* teſtifie) fell out in the Year 664, or 665, and therefore that learned Antiquary very well obſerves, That as for their Calculation, who prolong *Cadwallader*'s Life to the Year 688, or 689, and place his going to *Rome* in Pope *Sergius*'s time,

he

he thinks they had no better Warrant for it, than their miſtaking *Ceadwalla*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, (who then indeed went to *Rome*, and there died) for this *Cadwallader*, who lived near 20 Years before, whereby they have confounded this Hiſtory, and brought it into a great deal of uncertainty; whereas that ancient Appendix annex'd to the Manuſcript, *Nennius*, in the *Cottonian* Library, (whoſe Author lived above 300 Years before either *Geoffery*, or *Caradoc*,) doth clearly ſhew, that this Monaſtery above-mentioned, and conſequently *Cadwallader*'s going to *Rome*, happened in the Reign of *Oſwi* King of *Northumberland*; who, according to the *Saxon Annals*, began to Reign *Anno* 642, and died *Anno* 670; and therefore no other Mortality ought to be aſſigned for *Cadwallader*'s going to *Rome*, than this in King *Oſwi*'s Reign, *Anno* 665, for the Words of the ſaid old Author are theſe: 'Oſwi, the Son of *Ethelfred*, reigned '28 Years, and 6 Months; and whilſt he reigned, there happened a great 'Mortality of Men, *Catwalater* (ſo he ſpells it) then reigning over the 'Britains, after his Father, and therein periſhed. Now the Caſe is clear, if theſe Words in the Latin, *Et in ea periit*, have relation to *Cadwallader*, (as moſt likely they have,) conſidering *Oſwi* lived 5 Years after the Year 665, wherein this Mortality raged; then *Cadwallader* never went to *Rome* at all, but died of this Plague; but of this, I dare not poſitively determine, ſince the greater part of the *Welſh* Chroniclers are ſo poſitive in *Cadwallader*'s dying at *Rome*. But to return to our *Annals*.

Anno Dom. DCLXV.

'This Year *Oſwi* King of *Northumberland*, and *Ecgbrith* King of *Kent*; *Anno Dom.* DCLXVI.
'with the Conſent of the whole *Engliſh* Church, (as *Bede* relates,) 'ſent *Wigheard* the Presbyter to *Rome*, to be there made Arch-Biſhop of *Lib.* 4. *c.* 1. 'Canterbury, but he died almoſt as ſoon as he arrived: So that *Theodorus* be- 'ing the next Year conſecrated Arch-Biſhop, was ſent into *Britain*. Of which *Anno Dom.* DCLXVII. Tranſaction, *Bede* gives us this particular Account.

About this time alſo, (as *Bede* relates,) *Wina* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* *Lib.* 3. *c.* 29. being driven from his See by King *Kenwalch*, went and bought the See of *London* of King *Wulfher*. This is the firſt Example of Simony in the *Engliſh* Church.

The See of *Canterbury* had been now vacant for above 3 Years, for the Pope was reſolved himſelf to Ordain an Arch-Biſhop; and at laſt, at the Recommendation of one *Adrian* a *Greek* Monk, (who might have been Arch-Biſhop himſelf, but refuſed it,) the Pope choſe this *Theodorus*, then a Monk, and a Native of *Tharſus* in *Cilicia*; who, being an excellent Scholar, brought the knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue, as alſo *Arithmetick*, *Muſick*, and *Aſtronomy*, in uſe among the *Engliſh Saxons*.

This Arch-Biſhop, immediately upon his coming into *England*, made a thorough Viſitation of his Province, and (as *Bede* tells us) ſurveyed *Lib.* 4. *c.* 2. all Things, and ordained Biſhops in fit Places; and thoſe Things which he found leſs perfect than they ſhould be, he by their Aſſiſtance corrected; among which, when he found fault with Biſhop *Ceadda*, as not having been rightly Conſecrated; he humbly and modeſtly replied, *If you believe that I have not rightly undertook the Epiſcopal Charge, I willingly quit it, ſince as I never thought my ſelf worthy, ſo I never conſented to accept it, but in obedience to the Commands of my Superiours.* But the Arch-Biſhop ſeeing his Humility, anſwered, "That he would not have him lay aſide "his Epiſcopacy; and ſo he again renewed his Ordination according to the Catholick Rites.

From

Anno Dom. DCLXVII. From whence it appears, that this Arch-Biſhop then thought the Ordination of the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Biſhops, who differed from the Church of *Rome*, as to the time of keeping *Eaſter*, to be Uncanonical; and for this reaſon *Bede* here alſo tells us, That Biſhop *Wilfrid* was ſent into *France* to be Ordained: But as for this Biſhop *Ceadda*, *Florence* of *Worceſter* informs us, That he was now alſo deprived of his Biſhoprick, (and *Wilfrid* reſtored to it,) as having been unduly Elected thereunto; which, thô *Bede* doth not tell us in expreſs Words, yet he confirms it in the very next Chapter, where he tells us, That *Jaruman*, Biſhop of the *Mercians*, being now dead, King *Wulfher* did not ask Arch-Biſhop *Theodorus* to Ordain a new One, but only deſired of King *Oſwi*, that Biſhop *Ceadda*, the Brother of *Cedda*, ſhould be ſent to him to take that Charge, (who lived privately at his Monaſtery of *Leſtinghen*, where he was then Abbot,) *Wilfrid* then not only Governing the Dioceſs of *York*, and all the *Northumbers*, but alſo the *Picts* as far as King *Oſwi's* Dominions extended. But to return again to the *Saxon* Annals.

Anno Dom. DCLXIX. 'This Year King *Ecgbert* gave to *Baſſe* the Prieſt *Reculf*, where he built 'a Monaſtery: This was afterwards called *Reculver* [in *Kent*].

Anno Dom. DCLXX. '*Oſwi*, King of *Northumberland*, died xv *Kal. Martij*, [and was buried at '*Streanſhale* Monaſtery,] and *Ecverth* (or *Egfrid*) his Son reigned after 'him; alſo *Lothaire*, Nephew of Biſhop *Agelbert*, took upon him the Epiſco-'pal Charge over the *Weſt Saxons*, and held it 7 Years; Arch-Biſhop *Theo-'dorus* Conſecrated him. He whom theſe Annals call *Lothair*, was the ſame with *Leutherius* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

* *Lib.* 4. *c.* 5. * *Bede* tells us further of King *Oſwi*, That being worn out with a long Infirmity, he was ſo much in love with the *Roman* Rites, that if he had recovered of the Sickneſs of which he died, he had reſolved to go to *Rome*, and end his Days at the Holy Places; having engaged Biſhop *Wilfrid* to be the Guide and Companion of his Journey, promiſing him no ſmall Rewards for his Pains.

Anno Dom. DCLXXI. 'This Year was a great ſlaughter of Birds. *H. Huntington* renders it a great Fight of Birds, which ſeems to have been ſome remarkable Combat of Crows or Jackdaws in the Air, of which we have ſeveral wonderful Relations in our Hiſtories. *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates, that the ſtrange Birds ſeemed to flie before thoſe of this Country, but that many Thouſands were killed.

Anno Dom. DCLXXII. 'This next Year *Cenwalch* King of the *Weſt Saxons* died, and *Sexburga* 'his Wife held the Kingdom after him for one Year. Of whom *William* of *Malmesbury* gives this Account; That this King; dying, left the Kingdom to *Sexburga* his Wife; nor did ſhe want Spirit or Courage to diſcharge all the Functions of a King, for ſhe ſtraitways began to raiſe new Forces, as alſo to keep the Old to their Duty; to govern her Subjects with moderation, and to keep her Enemies in awe; and, in ſhort, to do ſuch great Things, that there was no Difference, but the Sex, between Her and a King: But as ſhe aimed at more than *Feminine* Undertakings, ſo ſhe left this Life when ſhe had ſcarce Reigned a Year about.

But *Mat. Weſtminſter* ſays, ſhe was expelled the Kingdom by the Nobles, who deſpiſed Female Government: But what Authority he had for this, I know not, for I do not find it in any other Author; whereas if what *William* of *Malmesbury* ſays of her be true, it was not likely they ſhould Rebel againſt ſo good a Governeſs, who ſeems to have been the perfect Pattern of an Excellent Queen.

After

After the Death of King *Cenwalch*, and (as I ſuppoſe) Queen *Sexburga* likewiſe, *Bede* relates, That the Great Men or Petty Princes of that Kingdom, divided it among them, and ſo held it for 10 Years; in which time *Eleutherius*, Biſhop of the *Weſt Saxons* (*i. e.* of *Wincheſter*) dying, *Heddi* was Conſecrated by Arch-Biſhop *Theodorus* in his ſtead; in whoſe time thoſe Petty Princes being all ſubdued, *Ceadwalla* took the Kingdom; but this does not agree with the *Saxon Annals*. *Anno Dom.* DCLXXII. *Lib.* 4. *c.* 12.

About this time (thô *Bede* does not ſet down the Year) King *Egfrid* of *Northumberland* waging War with *Wulfher*, King of *Mercia*, won from him all the Country of *Lindſey*.

About this time alſo died *Ceadda*, Biſhop of *Litchfield*, (according to *Ran. Higden*'s *Polychron.*;) but *Bede* does not tell us the time of his Death, thô he mentions it, and there gives a large Account of the great Humility and Piety of that good Biſhop, and of the Pious End he made: He is called by us at this day St. *Chad*. *Lib.* 4. *c.* 3.

This Year *Egbert*, King of *Kent*, deceaſed, (according to *Bede*'s Epitome,) who (as ſays *Math. Weſtminſter*) gave part of the Iſle of *Thanet* to build a Monaſtery, to expiate the Murder of his Couſins, whom he had cauſed to be ſlain, as you have already heard. *Anno Dom.* DCLXXIII.

The ſame Year was a Synod of all the Biſhops and great Men of *England* held at *Heortford*, (now *Hartford*,) which Synod (as *Bede* tells us) was called by Arch-Biſhop *Theodorus*; where *Wilfred* Biſhop of *York*, with all the reſt of the Biſhops of *England*, were either in Perſon, or by their Deputies, (as *Florence* relates,) and in which divers Decrees were made for the Reformation of the Church; the firſt and chiefeſt of which was, *That Eaſter ſhould be kept on the firſt Lord's Day after the Fourteenth Moon of the Firſt Month* (i. e. *March*); which thô it had been before appointed by the Synod at *Streanſhale* above-mentioned, yet that being not looked upon as a General Council of the whole Kingdom, it was now again renewed; the reſt of them concerning the Juriſdictions of the Biſhops, and the Priviledges and Exemptions of Monaſteries, I paſs over, and refer you to Sir *H. Spelman*'s Firſt Volume of *Councils* for farther ſatisfaction: But I cannot omit, that it was here firſt Ordained, That thô Synods ought to be held twice a Year, yet ſince divers Cauſes might hinder it, therefore it ſeem'd good to the whole Council, that a Synod ſhould be aſſembled once a Year at a place called *Cloveſhoe*. *Lib.* 4. *c.* 5.

This Year alſo the *Saxon Annals* relate, 'That *Etheldrethe*, late Wife to '*Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, founded the Monaſtery of *Ely*, (in 'which ſhe her ſelf became the firſt Abbeſs.) She (as *Bede* tells us) had been twice married, but would never let either of her Husbands enjoy her; and at laſt (with much ado) obtained Leave of this King to quit his Palace, and retire into a Nunnery; which perverting of the Ends of Marriage, was counted a great piece of Sanctity in thoſe Times. But the Monaſtery above-mentioned being burnt and deſtroyed by the *Danes*, *Anno* 870, was afterwards re-edified by King *Edgar*, as ſhall be in due time more particularly related. *Id. c.* 19.

'Alſo *Egbright*, King of *Kent*, deceaſed; and *Lothair*, his Brother, ſuc-'ceeded him.

This Year alſo, according to *Bede*, *Boſa* Biſhop of *Dunmoc* being deprived by reaſon of his Infirmities; two Biſhops, (*viz.*) *Acca* and *Bedwin*, were placed in that Dioceſs, one of whom had his See at *Dunmoc* (now *Dunwich*) in *Suffolk*, and the other at *Helmham* in *Norfolk*.

Anno Dom. DCLXXIV.

'This Year *Æſcwin* began to Reign over the *Weſt Saxons*.] Here alſo follows his Pedigree needleſs to be repeated; for *William* of *Malmesbury* remarks no more of him, than that he was ſuppoſed to be the next of the Royal Line, as being the great Nephew of *Cynegils*, by his Brother *Cuthgils*.

The ſame Year (as *Bede* tells us in *his Lives of the Abbots of *Wiremuth* and *Girwy*) Abbot *Benedict*, (I ſuppoſe from his Epiſcopal Actions Sirnamed *Biſcop*,) having before come over with Arch-Biſhop *Theodorus*, was by him made Abbot of the Monaſtery of St. *Peter* in *Canterbury*; which he 2 Years after reſigning, and *Adrian*, that great Scholar, ſucceeding him, he went again to *Rome*, and then returning into *Britain*, brought along with him many Books of Divine Knowledge; and then applying himſelf to *Egfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, he obtained of him as much Land as ſerved 70 Families, lying near the Mouth of the River *Wir*, (in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*,) where he began a Monaſtery in Honour of St. *Peter*; but before it was finiſhed, he went into *France*, and from thence brought Maſons, who built the Church of Stone after the *Roman* faſhion: and the Work being near finiſhed, he ſent into the ſame Country for Artificers, who underſtood the making of Glaſs, which till then had been unknown in *Britain*; wherewith he glazed the Windows of the Church and Monaſtery he had there built, and thereby taught the *Engliſh* Nation the Art of Glaſs-making; which (ſays my Author) hath proved ſo uſeful in making of Lamps for Churches, and alſo other Veſſels ſo neceſſary for divers Uſes: And becauſe this Iſland, nor yet *France* it ſelf, could then afford all the Ornaments requiſite for the Altar, he took care to fetch them from *Rome*, whither he went for that purpoſe; from whence again returning, he brought a great many choice Books of all ſorts, together with divers Relicks of Saints, and curious Pictures, with which he adorned the Church he had built; and he likewiſe received a Bull from Pope *Agatho*, whereby the Monaſtery alſo, by the Conſent and Licenſe of King *Egfrid*, was freed from all Secular Servitude.

* *Publiſhed by Sir* Ja. Ware 1664, *with other Pieces of* Bede, *and Arch-Biſhop* Egbert; *it is alſo in Manuſcript in the* Cottonian *Library.*

But ſome time after, (*Simeon* of *Durham* ſays 8 Years,) King *Egfrid* (being very well ſatisfied with what *Benedict* had done) beſtowed as much more Land upon him as then maintained 40 Families, for the building of another Monaſtery at a Place called *Girwy*, (now *Tarrow*,) near the Mouth of the River *Tine*, which was built in Honour of St. *Paul*; when alſo, by reaſon of his frequent Abſence and Employment in other Affairs, he appointed one *Eaſterwine* his Kinſman, Abbot of that of St. *Peter*; and *Ceolfrid* a Monk of the ſame Monaſtery, over that of S. *Paul*; in which Charges they continued ſeveral Years under his Inſpection; till at laſt, after the deceaſe of *Eaſterwine*, and another Abbot called *Sigfrid*, *Ceolfrid* above-mentioned was made Abbot of both Monaſteries, which he Governed many Years; untill He reſigning that Charge, went to end his Days at *Rome*, but died by the way in *France*. Theſe Tranſactions, thô happening in the ſpace of about 40 Years, I have here put together, that you may have at once the Hiſtory of theſe two ancient and famous Monaſteries, in the latter of which *Bede* himſelf (the Author of this Account) lived, and died a Monk, as ſhall be related hereafter.

About this time alſo, (thô *Bede* does not ſet down the Year,) Arch-Biſhop *Theodore* depoſed *Winfrid*, Biſhop of the *Mercians*, for ſome Canonical Diſobedience, and ordained *Sexwulf*, Abbot of *Medeſhamſted*, in his Room. But to return to the Annals.

'This

'This Year *Wulfher* the Son of *Penda*, and *Æſcwin* Son of *Cenwulf*, 'fought at *Bedanheafde*; and alſo King *Wulfher* deceaſed the ſame Year.] Where that Place was, is uncertain, (thô ſome ſuppoſe it to be *Bedwin* in *Wiltſhire*, lying near *Berkſhire*.) *H. Huntington* deſcribes this Battle to have been very ſharp; but that the *Mercian* King, inheriting his Father's, and his Grandfather's Courage, was ſomewhat ſuperiour; yet that both Armies were terribly ſhattered, and many Thouſands ſlain on both Sides; on which our Author makes this juſt Reflection, 'That from 'hence it is worth while to obſerve, how Vile the Actions of Men, and 'how Vain thoſe Wars are, which Princes call *Glorious Undertakings*; for 'when theſe Kings had brought ſo great a Deſtruction upon their own 'Nations, both of them ſurvived not long after: For (according to *Florence*'s Chronicle) King *Wulfher* deceaſed this Year, having deſtroyed the Worſhip of Idols throughout his Kingdom, and cauſed the Goſpel to be preached in all Places of his Dominions, and *Ethelred* his Brother ſucceeded him in the Kingdom; whom *William* of *Malmesbury* deſcribes to have been more famous for Devotion, than Fighting, unleſs when he ſhewed his Courage in a notable Expedition againſt *Kent*; or elſe when he met and repell'd *Egfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, and forced him to return home, recovering from him all *Lindſey*, which *Wulfher* had taken away before, thô with the loſs of his Brother *Edwin*, in that Expedition; after which, he ſpent all the reſt of his Life in Peace. *Anno Dom.* DCLXXV.

About this time alſo, according to *Math. Weſtminſter*, (for *Bede* hath not ſet down the Years,) *Erkenwald*, younger Son of *Anna* King of the *Eaſt Angles*, was by Arch-Biſhop *Theodore* ordained Biſhop of *London*, being a Man of great Worth and Piety.

This Year alſo (according to *Florence*) King *Wulfher* was firſt baptized, but the *Saxon Annals* mention no ſuch thing; and therefore I wonder from whence he had it, for it is quite contrary to what *Bede* relates, concerning his being Baptized long before; or elſe, How could he be Godfather to *Edelwalch*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, who was Baptized near 20 Years before? But I ſuppoſe *Florence* had it from ſome old Monkiſh Legend, if not from the *Roman* Martyrology it ſelf, in which is related, that incredible Story of King *Wulfher*'s murdering of his two Sons, *Ulfwald* and *Rufin*, with his own Hands, becauſe they had been inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith by *Ceadda*, Biſhop of *Litchfield*. And Mr. *Stow*, in his Chronicle, having found the ſame Story in an old Ledger-Book of that Church, hath thought fit to inſert it into his Hiſtory; placing the Year of their Suffering in *Anno* 668, when all our Hiſtorians do at that time relate him to have been a Chriſtian. But this Book adds further, That the Queen, Mother to theſe Princes, cauſed them to be buried under a great heap of Stones, and thereby gave Name to the Town of *Stone* in *Staffordſhire*. I thought good to take notice of this Romance, becauſe a greater Author, *viz.* Mr. *Camden* himſelf, hath alſo thought fit to put it into his **Britannia*, from the Authority of a Manuſcript Book once belonging to the Abby of *Peterburgh*.

* *In* Staffordſhire.

But it is time to look back upon Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; for now (according to *William* of *Malmesbury*) one *Adhelm* a Monk began to build the Abby of *Malmesbury*, having before obtained a Licenſe for ſo doing, together with a Grant of certain Lands, called *Madulfsburgh*, from *Lutherius* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; the Place being ſo called from one *Maildulf* a *Scotch* Monk, and Philoſopher, (under whom *Aldhelm* had formerly ſtudied)

Anno Dom. DCLXXV. who died at this Place, where *Maildulf* had alſo begun a ſmall Monaſtery; but the few Monks that were there had no Means to ſubſiſt but by Alms, until ſuch time as this *Aldhelm* built it anew, and got it Endowed by the Charity of *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*; *Ceadwalla*, and *Ina*, Kings of the *Weſt Saxons*, with other Noble Benefactors: So that it ſoon became one of the greateſt and richeſt Monaſteries in *England*, being at firſt called *Madunesburg*, and afterwards *Malmesbury*.

Vid. *Monaſt. Angl.* p 97, 98.

About the ſame time alſo, according to the old Book of the Abby of *Abingdon* in the *Cottonian Librarie*, the Abby of *Abingdon* was founded by one *Hean*, Nephew to *Ciſſa*, a Petty Prince under *Kentwin*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, in *Wiltſhire* and *Berkſhire*; the Place at firſt was called *Sheovesham*, and the Foundation was for no more than an Abbot, and 12 Monks, but was afterwards much increaſed by the Charity of ſucceeding Kings; being rebuilt by Abbot *Ordgar* in the Reign of King *Edgar*, having been burnt and deſtroyed by the *Danes* in the time of King *Alfred*.

Lib. 4. *c.* 6. This Year alſo (according to *Bede*) Arch-Biſhop *Theodore* conſecrated *Erkenwald* Biſhop of *London*, who was in great Reputation for his Sanctity, having, before he came to be Biſhop, founded two Monaſteries, the one for *Ethelburg* his Siſter, at *Berking*; the other for himſelf, at *Chertſey* in *Surrey*.

Anno Dom. DCLXXVI. 'This Year *Eſcwin*, Biſhop of the *Eaſt Saxons*, departed this Life, and '*Hedda* took the Biſhoprick of that Province, and *Centwin* ſucceeded in the 'Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons*; which *Centwin* was Son to *Cynegils*, and 'he the Son of *Ceolwulf*: Alſo *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, waſted *Kent*. Of which Expedition, *H. Huntington* further relates, That this King made War againſt *Lothair*, King of *Kent*; but he fearing that Valour, ſo Hereditary to the *Mercian* Family, kept out of ſight, and durſt not meet him; whereupon the King of *Mercia* deſtroyed the City of *Rocheſter*, and paſſing through the Kingdom of *Kent*, carried away a great deal of Spoil.

Lib. 4. *c.* 12. *Bede* adds further, That he deſtroyed both Churches and Monaſteries, without any regard to Religion, and ſo ſpoiled the Church and Palace of *Rocheſter*, that *Putta*, the Biſhop of that See, was forced to retire to *Sexwulf* Biſhop of the *Mercians*; and from him receiving the Poſſeſſion of a certain Church, there ended his Days in Peace. This *Putta* is by *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *William* of *Malmesbury*, made the firſt Biſhop of *Hereford*; which Church, it ſeems, *Sexwulf* parted with to him, thô *Bede* does not expreſly mention it. Alſo *Eadhed* was now ordained Biſhop in the Province of *Lindiſſe*, which King *Egfrid* had lately conquered from *Wulfher* King of the *Mercians*. But when *Ethelred* (Succeſſour to *Wulfher*) recovered that Province, this Biſhop retiring from *Lindiſſe*, governed the Church of *Ripon*.

Anno Dom. DCLXXVII.

The ſame Year alſo *Oſric*, a petty Prince of this Country, built a Nunnery at *Bath*, which was afterwards turned to a Houſe of Secular Canons; but King *Edgar* turned them out, and placed *Benedictines* in their Places.

Anno Dom. DCLXXVIII. This Year being the Eighth of the Reign of *Egfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, (according to *Bede*, and the *Saxon Annals*,) there appeared a Comet which continued 3 Months, and ariſing toward Morning, carried with it a large Tail like a Pillar; in which Year alſo (as **Bede* relates) there aroſe a great Contention between King *Egfrid*, and Biſhop *Wilfrid*, who was expell'd his Biſhoprick, and two others ſubſtituted in his Room over the

* *Ibid.*

Nor-

Northumbrian Nation, (to wit,) *Boſa*, who Governed the Province of *Deira*; and *Fatta*, that of *Bernicia*; the former having his Epiſcopal See at the City of *York*, and the other at *Hagulſtad*, being both of them preferred from being Monks. *Stephen Heddi*, the Author of *St. *Wilfrid's* Life above-mentioned, as alſo †*Will.* of *Malmesbury*, relate the Quarrel between King *Egfrid* and the Biſhop to have proceeded from the Envy and Ill-will of *Erminburge* his Queen, ſhe making the King jealous of his Secular Glory, and Riches, and the great Retinue that followed him; whereupon the King reſolved to be rid of him; ſo that preſenting *Theodore* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* with great Gifts, they perſwaded him to come into that Province; and, together with three Biſhops he brought with him, who were not of the Northern Dioceſs, they not only condemned, but deprived Biſhop *Wilfrid*, being abſent; whereupon the Biſhop went to the King, and the Arch-Biſhop, and asked them, What was the Reaſon, that without any Crime alledged, they had robbed him of his Eſtate that was given him by former Kings, for God's ſake? But (if this Author may be credited) they gave him a very trifling Anſwer, ſaying, *That they found no Fault in him*; yet would not alter what had been Decreed againſt him: Whereupon the Biſhop, by the Conſent of the reſt of his Fellow-Biſhops of his Province, appealed to *Rome*. But certainly theſe Biſhops could not at that time be many, for there were then no more in this Province than *Lindisfarne*, and *Whitern* in the *Picts* Country: *Anno Dom.* DCLXXVIII.

* *Vid. Vitam Sancti* Wilfredi, *c.* 24.

† *De Pontif. l.* 3.

Towards *Rome* he went the next Year; but in his way thither, landing in *Frizeland*, he ſtayed there all that Winter, converting the People of that Province: And then proceeding in his Journey to *Rome* the Spring following, where arriving, he applied himſelf to the Pope, and preſented him with a Petition; which being read before Pope *John*, and the Synod at *Rome*, he was by the ſaid Pope, and all the Biſhops there preſent, (being 150 in Number) Decreed to be reſtored to his Biſhoprick; but he could never prevail ſo far as to get this Council's Decree to be received as long as King *Egfrid* lived. *Anno Dom.* DCLXXIX.

The ſame Year Biſhop *Wilfrid* returning into *England*, was received by *Beorthwald*, Nephew of *Ethelred* King of the *Mercians*, who then governed part of that Kingdom under his Uncle; who hearing of it, his Wife being the Siſter of King *Egfrid*, commanded *Beorthwald* immediately to diſmiſs him; from whence, he went to *Centwin* King of the *Weſt Saxons*, where ſtaying but a little while, he was alſo driven from thence, becauſe the Queen was Siſter of Queen *Erminburge*. Thus *Stephanus Heddy*, in his Life of Biſhop *Wilfrid*, relates; but it is to be doubted with too much Partiality on his ſide. *Vit.* Wilfredi, *c.* 39.

Bede gives us a more particular Account of the reſt of his Actions, that thô he were thus expelled his Biſhoprick, yet that he could not be reſtrained from Preaching the Goſpel; for retiring to the Kingdom of the *South Saxons*, which lies between that of *Kent*, and that of the *Weſt Saxons*, where *Edilwalch*, then King, (and who had not been long before Baptized at the perſwaſion of King *Wulfher*, as has been already ſaid,) gave him Commiſſion to Convert and Baptize, not only the Principal Officers and Knights of that Province, but divers Presbyters, (there named, who came along with him,) did then, or not long after, Chriſten the reſt of the common People; and *Ebba* the Queen was alſo baptized in the Province of the *Wectii*, but what Queen this was, *Bede* does not tell us. *Lib.* 4. *c.* 13.

So

Anno Dom. DCLXXIX. *Cap.* 40. So that before this, it ſeems, thô the King was a Chriſtian, yet the whole Province of the *South Saxons* were as yet unconverted to the Chriſtian Faith, of which the Author of the Life of Biſhop *Wilfrid* gives this Reaſon; that this Province, by reaſon of the multitude of the Rocks, and thickneſs of the Woods, was hitherto almoſt inacceſſible to ſtrangers: But * *Bede* further tells us, That then there lived a certain *Iriſh* or *Scotch* Monk, named *Dicul*, who had a little Monaſtery in a place called *Boſanham* encompaſſed with Woods and the Sea, where he with five or ſix Brethren ſerved God in great Poverty and Humility; yet would not any of the People imitate their Lives, or hear their Preaching; but when Biſhop *Wilfrid* preach'd the Goſpel to them, he did not only free them from Eternal Torments, but alſo from preſent deſtruction, for it had not rained (as my Author ſays) for Three Years before in that Country; whence multitudes of the poorer ſort of People daily periſhed by Famine; ſo that many becoming deſperate, Forty or Fifty Men in a Company, being almoſt ſtarved, would all take hands together, and at once leap down a Rock into the Sea: But on the firſt day of their publick Baptiſm, ſoft and plentiful ſhowres deſcending, reſtored plenty to the Summer following; ſo this People caſting away their Idolatry, became not only enrich'd with Spiritual, but Temporal Bleſſings; for when the Biſhop came into this Province, and ſaw ſo diſmal a Famine, he taught them how to get their livings by fiſhing; for though the Sea and Rivers abounded plentifully with Fiſh, yet had not they the Wit to make Nets to take any but Eels; whereupon the Biſhop taught them, by joyning many of thoſe ſmall Nets together, to make them ſerve to catch Sea-Fiſh, of which they took ſo great a multitude, that they maintained themſelves with them, till other Proviſions could be had.

* *Ibid cap.* 13.

Bede *ibid.* At this time alſo King *Edelwalch* gave Biſhop *Wilfrid* a certain Iſland, called *Seoleſeu*, that is (in the old *Engliſh Saxon*) the Iſland of Seales, (or Sea Calves) where *Wilfrid* founded a ſmall Monaſtery, conſiſting chiefly of thoſe Brethren he brought with him, and which his Succeſſours hold to this day, (*viz.* in *Bede*'s time;) for this place (after called *Selſey*:) was made the ſeat of the Biſhop of that Province, until it was long after removed to *Chicheſter*; here Biſhop *Wilfrid* lived, and exerciſed his Epiſcopal Functions, till the death of King *Egfrid*.

The ſame Year, (according to the *Saxon* Annals) Eſcwin *was ſlain near* Trent, *in which place alſo King* Egfrid *and* Ethelfred *fought the ſame Year*, and now alſo St. *Etheldrith* deceaſed, and *Coludesburgh*, was burnt.

Bede, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 21. *H. Huntington* more at large relates this Fight between the Kings of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*; and *Bede* alſo tells us, This Young Prince (mentioned in the Annals) being the King of *Northumberland*'s Brother, and then about Eighteen Years of Age was ſlain, and extreamly lamented in both Kingdoms; For King *Ethelred* had Married *Oſtrithe* his Siſter, but when Arch-Biſhop *Theodore* ſaw the cauſes of their Inteſtine Quarrels daily to encreaſe, he by his interceſſion and perſwaſions made Peace between the two Kings, on this condition; that King *Ethelred* ſhould pay King *Egfrid* a pecuniary Mulct for his Brother, who was ſlain.

Bede, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 19. This Queen *Etheldrith* here mentioned in the Annals, was Daughter to *Anna*, King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, and Wife of King *Egfrid*, who yet remained a Virgin; for thô ſhe had been twice Married, yet would ſhe never let either of her Husbands lye with her; but ſhe dyed at laſt Abbeſs of the Monaſtery of *Eli*, which ſhe her ſelf built, and of whom *Bede* makes a large

a large Elegy both in Proſe and Verſe; and that after ſhe had been there buried Sixteen Years, her body being taken up as whole as at firſt, ſhe was canonized, and called St. *Audrey* of *Ely*; but this *Coludesburgh* here mentioned in the Annals, was a great Monaſtery of Monks and Nuns together, afterwards called *Coldingham*, in the Marches of *Scotland*; (which as *Bede* tells us) was a very magnificent building for that Age, but by the juſt judgment of God for the looſe living of the Monks and Nuns, was burnt; thô it happen'd not by any Miracle, but by meer careleſneſs of the Servants. *Anno Dom.* DCLXXIX. *Ibid. Lib.* 4. *cap.* 25.

About this time alſo, according to an ancient Manuſcript Copy of *Florence* of *Worceſter*'s Chronicle in the *Bodleian* Library, the Province of the *Mercians* was by the Common Council or conſent of *Ethelred* (King of that Kingdom) and of *Theodore* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* divided into Five Dioceſſes; *Boſel* being ordained Biſhop of the *Wicii* who had his ſeat *Worceſter*, whileſt *Cuthwian* was ordained to the Dioceſs of *Litchfield*, *Saxulf* was pleaſed to continue Biſhop over midle *England*, having his See at *Leiceſter*, and *Ethelwine* was ſet over the Province of *Lindiſſe*. having his See at *Cidnaceſter*; but as for the See of *Hereford*, that had been founded about Three Years before by Biſhop *Putta*, by the means and conſent of Biſhop *Saxulf*, as hath been now obſerved. But to return to our Annals.

This Year, *Theodore* the Arch-Biſhop ſummon'd a Synod at *Heathfield*, (now *Hatfield* in *Hartfordſhire*) that he might correct divers errours concerning the Chriſtian Faith; but * *Bede* gives us a fuller account of it, and tells us, it was ſummoned to condemn the Hereſie of *Eutyches*, who then maintained but one will and Perſon in Chriſt, and which then troubled the *Latin* as well as *Greek* Church; and therefore the Arch-Biſhop being reſolved to prevent it, held this Synod, in which the Five firſt General Councils, were not only received, and confirm'd, but alſo the latter held at *Rome* under Pope *Martyn* I. in the Reign of the Emperour *Conſtantine*. *Anno Dom.* DCLXXX. *Id cap.* 5. Vi. *Sir* H. Spelman 1. *Vol.* p. 168.

Bede alſo tells us, That there was preſent at this Council, *John* the *Præcentor*, or chief Chanter of the Church of St. *Peters* in *Rome*, whom Pope *Agatho* had ſent hither, not only to inſtruct the *Engliſh* Monaſteries, how to Sing after the *Roman* Faſhion, but alſo to give him an account of the Faith of the *Engliſh* Church, which he did at his Return to *Rome*, much to its advantage. *Id. Cap.* 18.

And the ſame Year, according to *Bede* and the *Saxon* Annals, *Hilda* the Holy Abbeſs deceaſed at *Streanſhale*, (now *Whitby* in *York-ſhire*,) which ſhe her ſelf had Founded; ſhe was Grand Niece to King *Edwin*, and having been converted by *Paulinus*, had been almoſt ever ſince her Converſion a profeſſed Nun, firſt in the Monaſtery of *Cale* in *France*, and was afterwards Abbeſs of divers Nunneries in *England*, being eſteemed a Lady of great Sanctity and Knowledge. At this Monaſtery of *Strean-ſhale*, (which was then for Men as well as Women) lived *Cædmon* the *Engliſh Saxon* Poet, who is ſuppoſed by *Bede* to have been once Divinely inſpired in his ſleep to make Verſes in his own Tongue upon the Creation of the World, and ever after kept that faculty upon other Divine Subjects; there are divers of his Paraphraſes in *Saxon* Verſe ſtill extant, upon ſeveral Stories in *Geneſis* and *Exodus*, but very hard to be underſtood by reaſon of the Obſoleteneſs of the *Saxon* Dialect. They have been Printed at *Oxford*, by the Learned *Junius*.

About

Anno Dom. DCLXXX. About this time also (according to *Florence*) the Kingdom of the *Mercians* became divided into five Diocesses; and *Tulfride* a learned Monk, of the Abbess *Hilda*'s Monastery, was elected first Bishop of *Worcester*, but dyed before his Ordination.

Cited in Monasticon Anglicanum, p. 120. But the ancient Chronicle of the Church of *Worcester*, now in the Cottonian Library relates, the Church of *Worcester* to have been first founded by *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Theodore* Bishop of *Canterbury*; one *Boſel* being made the first Bishop of that See, and sate therein Eleven Years.

There was then also founded a Colledge of secular Canons, which so continued as the Chapter of this Church till *Anno Dom.* 991, when Bishop *Oswald* turned them out, and put in *Benedictine* Monks in their Rooms.

About the same time also, one *Oswald* Nephew to King *Ethelred*, founded a College for Secular Canons at *Pershore*, in *Worcestershire*, which continued till King *Edgar* and Bishop *Oswald*, *Anno* 984. brought in *Benedictine* Monks in their Places.

I may also add, under this Year, that pretended Bull of Pope *Agatho*'s Privileges, together with the Charter of this K. *Ethelred*, which is recited in the *Peterburgh* Copy of the *Saxon* Annals, under *Anno* 675, and is there related to have been about the same time confirmed in the Council at *Heathfield* above-mentioned; whereby were granted to the Monastery of *Medeshamstead* divers great Immunities; which Bull does not only confirm all those Privileges formerly granted by Pope *Vitalian*, but there is also further added this, that the Abbot should be the Pope's Legat over the whole Isle (of *Britain*); and that whatsoever Abbot was elected by the Monks, should be immediately consecrated by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; with divers other Things too tedious here to relate: Which Bull, being recited in the Council above-mentioned, was by them established and confirmed; which being done, the King is said to have made a Speech, reciting all the Lands he had given to the said Monastery, and then, having subscribed the Charter, the Queen, *Adrian* the Pope's Legat, and all the Bishops and Abbots, (whose Names are there mentioned) did so likewise, under dreadful Curses upon those that should violate the Privileges above-mentioned.

But notwithstanding the so exact Recital, and supposed Confirmation of this Charter in the Council above-mentioned, we have very great Reason to suspect this Bull, as also the Charter it self, to have been forged long after by the Monks of *Peterburgh*; for, in the first place, the Privileges granted to this Abbey do not only exceed any that had been granted by the Pope to any Monastery in *England*, but also were such, as we do not find it ever enjoy'd; as particularly, that of their Abbot's being the Pope's ordinary Legate all over this Island, which had been such a Diminution of the Rights of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as he would never have so tamely pass'd over: And besides all which, the Names of the Bishops, who are put to this Charter, do not at all agree with the Circumstances of Time; for, first, it is certain, that *Wilfred* is here styled Archbishop of *York*, which Title he never took upon him, being then no more but a Bishop under the Jurisdiction of Archbishop *Theodore*; and by whom he, at this Time, stood deprived, and was not present at this Council, nor did return this Year from *Rome*, (as this Copy of the Annals makes him to have done,) but was indeed returned from thence near three Years before; being at this Time converting the *South-Saxons*, (as hath been already related:)

related:) Neither was *Putta*, Bishop of *Rochester*, or *Waldhere*, Bishop of *London*, at the time when this Council was held, though their Names are also put to this Charter; for the former had been dead eleven Years before, and one *Quichelme* was then Bishop of that See, as appears by the Catalogue of the Bishops in Sir *H. Spelman's Fasti*, at the end of the Volume of *English* Writers after *Bede*; nor was the latter then Bishop of *London*, but *Erkenwald*, who was elected to that See above fifteen Years before, and continued in it 'till after the Reign of King *Ina*, who began not to reign 'till *Anno* 688; so that upon the whole matter, I take this Charter to be a notorious piece of Forgery. *Anno Dom.* DCLXXX.

This Year *Trumbrith* was consecrated Bishop of *Hagulstad*, and *Trumwin* Bishop of the *Picts*: This was the Bishopriek of *Wyterne*, called in Latin *Candida Casa*; which at that time (as *Bede* testifies) belonged to the Kingdom of *Northumberland*; and also *Centwin*, (King of the *West-Saxons*,) put the *Britains* to flight as far as the Sea; *H. Huntington* says, That he also wasted all their Country with Fire and Sword; but the *Welsh* Chronicle of *Caradoc* (translated by *H. Lloyd*) relates, That this Year *Kentwin*, King of the *West-Saxons* gathered a great Company of his Nation together, and came against the *Britains*, who seem'd ready to receive the Battle; but yet, when both Armies appeared in sight of each other, they were not all desirous to fight, for they fell to a friendly composition and agreement; (*viz.*) That *Ivor* should take *Ethelburga* to Wife, who was Cousin to *Kentwin*, and quietly enjoy all that he had got during the Reign of *Ivor*; but of this our *English* Histories are silent. *Anno Dom.* DCLXXXI.

This Year the Nunnery of St. *Peter*, in *Gloucester*, was founded by *Osric*, then a petty Prince or Governour under *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, but was afterwards King of the *Northumbers*: This Monastery, tho it had the honour of having Three Queens successively, Abbesses of it, was destroyed by the *Danes*, but afterwards was re-edified for *Benedictine* Monks by *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Anno* 1058. *Anno Dom.* DCLXXXII.

This Year also, (according to *Bede*) *Egfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, sent a great Army into *Ireland*, under one *Bert* (or *Bryt*) his General, who miserably wasted that innocent Nation, which had been always friendly to the *English*, (which Character perhaps might have been due to them in *Bede's* time;) and did not so much as spare the Churches or Monasteries; but the *Islanders* as far as they were able, repel'd Force with Force, and invoked the Divine assistance to revenge their quarrel which happen'd the next Year, as the same Author relates. For, *Anno Dom.* DCLXXXIV. *Lib.* 4. *c.* 26.

This Year, not long before the Death of King *Egfrid*, that Holy Man *Cuthbert*, was by the same King ordered to be ordained Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, tho he was at first chosen to be Bishop of *Hagulstad* instead of *Trumbert*, who had been before deposed from that Bishopriek; yet because *Cuthbert* liked the Church of *Lindisfarne* better, in which he had so long convers'd, *Eatta* was made to return to the See of *Hagulstad*, to which he was at first ordained, whilest *Cuthbert* took the Bishopriek of *Lindisfarne*. *Anno Dom.* DCLXXXV. Bede, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 27, 28.

But I shall now give you from *Bede* a farther account of the Life of this good Bishop; he had been first bred in the Monastery of *Mailros*, and was afterwards made Abbot of the Monastery of *Lindisfarne*; retiring from whence, he had for a long time lived the Life of an *Anchorite* in the Isle of *Farne*, not far distant, but when there was a great Synod assembled, King *Egfrid* being present at a place called *Triford*, near the River *Alne*, where Arch-Bishop *Theodore* presiding, *Cuthbert* was, by the general

Anno Dom DCLXXXV. general consent of them all, chosen Bishop; who when he could not by any Messages or Letters be drawn from his Cell; at length the King himself, with Bishop *Trumwin*, and other Noble and Religious Persons, sailed thither, where they at last, after many intreaties, prevailed upon him, to go with them to the Synod; and when he came there, thô he very much opposed it, yet he was forced to accept the Episcopal Charge, and so was consecrated Bishop the *Easter* following; and after his Consecration, in imitation of the blessed Appostles, he adorned his calling by his good Works; for he constantly taught the People commited to his Charge, and incited them to the love of Heaven, by his constant Prayers and Exhortations; and, which is the chief part of a Teacher, whatsoever he Taught, he himself first practised; so having lived in this manner about Two Years, being then sensible that the time of his Death (or rather of his future Life) drew near, he again retired to the same Island, and Hermitage from whence he came.

Id. cap. 26. The same Year also King *Egfrid* rashly lead out his Army to destroy the Province of the *Picts*, (thô his Friends, and principally Bishop *Cuthbert*, did all they could to hinder it), and having now entred the Country, he was brought (before he was aware) by the feigned flight of his Enemies, between the streights of certain inaccessible Mountains, where he, with the greatest part of his Forces he had brought with him, were all cut off, in the Fortieth Year of his Age, and the Fifteenth of his Reign. And as the Year aforegoing, he refused to hear Bishop *Cuthbert*, who diswaded him from invading *Ireland*, which did him no harm; so *Bede* observes it was a just Judgment upon him for that Sin, that he would not hear those who would then have prevented his Ruine.

From this time, the Grandeur and Valour of this Kingdom of the *Northumbers* began to decline; for the *Picts* now recovered their Country, which the *English* had taken away; and the *Scots* that were in *Britain*, with some part of the *Britains* themselves, regain'd their Liberty, which they did enjoy for the space of Forty Six Years after, when *Bede* wrote his History: But *Alfred* Brother to this King succeeding him, quickly recovered his Kingdom, thô reduced into narrower bounds: He was also a Prince very well read in the Holy Scriptures.

The same Year, (as the *Saxon* Annals relate) *Kentwin*, King of the *West-Saxons* dying, *Ceadwalla* began to Reign over that Kingdom, (whose *Ibid.* Pedegree is there inserted, which I shall refer to another place:) and the same Year also died *Lothair* King of *Kent*; (as *Bede* relates) of the Wounds he had received in a Fight against the *South Saxons*; in which *Edric*, his Brother *Egbert*'s Son, Commanded against him, and reigned in his stead.

This Year (also according to the Annals) *John* was consecrated Bishop of *Hugulstad*, and remained so till Bishop *Wilfrith*'s return; but afterwards Bishop *Bosa* dying, *John* became Bishop of *York*, but from thence, many Years after, retired to his Monastry in *Derawnde*, (now called *Beverlie* in *York-shire*:) This Year it rained Blood in *Britain*; and also Milk and Butter were now turned into somewhat like Blood. You are here to take notice, that this Bishop *John* above mentioned, is the famous St. *John* of *Beverlie*; of whom *Bede* in the next Book tells so many Miracles.

But our Annals do here require some farther Illustration; for this *Ceadwalla* here mentioned, was the Grandson of *Ceawlin*, by his Brother *Cutha*; who being a Youth of great hopes, was driven into Banishment by

by his Predeceſſour, and (as *Stephen* * *Heddi* in Biſhop *Wilfrid*'s Life relates) lay concealed among the Woods and Deſarts of *Chyltern*, and *Ondred*, and there remained for a long time; till raiſing an Army, (thô *Bede* does not ſay from whence,) he ſlew *Aldelwald*, King of the *South-Saxons*, and ſeized upon his Province; but was ſoon driven out by two of that King's Captains, *viz.* *Bertune* and *Autune* who for ſome time kept that Kingdom to themſelves: the former of whom was afterwards ſlain by the ſame *Ceadwalla*, when he became King of the *Weſt-Saxons*; but the other who reigned after him, again ſet it free from that ſervitude for many Years; from whence it happen'd, that all that time they had no Biſhop of their own; for when *Wilfrid* return'd home, they became ſubject to the Biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*, (that is, of *Dorcheſter*) which return (as the Author of *Wilfrid*'s Life relates) happen'd this Year, being the Second of King *Alfred*'s Reign, who then invited him home, and reſtored him to his Biſhoprick, as alſo to his Monaſtery at *Rypun*, together with all his other Revenues, according to the Decree of Pope *Agatho*, and the Council at *Rome* above mentioned; all which he enjoyed till his ſecond Expulſion, as you will hear in due time.

Anno Dom. DCLXXXV. *Cap.* 41. Bede *lib.* 4. *cap.* 5.

After *Ceadwalla* had obtain'd the Kingdom, he ſubdued the Iſle of *Wight*, which was as yet infected with Idolatry; and therefore this King reſolved to deſtroy all the Inhabitants, and to Plant the Iſland with his own Subjects; obliging himſelf by a Vow, (althô he himſelf (as it is reported) was not yet baptized,) that he would give the Fourth part of his Conqueſts to God; which he made good, by offering it to Biſhop *Wilfrid*, who was then come thither by chance out of his own Country. The Iſland conſiſted of about Two Thouſand Families, and the King beſtowed upon this Biſhop, as much Land there as then maintained Three Hundred Families, the Care of all which the Biſhop committed to one of his Clerks, named *Bernwin*, his Siſters Son, who was to Baptize all thoſe that would be ſaved. *Bede* alſo adds, That amongſt the firſt Fruits of Believers in that Iſland, there were two Royal Youths, Brothers, who were the Sons of *Arwald*, late King thereof; who having hid themſelves for fear of King *Ceadwalla*, were at laſt diſcovered, and by him ordered to be ſlain, which when the Abbot of *Reodford* heard, (as having his Monaſtery not far from thence) he went to the King, who then lay private in thoſe Parts to be cured of the Wounds he had received in taking of the Iſland, and deſired of him, if the Youths muſt needs dye, that they might firſt receive Baptiſm, which the King granted; whereupon the Abbot immediately inſtructed, and then Baptized them; ſo when the Executitioner came to put them to Death, they chearfully underwent it, becauſe they hoped thereby to obtain an Eternal Kingdom. Thus the Iſle of *Wight* did, (thô laſt of all) receive the Chriſtian Faith, and that upon very harſh terms; as if God would make them ſuffer for their ſo long refuſal of the Goſpel.

Anno Dom. DCLXXXVI. *Id. cap.* 16.

The ſame Year alſo, Ceadwalla *and* Mollo (*or* Mull) *his Brother waſted* Kent. And, *W. Malmesbury* adds, That the occaſion of this War, was to be revenged of King *Edric*, who had killed *Lothair* his Predeceſſour, and that falling upon that Province, now grown Effeminate with long Peace, he committed a great deal of Spoil throughout the Country; but at laſt meeting with the *Kentiſh* Men, was repulſed with loſs.

Anno Dom. DCLXXXVI. This Year alſo, according to *Stephen Heddis*'s Life of Biſhop *Wilfrid*, he was re-called home by King *Alfred*, and reſtored to his Sees of *York*, and *Hagulſtad*, the Biſhops that then enjoyed them being turned out.

Id. ibid cap. 30. The ſame Year alſo *Cuthbert*, that Pious Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*, having reſigned his Biſhoprick, and retired again to *Farne-Iſland*, there deceaſed, but his Body was tranſlated to *Lindisfarne*; which being taken up Eleven Years after, was found as entire, as when it was firſt buried.

Anno Dom. DCLXXXVII. This Year *Mollo* (or *Mull*) the Brother of King *Ceadwalla*, but now mentioned, was burnt in *Kent*, and Twelve others with him; but *Ceadwalla* afterwards waſted *Kent* the ſame Year, which action *Will.* of *Malmesbury* and *H. Huntington* relate more at large; That *Ceadwalla* in the ſecond Year of his Reign, ſent his Brother *Mollo* (at his own requeſt) to Ravage and P'under the Province of *Kent*, out of a Deſire of Spoil, and Ambition of Glory; ſo marching into *Kent*, (then divided into divers Factions) and finding none there to reſiſt him, he laid all the Country waſte; but when he deſpiſed his Enemies, and thought he might do what he pleaſed with them; going about to plunder a certain Houſe, and having no more then Twelve Men in his Company, being there encompaſſed on the ſudden with far greater Forces, and not daring to ſally out upon them, they ſet the Houſe on Fire about his Ears; where He with Twelve Knights were burnt: And thus this brave Army conſiſting of the Flower of the *Weſt-Saxon* Youth came to nothing.

But *Will. Thorne*, in his Chronicle of the Abbots of St. *Auguſtine, Cant.* relates the Death of this Prince, with more Circumſtances (*viz.*) That he invading and ſpoiling *Kent*, and coming before the City of *Canterbury*, and being there ſtoutly reſiſted by the Citizens, till almoſt all his Men were killed, was at laſt conſtrained to flee to a certain Houſe, where the Men of *Canterbury* burnt him to Death, as hath been already related; but it ſeems his Body not being reduced to Aſhes, was taken up and buried in the Church of the Abby of St. *Auguſtine*, with the Kings of *Kent*; this I thought fit to add as not being found elſewhere.

But when *Ceadwalla* heard this news, being extremely enraged at it, he again entred *Kent*, and there ſatiating himſelf with Spoil and Slaughter, when he had left nothing worth carrying away, returned home Victorious.

Anno Dom. DCLXXXVIII. This Year, King *Ceadwalla* after he had Reign'd 2 Years (perhaps having ſome remorſe for his former Cruelties,) went to *Rome*, and there received Baptiſm from Pope *Sergius*, " who gave him the Name of *Peter*; " where he not long after dyed, and was buried in the Church of St. " *Peter*; to whom *Ina* ſucceeded in the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and " Reigned Thirty Seven Years: He alſo built the Monaſtery at *Glaſtin-* " *gabyrig*, (now *Glaſtenbury*) and alſo went to *Rome*, and there remained " until his Death.

Bede, lib. c. 7. *Bede* (who has given us a long Epitaph on *Ceadwalla*, both in Verſe and Proſe,) places this Prince's Baptiſm by the Pope, in *Anno* 689, which might very well be, for he reſigned his Kingdom the Year above mentioned, and it was ended by that time he could be baptized, and ſo the *Saxon* Annaliſt might well place both that and his Baptiſm under one and the ſame Year: The *Britiſh* Hiſtorians confounded this *Ceadwalla* with their King *Ceadwallo*, who ſlew King *Edwin*; but he lived above Twenty Years before this time, as hath been already obſerved.

But

But Dr. *Powel*, and Mr. *Vaughan* in their Learned Notes upon *Caradoc's Welſh* Chronicle, do ſuppoſe (with great probability) that this *Cadwallo*, was *Edwal*, ſirnamed *Iwrch*, Prince of *Wales*, who about this time began to Reign, being the Son of *Cadwallader*; and may alſo very well agree with what *Guidonius* writeth of one *Ethwal* Prince of *Wales*; who about this time went to *Rome* and there dyed; for in proper Names it is an eaſie matter for a Capital C to creep in, ſince it was commonly uſed in old hands, at the beginning of a Paragraph: and might by an Ignorant Copier be added to the Name it ſelf, and ſo of *Edwal* make *Cadwal*, and from thence *Cadwallader*. *Anno Dom.* DCLXXXVIII. Vid. *Guidon in Catalogo Pontific ſub Sergio.*

But the Year after *Ceadwalla* dyed at *Rome*, (according to *Bede*, as well as our Annals) *Theodorus* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* alſo deceaſed, being Eighty Eight Years of Age, having ſate Arch-Biſhop Twenty Two Years, and was buried in the Church of St. *Peter* in *Canterbury*; * *Bede* tells us, That the *Engliſh* Church never attained to that height of perfection under any Arch-Biſhops Government, as it did under his; he being the firſt Arch-Biſhop, who Exerciſed his Metropolitan Juriſdiction over all the Biſhops, as well beyond, as on this ſide of *Humber*. *Anno Dom.* DCXC. *Lib. 5. cap. 8.*

Berthwald, who now ſucceeded *Theodore* in the Arch-Biſhoprick, had been Abbot of a certain Monaſtery, called *Raculf* (now *Reculver* in *Kent*) near the Iſle of *Thanet*; and was a Man well read in the Scriptures, and skil'd in Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; but yet he ought not to be compared to his Predeceſſours: he was Elected this Year, but it ſeems his Conſecration was deferr'd till near Three Years after, when the *Saxon* Chronicle likewiſe recites it.

This Year alſo (according to *Florence*) *Ina* a Prince of the Royal Blood took the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, being the Son of *Kenred*, the Son of *Ceolwald*: Yet it ſeems he had no right by Succeſſion; for *Will.* of *Malmeſbury* tells us expreſly, That it was more in reſpect to his own Natural Vertue, than to the Right of a ſucceſſive deſcent, that he was now made King; and indeed, How could it be otherwiſe, his Father *Kenred* being then alive?

This Year alſo, Abbot *Benedict* (above-mentioned) dyed, after a long Sickneſs, of whom *Bede* in his Life (already cited) gives us a large Account, that having been at firſt a Servant to King *Oſwin*, and receiving from him a competent Eſtate for his Quality, he quited a Military Life for a Heavenly one, and leaving his Country, went to *Rome*, in the Company of *Alfred*, Son to that King; and upon his return thence the ſecond time, profeſſed himſelf a Monk in the Iſle of *Lyren*; where ſtaying Two Years, he accompanied *Wyghard* to *Rome*, who went thither to be ordained Arch-Biſhop, but ſoon after dying there, he again returned home with Arch-Biſhop *Theodore*, and after ſome time built the Monaſteries of *Wyremouth* and *Girwy*, as you have already heard; and now after a long Sickneſs, made a Holy End in the Monaſtery of St. *Peter* at *Wyremouth*, where he was alſo buried.

About this time *Wythred*, the Son of *Egbert*, King of *Kent*, being Eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom, did by his Piety and Induſtry free it from Foreign Invaſions; thô one *Swebheard*, (or *Webheard*) held part of it together with him for ſome time. *Anno Dom.* DCXCI.

This Year alſo according to *Florence*, for the Years are not exactly ſet down by *Bede*, or *Stephen Heddi*; Biſhop *Wilfrid* was the ſecond time Expel'd from his Biſhoprick by *Alfred*, King of *Northumberland*; which, *Cap. 44.*

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Anno Dom. DCXCI. (as this Authour in his Life relates) happen'd becauſe that King had not reſtored to the Church of St. *Peter* at *Rypun* divers of its Poſſeſſions; The next was becauſe the Monaſtery of *Hagulſtad* had been erected into a Biſhoprick without his conſent, and contrary to the priviledge which Pope *Agatho* had beſtowed upon it; And laſtly, becauſe that King would have compelled him to obey certain Decrees of Arch-Biſhop *Theodore*, which had been made in Biſhop *Wilfrid*'s abſence, and during the firſt quarrel that had riſen between them; which he refuſing to obſerve, thereupon retired to his old Friend *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, who received him with great honour.

But King *Alfred*, as likewiſe Arch-Biſhop *Bertwald*, and all the Biſhops of *Britain*, being aſſembled in a Synod, at a place called *Oneſtrefield* or *Hoſterfield*, They ſent Meſſengers to Biſhop *Wilfrid*, deſiring him to appear before them; but when he came to the Synod, he could by no means agree with them, becauſe they did not perform what they had promiſed by their Meſſengers; ſo that great diſputes ariſing chiefly from thoſe Biſhops of the new Sees, who together with certain Abbots had been alſo ſet on by King *Alfred*, and for the ſake of their own private Intereſts, did not deſire the Peace of the Church; they alſo objected many falſe things againſt him which could no ways be proved; and at laſt decreed that the Biſhop ſhould be cenſured according to the Decrees of the late Arch-Biſhop *Theodore*; whereupon Biſhop *Wilfrid* asked them, with what Face they could prefer the Decrees of *Theodore* before the Apoſtolical Canons, which had been enjoined them from Pope *Agatho*, and Pope *Sergius*? but when no due or decent manner of ſpeaking was obſerved, and that they urged him to ſubſcribe a Reſignation of his Biſhoprick, and Monaſteries in *Northumberland*, and *Mercia*, into the hands of the Arch-Biſhop, he utterly refuſed it, and only offered to ſubmit to the Judgment of the Arch-Biſhop, as far as it was agreeable with the Canons of the Holy Fathers; but at laſt they offered him, that if he would reſign his Biſhoprick, he might ſtill retain his Abbey of *Ripon*, and live there in quiet, provided he did not go out of the bounds of the Monaſtery, nor exerciſe any Epiſcopal Juriſdiction; upon which, he in a long Speech ſet forth his former Merits, in converting the *Northumbrian* Nation to the due obſervation of *Eaſter*; Then asked them for what offence they went now about to degrade him? To which the King and the Arch-Biſhop replied, That he was culpable in this, and was therefore to be condemned, becauſe he had prefer'd the Judgment of the Men at *Rome* before theirs; and the King then offer'd the Arch-Biſhop to make him ſubmit by force to their Judgment, but this was oppoſed by moſt of the Biſhops, becauſe he had come thither under their ſafe conduct; Then the Biſhop retired again to King *Ethelred*, ſetting forth the hard uſage which he had received at the Synod, whereupon the King promiſed him never to alter any thing in the Monaſteries, which he had beſtowed upon him, until he had ſent to *Rome* for the Pope's Judgment of theſe Matters, and how he might act ſafely therein; but in the mean time the Arch-Biſhop and the Synod did not only deprive, but alſo Excomunicate Biſhop *Wilfrid*, and alſo all thoſe who were in communion with him; ſo that none might ſo much as eat with them, and whatſoever they touched, was looked upon as defiled.

Wherefore Biſhop *Wilfrid* was again forced to go to *Rome*, there to make his appeal before the Pope, to whom he preſented a long Petition, ſetting

ſetting forth that the Troubles which he had met with in *Britain*, had proceeded from thoſe, who having ſeized upon his Biſhoprick, and Monaſteries, had refuſed to obſerve the Decrees of his Holineſs's Predeceſſours; whereupon the Pope at that time holding a Council at *Rome*, did there hear the whole difference between him and Arch-Biſhop *Bertwald*, who had now ſent his Deputies thither, together with the accuſations againſt him; ſo in ſhort, upon a ſolemn hearing of the whole matter on both ſides, and after above Seventy Congregations, in about Four Months time, (in all which the Biſhops Innocence did more and more appear,) he was at laſt abſolved by the Pope, and the whole Council; the particulars of which are too long to relate, only that thereupon the Pope wrote Letters to *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Alfred*, King of *Northumberland*, reciting Biſhop *Wilfrid's* former appeal to Pope *Agatho*, and the Decree that had been made in his Favour; as alſo what had been now done at *Rome*, and how well the Biſhop had acquitted himſelf of whatſoever had been laid to his Charge; and therefore did not only order them to receive him, but alſo admoniſhed Arch-Biſhop *Bertwald* to call another Synod, together with Biſhop *Wilfrid*, and there to Summon the Biſhops, *Boſa* and *John*, to hear what they would ſay in their own behalf; and if they could make any agreement, with the liking of Biſhop *Wilfrid*, it would be very grateful to him; but if otherwiſe, they were to exhibit the Reaſons of their diſſent before the Pope, there to be determined in a more ample Council; and whoever ſhould refuſe this, ſhould be ſubject to be Excomunicated, and depoſed from his Biſhoprick. *Anno Dom.* DCXCI.

The Biſhop in his Return home with theſe Letters, fell ſo ſick by the way, that he was like to dye at *Melune* in *France*, where ('tis ſaid) he had a Viſion of an Angel appearing to him, which promiſed him reſtitution to his See within Four Years; ſo he at laſt arrived again in *Britain*, where applying himſelf to Arch-Biſhop *Bertwald*, He being frighted with the Pope's Letters, which had been before ſent him by Meſſengers, received Biſhop *Wilfrid* very kindly, and being then reconciled to him, promiſed to mitigate that harſh Judgment, given againſt him in the former Synod.

Then the Biſhop delivered his Letters to *Ethelred*, (who, having at that time reſigned his Kingdom, was become a Monk,) and ſo uſed his Intereſt with King *Cenered*, whom he had appointed King in his ſtead, that he promiſed to obey the Pope's Decrees; not long after which the Biſhop likewiſe ſent an Abbot with a Prieſt to King *Alfred*, deſiring his leave to return home, and to deliver him the Pope's Letters, and the Decrees which had been made on his behalf; which Meſſengers thô the King civily received, yet he plainly told them, That he would do them any other Favour, but that it was in vain to trouble him any further in this matter, becauſe whatever the Kings his Predeceſſours, together with his Councellours, as alſo the late Arch-Biſhop *Theodore* had already judged, and what he himſelf, together with the preſent Arch-Biſhop, and all the Biſhops of the *Britiſh* Nation had lately Decreed, That he was reſolved never to alter for any Letters ſent (as they ſaid) from the Apoſtolick See; ſo the Meſſengers returning without any ſucceſs, the Biſhop continued where he was for ſome Years: but the King it ſeems repented at laſt of this harſh Reſolution, and would have altered it, as you will hereafter find.

I have been the more exact in this tranſaction of Biſhop *Wilfrid*'s, becauſe it has never been as yet publiſhed in *Engliſh* before, and it alſo gives us a great light into the Affairs of the Church at this time; and lets us know that the Kings of *Northumberland* did not then think themſelves bound to obſerve the Pope's Decrees, thô made upon Appeals to *Rome*, if they were contrary to a General Synod, or Council of the whole Nation.

Anno Dom. DCXCIII.

About this time (thô it be not mentioned in *Bede*, nor in the *Saxon* Chronicle) *Ina*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, ſummoned a great Council or Synod of all the Biſhops, with the Great and Wiſe Men of his Kingdom; which, becauſe it is the firſt Authentick great Council, whoſe Laws are come to us entire, I ſhall ſet down the Title of it as it is recited in the Firſt Volume of Sir *H. Spelman*'s *Britiſh* Councils; it begins thus; Ina *by the Grace of God, King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *by the Council and Advice of* Cenred, *my Father, and* Hedde *and* Erkenwald *my Biſhops; with all my Ealdermen, and ſage Ancients of my People, as alſo in an Aſſembly of the Servants of God, have Religiouſly endeavoured, both for the health of our Soul, and the common preſervation of our Kingdom, that right Laws and true Judgments be Founded, and Eſtabliſhed, throughout our whole Dominions, and that it ſhall not be Lawful for the time to come, for any Ealderman, or other Subject whatever, to tranſgreſs theſe our Conſtitutions.*

I have alſo given you an Extract of the chief of thoſe Laws, as far as they relate to any thing remarkable, either in Church or State; referring you for the reſt to the Laws themſelves.

1. *If a Servant do any Work on a* Sunday, *by Command of his Maſter, he ſhall be free, and the Maſter ſhall be amerced Thirty Shillings; but if he went about the Work without his Maſter's privity, he ſhall be beaten, or redeem the penalty; but a Freeman, if he work on that Day, without the Command of his Maſter, ſhall looſe his Freedom, or pay* 60 *Sihillings; if he be a Prieſt, his penalty ſhall be double.*

2. *The portion or dues of the Church ſhall be brought in by the Feaſt of St.* Martyn, *he that payeth them not by that time, ſhall be amerced Forty Shillings, and beſides pay twelve times their value.*

3. *If any guilty of a capital Crime ſhall take refuge in a Church, he ſhall ſave his Life, and yet make recompence according to Juſtice and Equity; if one deſerving Stripes run to a Church, the Stripes ſhall be forgiven him.*

4. *If any one Fight within the King's Houſe, or Palace, he ſhall forfeit all his Goods, and it ſhall be at the pleaſure of the King, whether he ſhall have his Life or not; he that Fights in a Church, ſhall pay* 120 s. *in the Houſe of an Alderman, or other ſage Nobleman,* 60 s. *whoſoever ſhall Fight in a Villager's Houſe paying Scot, ſhall be puniſhed* 30 s. *and ſhall give the Villager* 6 s. *and if any one Fight in the open Field, he ſhall pay* 120 s.

5. *He that on his own private account ſhall revenge an injury done to him, before he hath demanded publick Juſtice, ſhall reſtore what he took away, and beſides forfeit* 30 *Shillings.*

6. *If*

6. *If a Robber be taken, he ſhall loſe his Life, or redeem it according to the eſtimation of his Head; we call Robbers to the Number of Seven or Eight Men; from that number to Thirty Five, a band; all above, an Army.* *Anno Dom.* DCLXXX.

7. *If a Country Boor, having been often accuſed of Theft, if he be at laſt taken, he ſhall have his Hand or Foot cut off.*

8. *If any one Kill another's Godfather, or God-Son, the ſatisfaction ſhall be according to his Quality and Circumſtances; let the compenſation due to the Relations, and that due to the Lord, for the loſs of his Man, be both alike: and let the one encreaſe, according to the Circumſtances of the Perſon, juſt as the other doth; but if he were the King's Godſon, let him make ſatisfaction to the King, as well as the Relations; but if his Life was taken away by a Relation, then let the Money due to the Godfather be diminiſhed, as it uſeth to be, when Money is paid to the Maſter for the Death of his Servant: If a Biſhop's Son be killed, let the penalty be half ſo much.*

From which Laws we may obſerve that our *Saxon* Anceſtors were ſtrict obſervers of the Lord's day, and would not permit any ſervile Work to be done thereon: Secondly, that the ſuperſtition of Sanctuaries was very ancient in *England*, as well as elſewhere: Thirdly, That Theft, Murder, and all ſorts of Crimes, were then redeemable by pecuniary Mulcts; either to the King, or to the Friends of the party ſlain, or wrong'd, or elſe by loſs of Limbs; but there is one Law behind that is very remarkable.

That if any Engliſh *Man, who hath loſt his Freedom, do afterwards Steal, he ſhall be hang'd on the Gallows; and no Recompence made to his Lord; if any one Kill ſuch a Man, he ſhall make no recompence on that account to his Friends, unleſs they redeem him within a Twelve Month.* Where it appears that no *Engliſh* Freeman could then be hang'd for any fault but Treaſon, (thô that is not expreſs'd in theſe Laws): but as for the laſt clauſe in theſe Laws, *That if the Son of a Biſhop be killed, the penalty ſhould be half*, whereby ſome would prove, that Biſhops were then Married, it is a miſtake; for by thoſe words are only meant a Biſhop's Spiritual Son, or Godſon, and not his Natural, or Conjugal Son.

This Year the Kentiſhmen *made a League with King* Ina *and gave him Thirty Thouſand Pounds to obtain his Friendſhip, becauſe they had before burnt* Moll *his Brother. Alſo* Withred *began to Reign over the Kingdom of* Kent, *and held it Thirty Three Years. William* of *Malmesbury* makes him to have been *Elected* King by the *General Conſent* of his Subjects, and that he did not deceive their expectation in governing them well. *Anno Dom.* DCXCIV.

The *Saxon* Chronicle here alſo proceeds, and gives us his *Pedegree*, which being not to our purpoſe, I omit; only, you may take notice, that he was the Son of one *Ecbert*, and not of the laſt King that Reigned.

As ſoon as ever he was made King, he commanded a Great Council to be ſummoned, at a place called Becanceld (*which though it be ſomewhere in* Kent, *yet no body certainly knows where it lay, unleſs it were* Beckanham, *which lies near* Surry;) *at which Council* Withred *Himſelf was preſent, as alſo the Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury *and the Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *and with them all the Abbots and Abbeſſes, together with many Wiſe and Prudent Men, who were*

Anno Dom. DCLXXXV. *there assembled, that they might all take Council about the repairing of the Churches in* Kent; *then the King began to speak thus, I will, That all Churches and Monasteries, which have been given and endow'd for God's Glory, in the Days of the Faithful Kings my Predecessours, shall remain so to God's Honour for ever; Therefore, I* Withred *being an Earthly King, yet moved by the Heavenly one, have learnt from our Ancestours, that no Lay-man ought to have right to meddle with any Church, or any of those things, that belong to it; Wherefore we do firmly Decree, and appoint, and in the Name of the Omnipotent God, and all his Saints, do straitly forbid all the Kings our Successours, with all Ealdermen,* (i.e. Governours or Judges) *and other Laymen, to exercise any Lordship or Dominion over those Churches, and their possessions, which either I, or my Predecessours, have given for the Honour of Christ, and our Lady St.* Mary, *and all the Saints: but when it shall happen that a Bishop or any Abbot, or Abbess shall depart this Life, let it be told the Arch-Bishop, that by his command one may be chosen, who is most worthy; Moreover let the Arch-Bishop make good tryal of his Life, who shall be elected to so Holy a Function, neither let any one be Elected, or Consecrated, without the consent of the Arch-Bishop; for as it is the King's duty to appoint Ealdermen, Sheriffs, and Judges, so it is the Arch-Bishop's to Govern the Church of God, and to take care of it; as also to appoint and elect Bishops, Abbots, and Abbesses, Presbyters, and Deacons, as also to Consecrate, Confirm and Instruct them by his good Precepts, and Example; least any of God's Flock should wander out of the way, and perish.*

This passage being found in the *Cottonian* Copy of the *Saxon* Annals, I thought good to insert, as a Monument of the ancient power of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, as Governour of the Church of *England*, though then under the power of the Pope in Ecclesiastical Matters. These are the chief heads of this famous Council; nor do the other Copies in Sir *H. Spelman*'s Collection, differ much from this in the *Saxon* Annals; only there follows the Subscriptions of King *Wythred*, and *Werburge* his Queen, (who Subscribed for her self, and the Prince her Son,) then follow those of the Bishops and Abbots, and after them of Five Abbesses of that Kingdom; which shews them to have been present at this Council; but whether as consenters, or voters, or else as bare witnesses, I shall not determine; but it is observable that their Names are written not only before all the Presbyters, but also before *Botred*, a Bishop, though of what Dioceſs is not specified: But to return to Civil affairs.

About this time also, as *Bede* relates, (though no Historian hath given us the Year) *Sebbi*, King of the *East-Saxons*, being fitter for a Bishop than a King, and being at last taken with a great bodily Infirmity, preferred a private Life before a Crown, and took upon him the Habit of a Monk, with the Benediction of *Waldhere*, then Bishop, and Successour to *Erkenwald* in the See of *London*; so this pious King, after he had bestowed a great Sum of Money in Charity, soon departed this Life, leaving his Sons *Sighard* and *Senfrid* to succeed him.

Lib. 4. cap. 11.

Anno Dom. DCXCVII. *This Year the* Southumbers (*that is the* Mercians) *killed* Ostrythe *the Wife of* Ethelred *their late King, and the Sister of King* Egfrid. *H. Huntington* calls it a vile Wickedness, but would not, or could not give us the reason why they did so; nor what punishment was inflicted upon them for it.

This Year likewise was held the Council of *Berghamsted* in *Kent*, *Bertwald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Gibmund* Bishop of *Rochester*, and all the Ecclesiastical Order of that Kingdom, together with all the Lay or Military Men being there assembled, by the Common, and Unanimous Assent of

of All, they decreed theſe Laws ſhould be added to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Kentiſh* Men: the Conſtitutions of this Council are called in the *Saxon* Title, the Judgments or *Doomes* of King *Wightred*; But thô they relate chiefly to Eccleſiaſtical Matters, yet I ſhall here inſert ſome of the chief of them. *Anno Dom.* DCLXXIV.

The Firſt Law is, *That the Church ſhall be free, and enjoy her own Judgments, Rents, and Penſions; and that Prayer be made for the King, and his Commands obeyed, not of neceſſity or Compulſion, but out of good will.*

Secondly, *If any Military Man (called there a* Geſithcund-man, *in the* Saxon *Original,) ſhall, after this Council is ended, deſpiſing the King's Law, and the Judicial Sentence of the Biſhop's Excomunication, be taken in Adultery, let him pay to his Lord an* 100 *Shillings.*

By which Law it appears, there was at this time Knights Service in *England*, and alſo, that ſlighting of Excomunication had no further Temporal Penalty, than a pecuniary Mulct.

And that it was to the Lord of whom he held his Land, That he was to pay it, appears by the next Law, by which it is appointed, that if the Adulterer were a Country Man, or Villager, (called there *Ceorleſman*) he ſhall pay Fifty Shillings (to his Lord,) yea thô he do Pennance for that Sin.

Thirdly, *If on* Saturday *in the Evening, after the Sun is ſet; or on* Sunday *Evening after the ſame time; a Servant ſhall, at the Command of his Maſter, do any work, let his Maſter redeem the offence with paying Eighty Shillings.*

Fourthly, *If a Layman kill a Theif, let him lye without any* Wiregild, *that is, without making any ſatisfaction to the Friends of the party ſlain.*

'This Year alſo the *Picts* ſlew *Bert* the Ealderman, *H. Huntington* aſcribes 'this to the Curſe of the *Iriſh* Nation, whoſe Churches he had in the 'late Invaſion deſtroyed; for as King *Egfrid* Invading the Country of 'the *Picts* was there cut off; ſo entering their Country to revenge the 'Death of his Maſter, he was likewiſe ſlain.

Mat. Weſtminſter calls this Ealderman, *Brithric*, Earl of the *Northumbers*, but from what Authority I know not.

I ſhall conclude this Century with a very remarkable Tranſaction out of *Bede*, that happen'd about the latter end of it. *Egbert*, an *Engliſh* Prieſt, living in *Ireland*, being hindred by a Storm that forced him back from Preaching the Goſpel (as he intended) in *Germany*, he perſwaded one *Wilbrode* his Country man to do it; who having obtain'd the Pope's Licenſe to Preach to the *Heathen* Nations, he performed it firſt by preaching the Goſpel in old *Frizeland*, (which then included not only thoſe Provinces, called *Eaſt* and *Weſt Frizeland* to this day, but alſo *Holland* and *Zealand*, and divers others of the *Belgic* Provinces;) where he converted all thoſe Nations to the Chriſtian Faith, and was afterwards, at the deſire of *Pipin*, (father to King *Charles*,) ordained by the Pope, Arch-Biſhop of the *Friſons*, *Anno Dom.* 596: and upon his return to *Rome*; *Pipin*, being then Major of the Palace, (or General of *France*,) gave him for his Epiſcopal See that famous Caſtle, which is called in the Old

Anno Dom. DCXCIX. Language of that Nation, *Wiltaburg*, but in the *Gallic* Tongue, *Trajectum*, at this day *Utrecht*.

Id. c. 12. But not long after, two Priests, each of them named *Henwald*, and for distinction Sirnamed from the colour of their Hair, the Black and the White, being by his Example piously affected to the Souls of their Country-men, the *Old Saxons*, at their coming into *Old Saxony* to convert them, met with much worse Entertainment; for being in the House of a Farmer, who had promised to convey them (as they desired) to the Governour of that Country, and being discovered by their daily Ceremonies to be Christian Priests, and the cause of their coming also known, they were by him and his *Heathen* Neighbours cruelly butcher'd, and their Bodies flung into the *Rhine*; but the Governour coming to the knowledge of it, being enraged at such Violence offered to two Strangers, sent Armed Men, and slew all those wicked Inhabitants, and burnt their Village.

Anno Dom. DCC. About this time Sir *H. Spelman*, in his first Volume of *Councils*, records a Charter of Priviledge granted by King *Wythred* in a General Council or Synod of *Kent*; whereby, with the Consent of the Chief Men of his Kingdom, he freed all the Churches thereof from all Publick Payments or Tributes whatsoever; provided they yielded the King and his Successours the same Honour and Obedience, as they had done his Predecessours, under whom hitherto they had enjoyed all Justice and Liberty. This was done in the Eighth Year of his Reign, at a Place called *Cylling*; which seems to be no more than a Confirmation of what had been done 6 Years before in the Council of *Becanceld*. But to return to our Annals.

Anno Dom. DCCII. 'This Year *Cenred* began to Reign over the *Southumbers*, (*i. e.* the *Mercians*,) as has been already said.

Anno Dom. DCCIII. '*Hedda*, the Bishop, departed this Life; he held the Bishoprick of *Winchester* 27 Years.

Lib. 5. c. 19. This *Hedda* is he, of whom *Bede* gives the Character of an Excellent Bishop, and one who Adorn'd the Episcopal See, converting more by his Example, than Preaching.

Anno Dom. DCCIV. '*Ethelred*, the Son of *Penda*, King of the *Mercians*, became a Monk, (at '*Bardeney* Abbey,) having reigned 29 (or rather 30) Years, and *Cenred* 'succeeded him, (who was his Cousin-German.)

William of *Malmesbury* further adds, That from a Monk he came to be Abbot of that Monastery, wherein he died; and that of *Osgilde*, the Sister of *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, he begat a Son, called *Ceolred*; yet for all this, *Ethelred* passing him by, he appointed *Cenred*, the Son of his Brother *Wulfher*, for his Successour; who reigned with great Love to his Country, and a singular Probity of Manners, till, in the Fifth Year *Ibid. c. 20.* of his Reign, he went to *Rome*, and, (as *Bede* tells us) taking upon him the Habit of a Monk, during the Papacy of Pope *Constantine*, there ended his Days in Prayers, Fasting, and Alms.

Anno Dom. DCCV. '*Ealfert*, or *Alfred*, King of the *Northumbers*, deceased on the 19° *Kal.* '*Jan.* at *Driffeild*, (in the 12th Year of his Reign,) *Osred*, his Son, succeeding in that Kingdom.

But *Stephen Heddi*, in his Life of Bishop *Wilfrid*, (and who lived at that time,) hath given us a more accurate Account of the Death of this King, and of his Successours, *viz.* That King *Alfred* lying now sick upon his Death-bed, repented of what he had done toward Bishop *Wilfrid*, and

and promiſed, That if ever he recovered of that Sickneſs, he would reſtore the Biſhop, and in all Things obſerve the Decree of the Apoſtolick See; but if he died, he enjoyn'd, who ever ſhould ſucceed him, to be reconciled with that Biſhop for the good of both their Souls; but this King dying, one *Eardwulf* ſucceeded him, thô but for a ſmall time; and the Biſhop going to him, and carrying that King's Son along with him, he ſent Meſſengers before, ſuppoſing him to be his Friend; but the King being perſwaded by his Councellors, and alſo prompted by his own natural Wickedneſs, ſent the Biſhop word, (binding it with an Oath.) *That unleſs he departed his Kingdom within the ſpace of ſix Days, whoſoever he found of his Company ſhould be put to Death*; Not long after which harſh Meſſage, a Plot being laid againſt him, he was driven out of the Kingdom, which he had ſcarce enjoyed two Months, and ſo the Royal Youth *Oſred*, Son of the late King *Alfred*, ſucceeded in the Kingdom, and became Biſhop *Wilfrid*'s adopted Son. *Anno Dom.* DCCV.

In the firſt Year of which King, the Author above-mentioned hath given us the following Account, concerning the Reſtitution of the ſaid Biſhop, *viz.* That *Berthwald*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, came about this time from the South, together with all the Biſhops, Abbots, and Chief Men of the whole Kingdom, by the Precept of the Apoſtolical See, to hold a Synod at a Place lying on the Eaſt-ſide of the River *Nid*, in *Northumberland*; where the King, with his Biſhops and Chief Men being met, the Arch-Biſhop made a Speech to them, ſetting forth the Letters from the Pope, which Biſhop *Wilfrid* had brought directed to himſelf, and which he deſired might be read; the Purport whereof was to the ſame effect, as you have already heard: Then *Ælfleda* the Abbeſs, Daughter to the late King, as alſo *Berechtfrid*, the ſecond Man in the Kingdom, ſet forth the Will of the late King, and therefore that it was fit to obey it, as well as the Commands of the Apoſtolical See; whereupon the King, with his Great Men and all the Biſhops, upon mature Deliberation, reſolved to be reconciled to Biſhop *Wilfrid*, and that his two Monaſteries of *Rypon* and *Hagulſtad*, together with all their Revenues, ſhould be reſtored to him; and ſo a firm Reconciliation being made, all the Biſhops departed in Peace.

But yet for all this, by what *Richard Prior* of *Hagulſtad* hath left us of this matter, it appears, that *Wilfrid* did not carry the Cauſe ſo clearly as this Author would make it; for he only was reſtored to the Biſhoprick of *Hagulſtad*, and Biſhop *John* above-named was from thence tranſlated to *York*, which Biſhop *Wilfrid* had held before; only Biſhop *John* parted with *Hagulſtad* for Peace-ſake. I have been the more exact in this Tranſaction, becauſe it has never been done by any body in our Language before. *Vid. Decem Script. col.* 296. *Cap.* 11, 12.

Alſo it is to this Year we are to refer the great Council, which *Bede* tells us was held in the Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons*; in which, after the Death of Biſhop *Hedda*, the Biſhoprick of that Province became divided into two; one whereof was conferred on *Daniel*, who held it at the time when *Bede* wrote his Hiſtory; and the other was beſtowed upon *Aldhelm* above-mentioned, then Abbot of *Malmeſbury*, who was now made Biſhop of *Shireburn*, and when he was only an Abbot, did, at the Command of a Synod of the whole Nation, write an excellent Book againſt that Errour of the *Britains*, in not keeping *Eaſter* at the due time; whereby he converted many of thoſe *Britains* which were then ſubject to the *Weſt Saxons*, to the Catholick Obſervation thereof: Of *Lib.* 5. *c.* 19

whoſe

Anno Dom. DCCV. whoſe other Works likewiſe, *Bede* gives us there a Catalogue; being a Perſon (ſays he) admirable in all Civil, as well as Eccleſiaſtical and Divine Learning; and, as *William* of *Malmesbury* further informs us, was the firſt of the *Engliſh Saxons* who wrote *Latin* Verſes with a *Roman* Genius.

There is here in the *Saxon* Annals a Gap for the ſpace of 3 Years, in which I think we may (according to *H. Huntington*'s Account) place what *Bede* relates in the Chapter and Book laſt cited, *viz.* That *Daniel* and *Aldhelm* yet holding their Sees, it was ordained by a Synodal Decree, That the Province of the *South Saxons*, which had hitherto belonged to the Dioceſs of *Wincheſter*, ſhould now be an Epiſcopal See, and have a Biſhop of its own; and ſo *Ceadbert*, who was then Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Selſey*, was conſecrated firſt Biſhop of that Place; who dying, *Ceolla* ſucceeded in that Biſhoprick; but he likewiſe dying ſome Years before *Bede* wrote his Hiſtory, that Biſhoprick then ceaſed.

Anno Dom. DCCIX. 'This Year the *Saxon* Annals began with the Death of Biſhop *Aldhelm*, '(whom it calls Biſhop of *Weſtwude*, for ſo *Shireburne* was then called,) 'after whom one *Forther* took the Biſhoprick, and this year *Ceolred* ſuc-'ceeded in the Kingdom of the *Mercians*; for now *Kenred* (King of the '*Weſt Saxons*) went to *Rome*, and *Offa*, with him and *Kenred*, remained 'there to his Live's end; and the ſame year Biſhop *Wilferth* (or *Wilfred*) 'deceaſed at *Undale*; his Body was brought to *Rypon* in *Yorkſhire*. This is the Biſhop whom King *Egferth* long ſince forced to go to *Rome*.

There being divers Things put very cloſe together under this Year, they will need ſome Explanation. This *Offa*, here mentioned, was (as * *Bede* and *William* of *Malmesbury* relate) the Son of *Sigher*, King of the *Eaſt Saxons*; who, being a young Man of a ſweet Behaviour, as well as handſom Face, in the Flower of his Youth, and highly beloved by his People, and having not long before ſucceeded to the Kingdom, (after *Sighard* and *Senfrid* above-mentioned,) he courted *Keneſwith*, the Daughter of King *Penda*, whom he deſired to marry; but it ſeems, not long after their Marriage, ſhe over-perſwaded him to embrace a Monaſtick Life, ſo that he now went to *Rome* for that End. And *Bede* tells us expreſly, that both theſe Kings left their Wives, Relations, and Countries, for Chriſt's ſake. But to this *Offa* ſucceeded *Selred*, the Son of *Sigebert* the Good, in the Kingdom of the *Eaſt Saxons*. *H. Huntington* propoſes King *Offa* as a Pattern to all other Princes to follow, and makes a long Exhortation to them to that purpoſe; as if a King could not do GOD better Service, nor more Good to Mankind by well-governing his People, than by renouncing the World, and hiding his Head in a Cell: But ſuch was the Faſhion, or rather Humour, of that Age; and the Affairs, as well as Conſciences of Princes, being then altogether Govern'd by Monks, it is no wonder if they extoll'd their own Profeſſion, as the only One wherein Salvation could certainly be obtained.

* *Lib.* 5. *c.* 20

But ſince I have already given you from *Bede* and *Stephen Heddi* a large Account of Biſhop *Wilfred*'s Life and Actions above-mentioned, I ſhall not need to add any more to it. He was certainly a Man who had tried all the Viciſſitudes of an adverſe, as well as a proſperous Fortune, having been no leſs than three times deprived of his Biſhoprick; the firſt time unjuſtly, but whether we may ſay the ſame of both the other, ſeems doubtful; for let his Friends ſay what they will, it is evident, he was at firſt deprived for oppoſing a very good Deſign, *viz.* That of dividing the

the *Northumbrian* Kingdom into more Dioceſſes, and he having the rich Monaſtery of *Hagulſtad* under his Charge, would not permit it to be made a Biſhoprick, thô the Dioceſs was more than he could well manage; and this ſeems to have been the true Original of that great Quarrel between him and the two Kings *Egfrid* and *Alfred*, as you have already heard; ſo it ſhould ſeem, the Wrong pretended to have been done him was none at all, or elſe ſuch holy Men as St. *Cuthbert*, St. *John* of *Beverlie*, and *Eatta*, are deſcribed to be, would never have accepted of the Biſhopricks of *York* and *Hagulſtad* during the time of his Deprivation; and it is very ſtrange, that two Arch-Biſhops ſucceſſively, with the greater part of the Biſhops of *England*, ſhould have agreed to his Deprivation, if there had not been great Cauſe for it; nor would ſo holy and knowing a Woman as the Abbeſs *Hilda*, have been ſo much againſt him, had not there been ſome ſubſtantial Reaſon to juſtifie it; but he had the Pope on his ſide, who always encouraged Appeals to *Rome*, and then it was no wonder if he prevailed; but he was certainly a Prelate of a high Spirit, and great Parts, and who building a great many Monaſteries by the Benevolence of the Kings and Princes of that Time; and himſelf, (thô a Biſhop,) being Abbot of two of them at once; it was no wonder if he grew very rich, which, together with his high way of Living, (being the firſt Biſhop of that Age who uſed Silver Veſſels,) it procured him the Envy of thoſe Princes; but he was a grand Patron of the Monks, and therefore it is not to be wondred at if they cried him up for a Saint, of whom the Writer of his Life, (which he Dedicates to *Acca* his Succeſſour,) relates too many Miracles to be believed, (raiſing the Dead, curing the Lame, being very ordinary Feats,) but the Monks being the only Writers of that Age, we muſt be contented with what Accounts they will give us, thô thus much muſt be acknowledged in his Commendation, That he converted great Multitudes to the Chriſtian Faith, and cauſed the Four Goſpels to be written in Letters of Gold. *Anno Dom.* DCCIX.

But having given you this Account of Biſhop *Wilfred*'s Life, it is fit I ſay ſomewhat further of his Death, concerning which, the Author above-mentioned tells us, That having lived 4 Years in Peace after his laſt Reſtitution, he at laſt went to viſit the Monaſteries which he had founded in the South Parts of *England*, where he was received by his Abbots (whom he had put in) with great Joy; till coming to a Monaſtery which he had founded at *Oundale* in *Northamptonſhire*, being there ſeized with the ſame Sickneſs which had often attacked him before, (thô what it was, this Author does not tell us,) he there died, having before made his Will, and given a great deal, both in ready Money and Jewels, to the Monaſteries he had founded: His Body was carried with great Pomp and Attendance of many Abbots and Monks to his Abbey of *Rypon*, and there buried. *Cap.* 62, 63.

'This Year *Acca* (the principal Chaplain of Biſhop *Wilfred*) ſucceeded 'him in his Biſhoprick of *Hagulſtad*; (To this Biſhop, *Florence* of *Worceſter* gives the Character of a skilful Singer, and Learned in the Scriptures:) 'Alſo this Year *Beorhfrith* the *Ealderman* fought againſt the *Picts* be'tween *Hæfe* and *Cære*, (ſuppoſed to be *Carehouſe* and *Hatfeild* in *Nor*'*thumberland*,) and alſo King *Ina*, and *Nun* his Kinſman, fought with 'Gerent King of the *Britains*; and the ſame Year *Hygbald* was ſlain. *Anno Dom.* DCCX.

Mat. Weſtminſter places this Action in *Anno* 708, and makes this *Hygbald* to have been killed in the beginning of the Fight by the *Welſh* King above-

Anno Dom. DCCXII. above mentioned; and He being there put to flight, left great ſpoils behind him to the *Engliſh*; who (as *Florence* adds,) obtained the Victory.

This *Britiſh* Prince here mentioned, is ſuppoſed to have been King of *Cornwall*; for we can find no ſuch name in the Catalogue of the Princes of *North*, or *South-Wales*.

Lib. 5. c. 22. About this time, according to *Bede*, *Naitan* King of the *Picts* being convinced by the frequent reading of divers Eccleſiaſtical Writers, renounced his Error, concerning the Celebration of *Eaſter*; and that he might likewiſe reclaim his Subjects with greater Authority, he deſired the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* Nation, and therefore ſent Meſſengers to *Ceolfrid*, Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Wyremouth*, deſiring ſome Exhortatory Letters from him, whereby he might confute thoſe who preſumed not to keep *Eaſter* at the due time; as alſo concerning the true manner of ſhaving of Prieſt's Crowns; he likewiſe deſired ſome Architects, that might build a Church for him after the *Roman* faſhion, which he promiſed to Dedicate in honour of St. *Peter*.

To which Pious requeſts *Ceolfrid* aſſenting, did not only ſend him the Architect he deſired, but alſo writ him a long Epiſtle upon thoſe two Queſtions in which he deſired to be ſatisfied, which you may ſee at large in *Bede*; where, beſides many notable Arguments for keeping *Eaſter* on the firſt *Sunday* after the firſt Full Moon that follows the Vernal Equinox, and beſides ſome others, there is this doughty Reaſon againſt the *Scotch* way of ſhaving Crowns, that it was the Tonſure of *Simon Magus*; and then what good Chriſtian could not but abhor it as much as Magick it ſelf!

" This Year *Guthlac* dyed, as alſo *Pipin* King of *France*; this *Guthlac* here mentioned, was at firſt a Monk at *Repandun* Abbey, but afterwards profeſſing himſelf an *Anchorite*, he retired into the Fens, and built himſelf a Cell, at *Croyland*: of him the Monkiſh Writers of thoſe times relate incredible Miracles, of his Temptations, Sufferings by, and Victories over, Evil Spirits, which then haunted that place, at which ſome Years after the Abbey of *Croyland* was founded.

The ſame Year alſo *Egwin*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, founded the Abbey of *Eveſham* upon this occaſion; the *Virgin Mary* (as the Monks relate) had appeared about this place to one *Eoves* a Shepheard, and not long after to the Biſhop himſelf, having a Book in her hand, bringing two Female Attendants with her, (though who they were it ſeems ſhe did not declare;) whereupon the Biſhop there founded this Monaſtery, teſtifying this Viſion in the Charter of the Foundation, which you may ſee at large in *Monaſt. Anglic.* as alſo in Sir *H. Spelman*'s firſt Volume of Councils; but as for the Story related by the *Magdeburg Centuriators*, that the *Virgin Mary* did then Command her Image to be ſet up, and worſhiped in that Church, there being no colour for it in the pretended Charter of the Biſhop himſelf, that muſt be certainly forged; for as Sir *H. Spelman* has very well obſerved, Arch-Biſhop *Brightwald* is ſaid to have writ this Charter by the command of the Pope; whereas this Arch-Biſhop was never at *Rome*, nor was the Council in which it is ſaid to have been confirmed, held, till after Biſhop *Egwin*'s Return home into *England*; and as for the Kings, *Kenred*, and *Offa*, who are made to witneſs and confirm it, they had both of them reſigned their Crowns, and gone to *Rome* Five Years before the date of this Charter, which is *Anno Dom.* 714; therefore I ſhall paſs it by as a mere Fable, ſince it is certain that the wor-

ſhip

ſhip of Images was not then, nor long after introduced into the *Engliſh-Saxon* Church. *Anno Dom.* DCCXII.

But before I diſmiſs this Subject concerning the foundation of the Abby of *Eveſham*, I cannot forbear taking notice of another Charter pretended to be made *Anno Dom.* 709; by King *Kenred*, and King *Offa* above mentioned, wherein they grant thoſe Lands, in which the *Virgin Mary* was ſuppoſed to appear to Biſhop *Egwin*, for the building of a Monaſtery according to the Rule of St. *Benedict*; in which Charter, thô the Lands are particularly named and ſet out, yet it is as juſtly ſuſpicious as the other, to have been forged by the Monks of that Abby in after times; as Sir *H. Spelman* very well obſerves, who hath Printed both theſe Charters in his firſt Volume of Councils; the former of which is dated at *Rome*, Five Years before the other of Biſhop *Egwin's*, and is ſuppoſed to be ſubſcribed by the Pope, this Biſhop himſelf, and the two Kings; who there ſtile themſelves, the former by the Title of King of *Mercia*, and the latter by that of King of the *Eaſt-Angles*; whereas it is apparent both from our Annals and Hiſtorians, that they had both then reſigned their Kingdoms to their Succeſſours, before they went to *Rome*; and, which is worſe, *Offa* was not King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, but of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, as *Bede* expreſly relates; nor can the fault be laid upon the Tranſcribers, ſince the Error is in the Original Charter it ſelf; neither do we read of any King of the *Eaſt-Angles* all that time, till King *Offa*, upon the Murther of King *Ethelbert*, ſeized that Kingdom; but enough, if not too much, of theſe Monkiſh Forgeries: we ſhall now return to our Annals. *Page 210.*

" King *Ina* and *Ceolred* fought at *Wodensburh* in *Wiltſhire* a great and " bloody Battle; and now alſo *Dagobert* King of the *French* deceaſed. *Anno Dom.* DCCXV.

This Year was founded at *Theoewkesbury* in *Gloceſter-ſhire*, a noble Monaſtery, for *Bendictine* Monks, by *Odo* and *Dodo*, Ealdermen of *Mercia*. *Anno Dom.* DCCXVI.

" The ſame Year *Oſred* King of *Northumberland* was killed near the " Southern borders; *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates it was in a Fight near the " Sea, but names not the Enemy with whom he fought. This *Oſred* held " the Kingdom Eleven Years, then *Cenred* took it, and held it Two " Years, and after him *Oſric*, who held it Eleven Years. The ſame Year " alſo *Ceolred*, King of the *Mercians* Dyed, and lyeth Buried in *Licetfield* " (now *Lichfield*): Then *Ethelbald* ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of " *Mercia*, and held it Forty One Years. Vi. *Monaſt. Angl. P.* 159.

Of this King *Oſred* above mentioned, *Will.* of *Malmeſbury* gives a very bad Character, that he ſtained his Reign by Debauching the Chaſtity of the *Profeſs'd Nuns*, and that he was at laſt Slain by the Treachery of his Relations, who alſo brought the ſame fate upon themſelves.

But this King *Ethelbald* above mentioned, was the Son of *Alwer*, and he of *Eoppa*, (whoſe pedegree is already ſet down.) Alſo this Year *Egbert*, that venerable perſon, converted the Monks of *Hii* to the right Faith, ſo that they afterwards obſerved *Eaſter* Orthodoxly, as alſo the Eccleſiaſtical Tonſure, the relation of which, *Bede* hath given us at large; being in ſhort, that *Egbert* the Prieſt (above mentioned) coming out of *Ireland* on purpoſe to convert thoſe Monks, they were ſo moved by his Pious Exhortations, that leaving the Traditions of their Fore-fathers, they afterwards obſerved the Catholic (i. e. *Roman*) Rites; *Egbert*, after he had lived with theſe Monks in this Iſland for Thirteen Years, dyed there.

Anno Dom. DCCXVII. " This Year *Ingild* the Brother of King *Ina* deceaſed, whoſe Siſters " were *Werburgh*, and *Cuthburgh*; the latter of whom Built the Mona- " ſtery of *Winburne*: She was once Married to *Eadbert*, King of *Nor-* " *thumberland*, but whil'ſt he lived, they were made to renounce each " other's Bed.

In this Year alſo (as *Ingulphus* in his Hiſtory of the Monaſtery of *Croy-land* relates) that Abby was founded by *Ethelbald*, King of the *Mercians*, in honour of St. *Guthlac*, the *Anchorite*, then lately deceaſed, it was for *Benedictines*: You may ſee this King's Charter in the aforeſaid Authour, whereby he granted to this Monaſtery, the whole Iſle of *Croyland*, then containing Four Leagues in length, and Three in breadth, with all the Marſhes adjoyning, there particularly mentioned.

Anno Dom. DCCXX. About this time, according to the *Welſh* Chronicle, *Roderic* (or *Rodri*) the Son of *Edwal Ywrich*, began to Reign over the *Britains* in *Wales*.

Anno Dom. DCCXXI. " This Year *Daniel* Biſhop (of *Wincheſter*) went to *Rome*; and the " ſame Year *Ina* ſlew *Cinewoulf Athcling*, (that is, Prince of the Blood " Royal;) and the ſame Year St. *John*, Biſhop of *Hagulſtad*, deceaſed, " who was Biſhop Thirty Three Years and Eight Months, whoſe Body " was buried at *Beverlie*.

This was he, who being firſt Biſhop of *Hagulſtad*, and then of *York*, was after his Death Canoniſed by the Name of St. *John* of *Beverlie*; to whoſe ſhrine many Pilgrimages were made, and of whom the Monkiſh Legends relate many incredible Miracles, nor is *Bede* himſelf wanting in his Stories of this Biſhop, which notwithſtanding, I think, are better omitted: But *Bede* under this Year gives us this account of him, that when he was not able, by reaſon of his Age, to perform his Epiſcopal Functions, having ordained *Wilfred* his Presbyter, Biſhop of *York* in his room, he retired to his Monaſtery in the Forreſt of *Deira*, where he finiſhed his Life in a Heavenly Converſation.

Anno Dom. DCCXXII. " This Year Queen *Ethelburg* deſtroyed the Caſtle of *Taunton* (now " *Taunton-Dean* in *Somerſetſhire*) which *Ina* had before built, and *Eadbert* " was forced to flye into *Surry*, to the *South-Saxons*, where *Ina* alſo fought " with them. *H. Huntington* tells us, That the reaſon why Queen *Ethel-burgh* deſtroyed this Caſtle, was, becauſe *Eadbert*, a Rebellious Prince of the Blood Royal, had taken it; and made it the ſeat of this Rebellious War.

Anno Dom. DCCXXV. It being now (according to *Bede*) the Seventh Year of the Reign of *Oſric* King of *Northumberland*, King *Wythred* dyed, who was Son of *Egbert* King of *Kent*, after having reigned Thirty Four Years and an half; He left Three Sons, *Ethelbert*, *Eadbert*, and *Alaric* his Heirs: *Will. Mal-mesbury* gives him this Character, that he was gentle at home, invincible in War, and who ſtrictly obſerved the Chriſtian Religion; but according to our Annals, *Eadbert* his Son ſucceeded alone to him in the Kingdom: This Year alſo (according to our Annals) " *Ina* fought a- " gain with the *South-Saxons*, and there ſlew *Eadbert Ætheling*, whom he " had before baniſhed.

H. Huntington farther informs us, That King *Ina* purſued *Eadbert* into *Southſex*; and a nameleſs Authour adds, That he then ſlew *Aldwin*, King of the *South-Saxons*, (who took his part) and Conquered that Coun-trey.

Alſo the ſame Year, King *Ina* new built the Ancient Monaſtery of *Glaſtenbury*, endowing it with divers Lands, and alſo granted it an Ex-emption

emption from all Episcopal Jurisdiction; with divers other priviledges, as you may find in his Charter, confirmed by a great Council of the whole *West-Saxon* Kingdom; the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, with divers other Bishops and Great Men being present, and subscribing to it in the presence of all the Lay-people. *Anno Dom.* DCCXXV.

This Charter is in the Manuscript, in the Library of *Trinity* Coll. in *Cambridge*; and is also Printed by Sir *H. Spelman* in his First Volume of *British* Councils: It was also sent to *Rome*, and there confirmed by the *Pope*, as the Book of *Glastenbury* relates.

About this time (as *Ranulph* of *Chichester* in *Polychronithon* relates) that *Ina*, King of the *West-Saxons*, first confered upon St. *Peter* (that is the Bishop of *Rome*) a Penny from every House in his Kingdom, which was called by the *English-Saxons Romescot*; and in Latin *Donarius Sancti Petri*, i. e. *Peterpence*;) which is also allowed by *Polydore Virgil* in his History (who was once the Pope's Collector of this Tax in *England*;) but since I do not find this confirmed by any Ancient Authour or Council, I suspend my belief of it; since I do not look upon the bare Testimony of the Collector of *Polychronicon*, as of sufficient Authority for a matter of this Moment; but if it were ever granted by this King, it is likewise as certain, that it could not be done without the consent of the *Mycel-Synod*, or great Council of the Kingdom, though that be not now to be found.

This Year, according to *Bede*, and the *Saxon* Annals, deceased *Tobias*, Bishop of *Rochester*; a most learned Man, for he was bred under the discipline of Arch-Bishop *Theodorus* and Abbot *Adrian*, and was so well skill'd in the *Greek* and *Latin*, that they were as perfect and familiar to him as his Mother Tongue; he was buried at *Rochester* in St. *Paul*'s Porch adjoining to the Church of St. *Andrew*, after whom *Aldwulf* was made Bishop of that See, Arch-Bishop *Bertwald* consecrating him. *Anno Dom.* DCCXXVII. *Lib.* 5. *c.* 24.

" King *Ina* went to *Rome*, and there dyed; and *Ethelheard* his Kins- " man succeeded him in the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, and held it " Fourteen Years. *Anno Dom.* DCCXXVIII.

William of *Malmesbury*, and *H. Huntington* do both give King *Ina* great Commendations, proposing him as an Example not only of Magnanimity and Justice, by the good Laws he made, but also of Piety and Devotion; in that he was perswaded to quit all Worldly Vanities for a Monastick Life, and that by the frequent Exhortations of the Queen his Wife; who, when she saw nothing would prevail upon him, took this course; which, (thô none of the cleanliest,) I will here give you: Once when the King had made a great Entertainment at one of his Country-houses, as soon as the Company was gone, the Queen ordered the Steward to defile all the Rooms with Cow-dung and other filth, and also put a Sow and Pigs into the Bed, where they had lain the Night before; but when the King and Queen had gone some part of their Journey, she perswaded him to return back again to the same place, otherwise he would run a great hazard; which being done, when the King saw the place, which was yesterday fit to entertain a Prince, now thus spoiled, being much troubled at it, he went to the Queen, and complain'd to her of it; at which she laughing replied; " *My Lord and Husband*, See what is become of all " that Feasting and Magnificence we saw Yesterday, Are they not all " gone and past, like Water that runs into the Sea? so of all those Vanities " there remains nothing, but this Dung and Filth, that only serves to repre- " sent the Corruption of the Soul by such Excesses; think then Sir,

Anno Dom. DCCXXVIII. " how ſoon that Fleſh will rot that is now pamper'd, by Luxury; and " the greater and more powerful we are, the greater will our Torments " be hereafter. She needed to ſay no more, for ſhe had now brought over her Husband to her Sentiments, which ſhe had for ſome Years before conſtantly inſtill'd, thô hitherto in vain; thus after ſo many warlike Triumphs, being at the higheſt pitch of Humane Felicity, he went to *Rome*, where he ſhewed not the leaſt Pride in his Converſation, but without expoſing himſelf to publick view; being there ſhorn a Monk, grew old in that mean Habit; nor was his Wife, who had been the Authour of this Reſolution, wanting in following the ſame Example, accompanying him thither her ſelf, comforting him, and confirming him in that Courſe he had undertaken by her own Example; ſo not living far from each other in Mutual Love, they at laſt departed this Life, not without doing divers Miracles, if our Author may be credited.

But before we diſmiſs the Hiſtory of this King, it is fit we ſhould take notice of a notorious falſhood inſerted by ſome Ignorant trifling Monk, among the Laws of King * *Edward* the *Confeſſour*, concerning " this King *Ina*'s Marrying *Guala*, the Daughter of *Cadwallader*, King " of the *Britains*; from which Daughter we are there told, that Coun- " try was called *Wallia*, which in Ancienter times had the name of *Cam-* " *bria*, and that all the *Engliſh* who lived at that time, took their Wives " from the *Britiſh* Stock, as they did alſo from the *Engliſh*; and that " this was done by the Advice of a Common Council of the Kingdom, " and that in this manner they were made one Nation, and one People, " by God's mercy; throughout the whole Kingdom of *Britain*; which hath given occaſion to ſome fabulous Hiſtorians to make this *Ina* King of *Wales*, as well as *England*, though without any ground. Since none of the Ancient *Britiſh*, or *Engliſh* Chronicles, do ever mention any ſuch thing: For during the Reign of this *Ina*, *Ivour* the Son of *Alan*, Duke of *Britain*, is Recorded by the *Welſh* Chronicles to have Reigned in *Wales*; but the likeneſs of theſe two Names, I ſuppoſe gave the firſt occaſion to this Fable.

*Vid. *Lambert's Arch.* cap. 17.

The ſame Year that *Ina* went to *Rome*, the *Saxon* Annals relate, " That " King *Ethelhard* (his Succeſſour) fought with *Oſwald*, *Ætheling*, which " *Oſwald* was the Son of *Æthelbald*; and he the Son of *Cynebald*, Grand- " ſon to King *Ceawlin*; who as *H. Huntington*, and *Will.* of *Malmesbury* tell us, Being a Young Prince of the Blood Royal and raiſing a Rebellion againſt him in the beginning of his Reign, endeavoured to obtain the Kingdom for himſelf; but being worſted was forced to Flee.

Anno Dom. DCCXXIX. This Year appeared a Comet, and that Holy Man *Ecgbert* dyed at *Hye*.

This *Ecgbert*, was the perſon above mentioned, who brought over the Monks of that Monaſtery, to keep *Eaſter* after the *Roman* manner.

Anno Dom. DCCXXX. " This Year *Oſwald Ætheling*, dyed, (as it is ſuppoſed in Baniſh- ment.)

Anno Dom. DCCXXXI. " This Year *Oſric* King of *Northumberland* was ſlain, and *Ceolwulf* ſuc- " ceeded him, and held it Eight Years; who was the Son of *Cutha*, and " he the Son of *Cuthwin*: where follows his Pedigree as far as *Eoppa*.

This Year (*Bede* alſo tells us,) *Bertwald* the Arch-Biſhop Deceaſed; being worn out with Age, and Infirmities, having held that See Thirty Seven Years and Six Months; in whoſe room *Tatwin* was made Arch-Biſhop,

Biſhop, who had been a Prieſt in the Monaſtery of *Berodune*, in the Kingdom of the *Mercians*: he was conſecrated at *Canterbury* by *Daniel*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. *Inguald* Biſhop of *London*, *Aldwin*, Biſhop of *Leichfield*, and *Aldulf* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; he was a Man famous for Religion and Prudence, and very well skill'd in the Scriptures: he ſate Arch-Biſhop till *Bede*'s Death, and lived but Three Years after; here alſo follow in *Bede*, the Names of the reſt of the Biſhops, that were his Contemporaries, which is unneceſſary here to be inſerted. *Anno Dom.* DCCXXXI.

But as for the ſtate of Civil Affairs, when *Bede* finiſhed his Hiſtory, he gives us this brief Account, *viz.* " That *Ceolwulf* (who was then " King of *Northumberland*,) had been in the beginning of his Reign per- " plexed with great Troubles, the end of which *Bede* could not then " foreſee; the Nation of the *Picts* at this time kept their league, with " the *Engliſh* Nation, and rejoyced to be partakers of the Catholick " Peace and Truth with the Univerſal Church: This he ſpeaks becauſe *Natan* King of the *Picts*, had been but a little before brought over to imbrace the *Romiſh* obſervation of *Eaſter*, and to their manner of ſhaving Prieſt's Crowns.

" Alſo the *Scots*, who Inhabit *Britain*, being kept in within their own " limits, did practiſe no Treachery againſt the *Engliſh* Nation; as to " the *Britains*, thô the greateſt part, from a natural hatred to the *Engliſh* " Nation, did oppoſe the Catholick obſervation of *Eaſter*, yet the Di- " vine Power, as well as Human Force, being againſt them, they could " not obtain their deſires; for though they were partly at their own " diſpoſal, yet were they in great meaſure ſubject to the *Engliſh*; in " this Peaceable and quiet time, the moſt part of the *Northumbrian* " Nation, as well Nobles as Private Perſons, choſe rather to make " themſelves and their Children Monks, than to Educate them in a Mili- " tary Life; which (ſays he) What end it will have, the next Age will " ſhew.

And ſo indeed it did, not long after *Bede*'s Death, for when the beſt Men thus retired into Monaſteries, none but the worſer, or meaner ſort being left, they ſoon fell into horrid Rebellions and Civil Wars; one King driving out, and Murdering another, leaving the People an eaſie Prey to the *Danes*, who in the next Generation Invaded them: This (as *Bede* relates) was the Preſent State of *Britain*, in his Time, about 285 Years after the Arrival of the *Engliſh Saxons*.

We being now bereft of the aſſiſtance of ſo good an Authour, muſt for the future wholly rely upon the *Saxon* Annals, together with the other Monkiſh Writers; thô indeed for near the ſpace of above Thirty Years laſt paſt, *Bede* growing more intent upon Eccleſiaſtical than Civil Affairs, (being all moſt wholly taken up with the reciteing of Viſions and Miracles,) and mentioning other things only by the bye, hath given us ſo ſlender an account of thoſe times, that if we had not found ſome aſſiſtance from the *Saxon* Annals, (as well as from other Writers,) the Hiſtory of that Age, though very ſhort and obſcure, would yet have been much more imperfect without them.

But to proceed now with our *Saxon* Annals.

' This Year K. *Ethelbald* took *Sumerton*; and *Acca* was driven from ' his Biſhoprick of *Hagulſtad*, (I ſuppoſe by the then King of *Northumberland*, though no Author expreſly mentions it.) *Will.* of *Malmeſbury* tells us, that this *Ethelbald* was that great and powerful King of the *Mercians*

to

Anno Dom. DCCXXXIII. to whom *Boniface*, Bishop of *Mentz*, (being then the Pope's Legat,) writ a sharp Letter, setting forth, and reproving, the then reigning Vices of this Nation, and particularly of that King himself; who, relying on the vain Confidence of his Justice and Alms, was not ashamed (no more than the Noblemen of his Kingdom, by his Example,) to commit Uncleanness even with Consecrated Nuns, which wicked Actions the Bishop foretells would be the ruin of himself and Kingdom, as it proved in the end.

But King *Ethelbald*, after he had thus taken *Somerton*, with an Army too powerful to be resisted by the K. of the *West Saxons*, became so great, that (as *H. Huntington* observes,) he made all the rest of the Provinces of *England*, together with their Kings, subject to him, as far as the River *Humber*: This *Somerton* was anciently a great Town and Castle of the *West-Saxon* Kings, and gave Name to that County, which we now call *Somersetshire*, though at present it be but an ordinary Country Village. Also this Year the Sun was so much eclipsed, that (as the Epitome of *Bede* and *Ethelward* relate,) on 13° *Kal. Sept.* its whole Orb seem'd as it were covered with a black Sheild.

Anno Dom. DCCXXXIV. This Year also the Moon appear'd as it were stain'd with Blood, and *Simeon* of *Durham* saith it lasted one whole hour, and then a Blackness following, it return'd to its natural Colour. 'Also *Tatwin* the Archbishop deceased; 'and *Egbryht* was made Bishop of *York*: Now *Bede* also died.

But the Author of his Life (in Manuscript in the *Cottonian* Library) refers it to the Year following; and the Chronicle of *Mailros*, with greater Truth, to the Year 736; for he was (as his Life above-cited relates,) born *Anno* 677, and deceased in the 59th Year of his Age.

But since *Bede* our Historian deceased about this time; and that it is to him we are beholding for the greatest part of the History of this present Period, it is fit we give you a short account of his Life; He was born in the Province of *Northumberland*, not far from the Monastery of *Gyrwie* (the place is now called *Tarrow*,) near the Mouth of the River *Were*, where he was bred up from seven Years of Age, and in which, being profess'd, he lived a Monk all the rest of his Life, spending his time in the Study of the Scriptures, saying his Prayers, or Writing Comments upon the Old and New Testaments, as also his Ecclesiastical History, (so often cited by us,) besides divers other Books, containing the Lives of Saints, and other Matters, of Humane, as well as Divine Learning; whose Titles you may find at the end of his said History: 'Till at last, being wasted by a long Asthma, he there made an Heavenly End, as may be seen in his Life above-mentioned: So that *Simeon* of *Durham* very well observes, that though he lay, as it were, hid in the utmost Corner of the World, yet, after his Death, he became known in all Parts by his Learned Writings; therefore he hath, for his great Piety, as well as Learning, justly obtained the Title of *Venerable Bede*: After whose decease, (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* rightly observes,) all knowledge of Actions passed was almost lost even to his own Times, since none proved an Emulator of his Studies, nor a Follower of his Learning; so that to a slothful Generation, one more slothful still succeeding, the Love of Learning for a long time grew cold in this whole Island.

Anno Dom. DCCXXXV. 'This Year Bishop *Egbriht* received the Pall from *Rome*; but you must here observe, that by the Pope's thus sending a Pall to the Bishop of *York*, he now became an Archbishop, and consequently Metropolitan of all the

Northumbrian

Northumbrian Provinces, that See having been, ever ſince the Time of *Paulinus*'s Flight out of *Northumberland* into *Kent*, and carrying the Archiepiſcopal Pall along with him, no more than an ordinary Biſhoprick, ſubject to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, from whoſe Power it was from this time exempted, and came now to have Supreme Juriſdiction over all the Biſhops in *Deira* and *Bernicia*, as far as the *Pictiſh* Kingdom. *Anno Dom.* DCCXXXV.

'The Arch-biſhop *Nothelm* received his Pall from *Rome*:] This was the new Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſucceeded *Tatwine*. *Anno Dom.* DCCXXXVI.

You may take notice, that it was in thoſe Times uſual for the Pope to ſend a Pall to every new Archbiſhop upon his Conſecration, to ſhew his Dependance upon the See of *Rome*, and for which every Archbiſhop paid a great Sum of Money to the Pope's Treaſury.

This *Nothelm*, when he was a Presbyter of the Church of *London*, was he, to whom *Bede*, in the Epiſtle before his Hiſtory, owns himſelf beholding for divers ancient Monuments relating to the *Engliſh* Church, as alſo Epiſtles out of the Pope's Repoſitory.

'This Year *Forthere* Biſhop of *Scireburn*, with *Frithogithe* Queen of the '*Weſt-Saxons*, went to *Rome*. *Anno Dom.* DCCXXXVII.

Where (as *H. Huntington* tells us,) they both took upon them the Monaſtick Habit; which, in thoſe days, very many of the *Engliſh* Nation, of all Degrees and Qualities, as well high as low, were wont to do. For now alſo (as our Annals relate,) 'Ceolwulf, King of *Northumberland*, 'ſurrendred his Kingdom to *Eadbert* his Couſin, who reigned ~~Thirty~~ one 20 'Years: (This *Ceolwulf* was he to whom *Bede* dedicated his Hiſtory; who, after his profeſſing himſelf a Monk in the Monaſtery of *Lindisfarne*, (as *R. Hoveden* relates) brought the Monks of that place from the ſtrict diſcipline of drinking only Milk or Water, to drink Wine, and Ale, and they might very well afford it, for he brought along with him good proviſions to live eaſily, as great Treaſures and Revenues in Land (recited at large by *Simeon* of *Durham*) all which he beſtowed on that Monaſtery; no wonder then if ſuch great Commendations be given by Monkiſh Writers to Kings becoming Monks.

The ſame Year alſo, (as *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Mat.* of *Weſtminſter* relates) *Alwin* Biſhop of *Lichfield* dying, there were two Biſhops ordained in that Dioceſs, *viz. Wicca* at *Lichfield*, and *Tocca*, the firſt Biſhop (*Leiher* of ~~*Leycester*~~, which Town from this time continued a Biſhop's See, for divers Ages: Alſo this Year (according to the *Saxon* Annals) 'the Bi-'ſhops *Ethelwald*, and *Acca* deceaſed, and *Cynwulf* was conſecrated Bi-'ſhop; and the ſame Year *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians* waſted the 'Contry of *Northumberland*. (And as *H. Huntington* adds,) carried away as much Spoil as he had a mind to from thence: Alſo (as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates) *Swebriht* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons* died this Year.

'*Eadbriht* (or *Egbert*) the Son of *Eatta*, who was the Son of *Leodwald* 'began to Reign in the Kingdom of the *Northumbers*, and held it One and Twenty Years; *Egbert* Arch-Biſhop of *York* was his Brother, who were both buried in the City of *York*, in the ſame Church-Porch. *Anno Dom.* DCCXXXIX.

But it there is an over-ſight in theſe Annals, for this *Eadbriht* above mentioned, muſt be the ſame with *Eadbriht*, under the former Year.

This Year alſo, (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) *Swebright* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons* died.

Ceolwulf

Anno Dom. DCCXXXIX. *Ceolwulf*, late King of *Northumberland*, died this Year (according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*) in the Monaſtery of *Lindisfarne*: Alſo (as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates) *Nothelm*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, deceaſed; but the *Saxon* Annals defer his Death two Years longer.

Anno Dom. DCCXL. This Year *Acca*, Biſhop of *Hagulſtad*, deceaſed, who, as the ſame Author relates, was had in great Reverence, not only during his Life, but alſo after his Deceaſe, for his great Sanctity and ſuppoſed Miracles.

Anno Dom. DCCXLI. 'King *Ethelred* deceaſed, and *Cuthred* his Couſin ſucceeded in the King-'dom of the *Weſt Saxons*, and held it 16 Years.] This King made ſharp War againſt *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, and that with various Succeſs, (as *H. Huntington* tells us,) ſometimes making Peace, and then again renewing the War.

'This Year alſo *Nothelm* the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* deceaſed, and '*Cuthbriht* was Conſecrated in his ſtead, as was alſo *Dun* Biſhop of '*Rocheſter*, (after the Death of *Eadulph.*) 'This Year alſo the City of '*York* was burnt, together with the Monaſtery, (as *Simeon* has it.)

Anno Dom. DCCXLII. Now was held the great Synod at *Cloveſhoe*, where were preſent *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, and *Cuthbert* the Arch-Biſhop, with many other wiſe Men.

Where this *Cloveſhoe* was, is now very uncertain, ſince the Name is wholly loſt; ſome ſuppoſe it to have been *Cliffe* in *Kent*, near *Graveſend*; but it is not likely that *Ethelbald*, being now the chief King of *England*, would permit this Council to have been held out of his own Dominions; ſo that *others ſuppoſe it to have been *Abingdon* in *Berkſhire*, which was anciently called *Secveſham*, where (as the old Book of that Abbey tells us) was anciently a Royal Seat of the Kings, and where there uſed to be great Aſſemblies of the People concerning the arduous Affairs of the *Mercian* Kingdom.

* *Vid. Nominum, & Locorum explan. ad fin. Chron. Saxon. nuper Edit. per Edm. Gibſon.*

But thô we are more certain of the Decrees of this Council, than of the Place, where it was held; yet ſince it was a meer Eccleſiaſtical Synod, and no great Council of that Kingdom, and that its Decrees were chiefly made in Confirmation of the Charter of King *Withred* concerning free Elections to Monaſteries in *Kent*, according to the Directions of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, I ſhall refer you to the Canons themſelves, as they are to be found in the *Decem Scriptores*, and *Sir *H. Spelman*'s *Britiſh* Councils; and ſhall only take notice of this one, that now Biſhops were firſt ordered to viſit their Dioceſſes once a Year.

* *Col* 2209. *Vol.* 1. *p.* 230.

Anno Dom. DCCXLIII. 'This Year *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, and *Cuthred* King of the '*Weſt Saxons*, fought againſt the *Britains.*] *H. Huntington* tells us, That theſe two Kings now joyning their Forces brought two great Armies into the Field againſt the *Welſh-men*, who not being able to defend themſelves, were forced to flie, leaving great Spoils behind them; ſo both the Kings returned home Victorious.

Anno Dom. DCCXLIV. According to *Florence* of *Worceſter*. *Wilfred*, the ſecond Biſhop of *York* of that Name, died, after he had ſate 30 Years. Alſo this Year, according to the Annals,

'*Daniel* reſigned the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, being worn out by Age, 'and *Hunferth* ſucceeded him; and they ſay, the Stars ſeemed to fall from Heaven. But *Simeon* of *Durham* calls them, (with more probability,) ſuch Lightnings as thoſe of that Age had never before ſeen.

About

About this time alſo, (according to *Simeon*,) there happened a great Fight between the *Picts* and the *Britains*, I ſuppoſe he means thoſe of *Cumberland*, for no other *Britains* lay near the *Picts*.

'This year Biſhop *Daniel* (above-mentioned) deceaſed, after he had 'been 43 years Biſhop. *Anno Dom.* DCCXLV.

'This year *Selred* (King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*) was ſlain;] But by whom, or which way, is not here ſaid. This *Selred* was Sirnamed *The Good*, and reigned 38 years. *Anno Dom.* DCCXLVI.

Switheard, King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, dying, *Elfwold* ſucceeded him, as the Chronicle of *Mailros* relates. *Anno Dom.* DCCXLVII.

This Year alſo was held the ſecond Council at *Cloveſhoe*, under *Cuthbert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, there being preſent, (beſide the Biſhops, Abbots, and many Eccleſiaſticks,) *Ethelbald*, King of the *Mercians*, with his chief Men and Ealdermen: In which, beſides many Decrees concerning the Unity of the Church, and for promoting Peace, (which you may ſee at large in Sir *H. Spelman*'s Firſt Volume of Councils;) and after, the reading of Pope *Zachary*'s Letters to the People of *England* to live more continently, Theſe (among other) Decrees were likewiſe paſſed, *viz.* 1. That the Reading of the Holy Scriptures be more conſtantly uſed in Monaſteries. 2. That Prieſts receive no Reward for baptizing Children, or for other Sacraments. 3. That they learn the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer in *Engliſh*; and are likewiſe to underſtand and interpret into their own Tongue the Words of Conſecration in the Celebration of Maſs, and alſo of Baptiſm, *&c.* P. 245.

'This year *Cynric Ætheling* (that is, Prince of the Blood-Royal of the '*Weſt Saxons*) was ſlain; and *Eadbriht*, King of *Kent*, died, after ſix 'Years Reign; and *Ethelbryht*, the Son of King *Withred*, ſucceeded him.] This *Cynric* was he, whom *H. Huntington* relates to be Son of *Cuthred*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*; who, thô young in Years, was a great Warriour for his time, yet periſhed in a ſudden Sedition of his own Souldiers, but where he does not ſay. *Anno Dom.* DCCXLVIII.

Simeon affirms, That *Elfwald*, King of the *Eaſt Angles*, now dying, *Hunbeanna* and *Albert* divided that Kingdom between them; but what relation they had to the late King, he does not tell us. *Anno Dom.* DCCXLIX.

'This year *Cuthred*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, in the 12th Year of his 'Reign, fought againſt *Ethelune*, that couragious Ealderman.] *H. Huntington* calls him a bold Earl, who moved Sedition againſt his Lord; and thô he were inferiour in the number of his Souldiers, yet maintained the Fight a great while by his ſole Courage and Conduct; but while he was ready to get the Victory, a Wound he then unfortunately received, ſo diſabled him, and diſheartened his Men, that the King's (being the ſtronger, as well as the juſter) Side, did thereby prevail. *Anno Dom.* DCCL.

Alſo the ſame Year (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, and the Chronicle of *Mailros*,) *Eadbert* King of *Northumberland* led *Kynwulf* Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*, Priſoner to the City of *Bebah*, who it ſeems had ſome ways rebelled againſt him, for he then alſo cauſed the Cathedral Church of *Lindisfarne* to be beſieged.

The ſame Year (as *Bede*'s Continuator relates) *Eadbert*, King of *Northumberland*, made War upon the *Picts*, and ſubdued all the Country of *Kyle*, with other Territories, joyning them to his own Dominions.

Anno Dom. DCCLIII. 'This Year (according to the *Saxon* Annals) King *Cuthred* fought 'againſt the *Britains*:] (But of this, the *Welſh* Chronicles are ſilent, as well as other Authors.) 'The ſame Year alſo, (being the 12th Year of his 'Reign,) King *Cuthred* fought againſt *Æthelbald*, King of the *Mercians*, at '*Beorgford* (now *Burford*) in *Oxfordſhire*, and there put him to flight.

But *H. Huntington* gives us this Battle more at large, That King *Cuthred* being not any longer able to bear the Inſolencies and Impoſitions of that proud King *Ethelbald*, took Arms, and met him with an Army in the Field, preferring his Liberty before his Life, being encouraged by Earl *Ethelune* above-mentioned, who it ſeems was now cured, and reconciled to the King, relying upon whoſe Courage and Council, he reſolved to undertake this War; but *Ethelbald*, as a King of Kings, had brought along with him, beſides his own *Mercians*, the *Kentiſh* Men, with the *Eaſt Angles* and *Saxons*, which made all together a very great Army, and being both drawn up on the Spot, they approached each other, whilſt Earl *Athelune* marching before the *Weſt Saxons*, carried the Royal Standard, (being a Golden Dragon,) and in the beginning of the Battle challenging him to a ſingle Combat, there ſlew the Standard-bearer of the Enemy; upon which a great Shout being given, *Cuthred*'s Souldiers were very much encouraged; then both Armies engaging, there followed a great and bloody Fight, of which our Author gives us a long and pompous Relation. Pride and Ambition (ſays he) inciting the *Mercians*, and fear of Servitude provoking the *Weſt Saxons*, to fight it to the laſt; but wherever Earl *Ethelune* charged the Enemies, he with the force of his invincible Battle-Axe deſtroyed all before him; but at laſt K. *Ethelbald* and the Earl meeting, they fought together with great Obſtinacy and Reſolution; till GOD, who reſiſteth the Proud, ſo diſcouraged this King, that he turned his Back, and fled, whilſt his Men ſtill fought on; yet at laſt they were all routed; nor from that time, to the day of his Death, did GOD give him any more Succeſs.

Anno Dom. DCCLIV. '*Cuthred*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, departed this Life; and (according to *Simeon*) *Sigebert*, his Couſin, ſucceeded him: Alſo *Cyneheard* 'ſucceeded in the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* after *Hunferth*, and the ſame 'year the City of *Canterbury* was burnt.

Anno Dom. DCCLV. 'This Year was very remarkable, for now (as our *Annals* inform us) '*Cynwulf*, with the Wiſe and Noble Men of the *Weſt Saxons*, deprived 'King *Sigebert* of the whole Kingdom for his Cruelty and Injuſtice, '(except *Hampſhire*,) which he kept for ſome time, until he ſlew one '*Cumbran* an Ealderman, (who had continued longeſt with him;) ſo 'that at laſt *Sigebert* was driven into *Andred*'s Wood, where he remained 'till ſuch time as a certain Hogheard ran him through with a Lance at '*Pruutes-Flood*, and thereby revenged the Death of *Cumbran* the Ealder-'man. This King *Cynwulf* often overcame the *Britains* in Fight, but after 'he had governed the Kingdom about 30 Years, he was ſlain by *Cyne-'heard Æthelin*g, brother to *Sigebert*; as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter.

H. Huntington is very particular in the Reaſons, and manner of King *Sigebert*'s Depoſition, and tells us, That being puff'd up with the good Succeſs of his Predeceſſours, he grew intollerable to his Subjects; for he had oppreſſed them by all manner of ways, and wreſted the Laws for his own Advantage, inſomuch that this *Cumbran*, one of his nobleſt Earls, at the Deſire of the People, repreſented their Grievances to this cruel King, who, becauſe he perſwaded him, that he ſhould govern them more

more gently, and thereby become more beloved both by God and Man, he presently commanded him to be slain, and so daily increased in his Tyranny, till in the beginning of his Second Year, the Great Men and People of the whole Kingdom being gathered together, by the Provident Deliberation, and Unanimous Consent of them All he was expell'd the Kingdom; and *Cinewulf*, a notable young Man of the Blood Royal, was *Elected* King in his room. *Anno Dom.* DCCLV.

This is the first Example we have in our *English* History, of the Solemn Deposition of a King, by the Authority of the Great Council of the Kingdom, concerning whom our Author bids us remark the manifold Justice and Providence of God, how sometimes it doth not only recompence Kings according to their Merits in the World to come, but also in this; for oftentimes setting up Wicked Kings for the Deserved Punishment of their Subjects, he lets some of them Tyrannize a great while, that so a wicked People might be punished, and the King becoming more wicked, may be tormented for ever; as may be seen in *Æthelbald*, King of *Mercia* above-mentioned, whilst God cuts others short by a speedy Destruction, lest his People, being oppress'd by too great Tyranny, should not be able to subsist under it, so that the immoderate Wickedness of a Prince does often accelerate his Punishment.

The same Year, (according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle published by Dr. *Powel*,) *Conan Tindaethwy*, Son of *Rodri Molwynoc*, began his Reign over the *Britains* in *Wales*.

'This Year also, (according to the *Saxon* Annals,) *Æthelbald*, King 'of the *Mercians*, was slain at *Seccandune* (now *Sesington*) in *Warwick-'shire*, after he had reigned 41 Years; and then *Beornred* usurped the 'Kingdom, and held it but a little while, and that with great Trouble; for 'the same year King *Offa* expelled *Beornred*, and taking Possession of the 'Throne, held it 39 Years; but his Son *Egberth* no more than 140 Days. 'This *Offa* was the Son of *Thincerth*, and he the Son of *Eanwulf*: The rest of his Pedigree, as far as *Woden*, I omit.

Abbot *Bromton*'s Chronicle farther adds, concerning the Death of King *Ethelbald*, That he was slain in a Fight at the Place above-mention'd, yet was it not by the Enemy, but by the Treachery of this *Beornred*.

Ingulph, in his History of *Croyland*, tells us, That King *Ethelbald* having founded the Abby of *Ripendune* (now *Repton*) in *Derbyshire*, (being the most famous of that Age,) was there buried; and also of this *Beornred*, (whom he calls a Tyrant,) that he did not long enjoy his Usurpation, for it seems he was not of the Blood Royal of the *Mercian* Kings; but when he was Expelled, *Offa* succeeded him by the General Consent of the Nobles of *Mercia*; but *Mat. Westminster* (who puts the Succession of King *Offa* two Years later) is more particular in this Transaction, and relates, That this *Beornred* governing very Tyrannically, the whole Nation of the *Mercians* rose up against him; so that both the Nobility and Commons joyning together, under the Conduct of *Offa*, a valiant young Man, Nephew to the late King *Æthelbald*, they expelled *Beornred* the Kingdom; and then *Offa*, by the General Consent of the Clergy and Laity of that Kingdom, was crowned King. This was that King *Offa*, who afterwards became a Terrour to all the Kings of *England*.

Eadbert, King of *Northumberland*, and *Unust*, King of the *Picts*, brought an Army against the City *Alkuith*, which the *Britains* delivered upon Conditions. This is from the Authority of *Simeon* of *Durham*, and lets us see, *Anno Dom.* DCCLVI.

that this City (now in *Scotland*) was then in the Hands of the *Northern Britains*.

Anno Dom. DCCLVII. 'This year *Eadbert*, King of the *Northumbers*, was ſhorn a Monk, and 'Oſwulf, his Son, ſucceeded him, yet Reigned but one Year, being ſlain 'by the Treachery of his own Servants on the 9th of the *Kal. Auguſt* fol-'lowing, thô without any juſt Cauſe, as I can find.

Concerning this *Eadbert*, *Simeon* of *Durham*, in his Hiſtory of that Church, tells us, That after he had reigned 21 Years, and ruled his Kingdom with great Wiſdom and Courage, ſo that all his Adverſaries being either overcome by force, or elſe ſubmitting themſelves to him; the *Engliſh*, *Pictiſh*, and *Scotiſh* Kings, not only maintained Peace and Friendſhip with him, but rejoyced to do him Honour; ſo that the Fame of his Grandeur ſpreading as far as *France*, King *Pipin* not only made a League with him, but ſent him great Preſents; and the Kings, his Neighbours, when he was about to reſign the Crown, had him in that Eſteem, that they offered him part of their own Dominions, on Condition, that he would not lay down his Charge; but he refuſed it, and reſigned his Kingdom to *Uſulf*, his Son.

Alſo about this time, (according to the *Britiſh* Chronicles,) there was a great Battle fought at *Hereford*, between the *Britains* and the *Saxons*, where *Dyfnwal ap Theodore* was ſlain. But they do not tell us who obtained the Victory.

Anno Dom. DCCLVIII. This Year *Cuthbert*, Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury*, deceaſed, having ſate Arch-Biſhop 18 Years. Alſo (according to *Florence*) about this time *Swithred* reigned over the *Eaſt*, and *Oſmund* over the *South Saxons*; as alſo *Beorne* was King over the *Eaſt Angles*.

Anno Dom. DCCLIX. 'This Year *Bregowin* was conſecrated Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* at the 'Feaſt of St. *Michael*; and *Ethelwold*, ſirnamed *Moll*, began to reign over 'the *Northumbers*, and at laſt reſigned the Crown.

Anno Dom. DCCLX. 'Ethelbryght, King of *Kent*, deceaſed; he was the Son of King *Wythred*. Of this King, *William* of *Malmesbury* records nothing remarkable, but that the City of *Canterbury* was burnt in his Reign.

'Ceolwulf alſo, late King of *Northumberland*, departed this Life the 'ſame Year, dying a Monk in the Iſle of *Lindisfarne*.] But *Simeon* of *Durham* prolongs his Life 4 Years longer.

Anno Dom. DCCLXI. 'This Year was a very ſharp Winter; and *Ethelwald Moll*, King of *Nor-'thumberland*, ſlew Duke *Oſwin* at *Edwinſclife* on the Eighth of the *Ides* of 'Auguſt.

But thô who this Duke was, our Annals do not tell us; yet *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Roger* of *Hoveden* relate, he was one of thoſe Great *Northumbrian* Lords, that rebelled againſt the King; who gained the Victory over him, and thoſe Rebels that took his part.

Anno Dom. DCCLXII. 'This Year deceaſed *Bergowine*, the Arch-Biſhop above-mentioned. But if he ſate 4 Years, (as theſe Annals affirm,) he could not have died till the Year following; in which alſo,

Anno Dom. DCCLXIII. 'Janbryht (who is alſo called *Lambert*) was now conſecrated Arch-'Biſhop of *Canterbury* about 40 Days after *Chriſtmas*. Alſo *Frithwald*, 'Biſhop of *Witherne*, died on the *Nones* of *May*; he had been Conſecra-'ted in *York* on the 18th *Kalends* of *September*, in the Reign of *Ceolwulf*, 'and ſate Biſhop 29 Years; and then *Piyhtwin* (or *Pechtwin*) was Con-'ſecrated Biſhop of *Witerne* at *Ælfet*, on the 16th *Kal.* of *Auguſt*.

'Jan-

'*Janbryht*, the Arch-Biſhop, received his Pall] This was (as *Florence of Worceſter* informs us) from Pope *Paul* I. *Anno Dom.* DCCLXIV.

This Year alſo, (as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates,) there was much Miſchief done by Fire, at *London*, *Wincheſter*, and other Places.

'*Alhred*, King of *Northumberland*, began to reign, and reigned Eight Years; (*Ethelwold Moll* having now by Death quitted that Kingdom) *Anno Dom.* DCCLXV.

The manner of which is given us more perfectly by *William* of *Malmesbury*, and *Roger Hoveden*, (*viz.*) That *Ethelwold* loſt the Kingdom of *Northumberland* at *Winchan-hea* 1° *Kal. November*, being murder'd by the Treachery of this *Alhred*, who ſucceeded him, and was alſo of the Race of *Ida*, being his Great Nephew.

The ſame Year alſo, (according to **William* of *Malmesbury*,) *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, envying the Greatneſs of the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury*, did, by moſt noble Preſents made to the Pope, obtain a Pall for the See of *Lichfield*, that is, That it ſhould be for the future an Arch-Biſhoprick, and that all the Biſhops of the Provinces of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and the *Eaſt Angles*, ſhould be ſubject to it; and this he not only gained, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition and Remonſtrances of Arch-Biſhop *Jambert* to the contrary, but alſo bereaved the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury* of all its Lands, which lay within the *Mercian* Territories; which Injuſtice continued during the whole Reign of King *Offa*, till *Kenulph* his Succeſſour, by the Interceſſion of *Eanbald* then Arch-Biſhop of *York*, reſtored the See of *Canterbury* to its ancient Rights. * *De Geſtis Pontif. l. i.*

'This Year deceaſed *Egbert* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, (13° *Kal. Sept.*) who 'ſate Biſhop 36 Years.] This is he who was Baſe Brother to the King of the ſame Name, and regained the Pall to his See, after it had been without it ever ſince the time of *Paulinus*: He alſo built a Noble Library at *York*, which was then counted one of the beſt in *Europe*; for *William* of *Malmesbury* relates, that *Alcuin* (the greateſt Scholar of his time) once told the Emperour *Charles*, 'That if he would give him ſuch Books of 'exquiſite Learning, as he had in his own Country by the Pious Induſtry 'of his Maſter Arch-Biſhop *Eghert*, then he would inſtruct and ſend 'him back ſome young Men, who ſhould carry over the choiceſt Flowers 'of the *Engliſh* Learning into *France*. *Anno Dom.* DCCLXVI.

(According to *Simeon* of *Durham*) *Albert* was now ordained Arch-Biſhop of *York*. *Anno Dom.* DCCLXVII.

'*Eadbert*, the Son of *Eatta*, deceaſed on 14° *Kal. September*.] This *Eadbert* had been formerly King of *Northumberland*, and (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) died 10 Years after his taking the Habit of a Monk, and was buried at *York*. *Anno Dom.* DCCLXVIII.

Alſo this Year, (as the *Welſh* Chronicles acquaint us,) by the means of *Elbodius*, that Learned and Pious Biſhop of *North Wales*, it was decreed in a General Synod of the *Britiſh* Nation, That *Eaſter* ſhould be kept after the Cuſtom of *Rome*; ſo that all Differences between that Church and the *Britiſh* now ceaſed.

'*Charles*, King of the *Franks*, began his Reign;] for *Pepin*, his Father, died this Year, (as *R. Hoveden* informs us:) Alſo the fair City of *Cataract* in *Yorkſhire* was burnt by *Bornred* the *Mercian* Tyrant; and He alſo periſhed by Fire the ſame Year. *Anno Dom.* DCCLXIX.

'This

Anno Dom. DCCLXXI. 'This Year (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *R. Hoveden*,) *Offa*, 'King of the *Mercians*, ſubdued the Nation of the *Heſtings* by force of 'Arms; but who theſe People were, or where they inhabited, no Author 'informs us. Mr. *Lambert*, in his *Gloſſary* at the end of the *Decem Scriptores*, will have them to be *Danes*; but I ſee no reaſon for it here, ſince the *Danes* were not then ſettled in *England*.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXII. 'This Year died *Milred* the Biſhop.] *Florence* ſays, he was Biſhop of the *Wiccii*, (that is, of the Dioceſs of *Worceſter*,) and was in great Reputation for his Sanctity.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXIII. This Year *Albert*, Arch-Biſhop of *York*, received his Pall from Pope *Adrian*, as *Simeon* informs us.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXIV. 'This Year the *Northumbrians* expelled their King *Albred* from *York* 'about *Eaſter*, and choſe *Ethelred*, the Son of *Moll*, (once King,) for 'their Lord: He reigned 4 Years.

Of which Tranſaction, *Roger Hoveden* gives us this particular Relation; That King *Albred* being depoſed by the Common-Council, and Conſent of his own Subjects, and forſaken of all his Great Men, was forced to retire firſt to the City of *Bebban*, (afterwards called *Banbarough-Caſtle*,) from whence he betook himſelf to *Cynoth*, King of the *Picts*, with but very few Followers.

'The ſame Year alſo appeared a Red Croſs in the Heavens after Sun-'ſet, and the *Mercians* and *Kentiſh-men* fought at *Ottanford* (now *Otford*) 'in *Kent*.] But neither the *Saxon* Annals, nor any other, vouchſafe to tell us what was the Quarrel, nor who were the Commanders on either ſide, nor yet what was the Succeſs. 'Alſo ſtrange Serpents were ſeen 'in the Province of the *South Saxons*.] *Mat. Weſtminſter* places this Prodigy two Years after, and ſays, They ſeemed to creep out of the Earth.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXV. 'This Year *Cynwulf*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, and *Offa*, King of the '*Mercians*, fought at *Binſington* (now *Benſington*) in *Oxfordſhire*, 'but *Offa* took the Town:] So it ſeems *Cynwulf* had the worſt of it. Here follows in the *Peterburgh* Copy another Relation concerning that Abbey, which is thus: That

'In the Reign of King *Offa* there was a certain Abbot of *Medeſham-'ſtead*, called *Beonna*, who, with the Conſent of the Monks of his Mo-'naſtery, leaſed out to *Cuthbriht* the Ealderman, *X Bonde-land* (that is, the Ground of ten Bond-men, or Villains,) 'at *Swineſheafde*, with the 'Meadows and Paſtures, and all other Things thereunto belonging; upon 'this Condition, That *Cuthbriht* ſhould pay the Abbot Fifty Pounds, and 'one Night's Entertainment every Year, or elſe Thirty Shillings in 'Money; and that after his Death the Lands ſhould again revert to the 'Monaſtery: To which Grant, King *Offa*, King *Egferth*, Arch Biſhop '*Higebert*, the Biſhop *Ceolwulf*, the Biſhop *Inwona*, with *Beon* the Abbot, 'and many other Biſhops, Abbots, and Great Men, were Witneſſes. I have inſerted this Paſſage, thô it does not relate to the Civil Hiſtory of theſe Times, becauſe it is the firſt Example of a Leaſe of this kind, and ſeems to have been done in a great Council of the Kingdom, where theſe Kings were preſent, which was then neceſſary for ſuch a Grant.

'Alſo in the time of this King *Offa*, (as the *Peterburgh* Copies relate,) 'there was a certain Ealderman, called *Brordan*, who deſired of the King, 'That for his ſake he would free a certain Monaſtery of his, called *Wo-'cingas*, becauſe he intended to give it to St. *Peter*, and to the Church of

' of *Medeſhamſted*, one *Puſa* being then Abbot of it: This *Puſa* ſucceeded *Anno Dom.* DCCLXXV.
' *Beonna*, and the King loved him very well; wherefore he freed the Church
' of *Wocingas* by the King's conſent with that of the Biſhop, Earls, and
' all other Men's conſents; ſo that no body ſhould from thenceforth have
' any duty or Tribute beſides, St. *Peter* and the Abbot; this was done in
' the King's Town, called *Freoricburne*.

' *Pehtwin*, Biſhop of *Witerne* (called in Latin *Candida Caſa*) deceaſed *Anno Dom.* DCCLXXVI
' XIII. *Kal. Octob.* he was Biſhop Fourteen Years, and had been bred
' under *Aldhelm*, that Pious Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and the ſame Year
' *Ethelbert* was conſecrated Biſhop of that See at *York*, XVII. *Kal. Junii*.

This Year (according to the *Welſh* Chronicle) the *South-Welſhmen* deſtroyed great part of *Mercia* with Fire and Sword: As alſo

The Summer following, all the *Welſhmen*, both of *North* and *South-Wales*, gathered themſelves together, and, Invading the Kingdom of *Mercia*, made great ſpoil, by burning, and plundering the Country; whereupon King *Offa* was forced to make Peace with the other *Saxon* Kings, and to bend his whole Forces againſt the *Welſh* Men, who not being able to encounter ſo great a ſtrength as he then brought againſt them; were forced to quit all the plain Country, between the Rivers of *Severne* and *Wye*, and retired into the Mountains; whereupon *Offa* perceiving this, ſeiſed upon all the Country, and planted *Saxons* in their places; and annexing it to his own Kingdom, cauſed that famous Ditch, or Trench, to be made from Sea to Sea, betwixt his Kingdom and *Wales*, whereby he might the better defend his Country from the Incurſions of the *Welſh* hereafter: This Ditch is ſeen at this day in divers places, and is called in *Welſh*, *Clawdh Offa*, (i.e.) *Offa's Ditch*. *Anno Dom.* DCCLXXVII.

' This Year *Æthebald* and *Hearbert*, kill'd Three chief *Gerifs* or Gover- *Anno Dom.*
' nours, *Ealdwulf* the Son of *Boſa* at *Cymingeſelife*, (i. e.) *Kings Cliffe*; and DCCLXXVIII.
' *Cynwulf* and *Ecga* at *Helathyrn*, XI. *Kal. Aprilis*; then *Alfwold* took the
' Kingdom, (*Æthelred* being Expel'd the Land,) and Reigned Ten
' Years.

But *H. Huntington*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*, gives us a more exact account of this Matter; that *Æthelred*, King of *Northumberland*, having cauſed Three of his Nobles, *Aldwulf*, *Kinwulf*, and *Ecga*, to be treacherouſly ſlain by two of the ſame rank; The Year following his Subjects Rebelling againſt him, they firſt ſlew *Aldwulf*, General of the King's Army, in Flight at the place above mentioned, as they alſo did the two other Commanders in the ſame manner; ſo that King *Æthelred*'s Captains being all ſlain, and his hopes as well as his Forces defeated, he was forced to flee into another Country, and ſo *Elfwald* the Son of *Oſwulf* ſucceeded him, thô not without Civil Broils: He was a Juſt and Pious Prince; yet could not eſcape the hard Fate of his Predeceſſors, as you will ſee in due time

' The ſame Year, (as the *Laudean* Copy relates,) King *Charles* entred
' *Spain*, and deſtroyed the Citties of *Pampelona*, and *Cæſar Auguſta*, (now
' called *Saragoſa*,) and having joined his Army, ſubdued the *Saracens*,
' and received Hoſtages from them; and then returned by *Narbon* and
' *Gaſcony* into *France*.

' This Year the chief *Gerifs* or *Governours* of *Northumberland*, burnt *Anno Dom.*
' *Beorne* the Ealderman in *Seletune*; 19 Kal. *Januarij*. DCCLXXX.

Roger Hoveden, calls theſe *Gerifs*, *Osbald*, and *Æthelheard*, and *H. Huntington* ſays, They burnt this Ealderman, or Chief Juſtice of the Kingdom,

Anno Dom. DCCLXXX. Kingdom, becauſe he was more Rigid and Severe, than in Reaſon he ought to have been.

'The ſame Year the Ancient *Saxons* and *Franks* fought againſt each 'other,] in which Battle, *Charles* King of the *Franks* gained the Victory, having waſted the *Saxon* Territories with Fire and Sword, and laid them to his own Dominions; as not only our own, but the *French* Hiſtorians relate.

'Alſo, Biſhop *Æthelheard* dyed at *York*, and *Eanbald* was conſe-'crated to the ſame See; and *Cynebald* the Biſhop reſigned his See at '*Lindisfarne*, and *Alchmunà* Biſhop of *Hagulſtead* deceaſed, *7th Id. Sept.* 'and *Higbert* was conſecrated in his ſtead, the *6th* of the *Nones* of *Octob.* 'as likewiſe *Higbald* was conſecrated at *Soccabrig* to be Biſhop of *Lindis-'farne*. Alſo King *Allwold* ſent to *Rome*, to demand the Pall for *Eanbald*, 'Arch-Biſhop of *York*.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXXII. 'This Year *Werburh*, the Wife of King *Ceolred* (late King of the '*Mercians*,) deceaſed, (at her Nunnery of *Cheſter*, where ſhe was Abbeſs, 'and where the Church is dedicated to her Memory:) alſo *Cenwulf* 'Biſhop of *Lindisfarne* died; there was likewiſe now a Synod at *Aclea*. But under what King this Council was held, or whereabouts the place is, or what Decrees were there made, our Hiſtories are altogether ſilent in, but Sir *H. Spelman*, in his * firſt Volume of Councils, ſuppoſes it to have been at a place of that Name, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, where there are two places ſo called, the one *Alca*, and the other *Scole Aclea*.

* Page 305.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXXIV. This Year, *Cyneheard* ſlew *Cynewulf*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, but *Cyneheard* himſelf was there ſlain, and Eighty Four Men with him: but theſe Annals in the beginning of this King's Reign, under *Anno Dom.* DCCLV. have given us a full account of this King's unfortunate end, which I rather chuſe to inſert in its proper place, and was thus; 'That 'he endeavouring to Expel *Cyneheard* (Brother to the late King *Sigebert* 'out of the Kingdom;) in the mean time when he knew that the King 'with a ſmall Company was gone to *Merinton*, (now called *Merton* in '*Surrey*,) to viſit a certain Woman, he there beſieged him, and beſet the 'Chamber where he was, before the King's Attendants could know 'any thing of it; which, as ſoon as the King perceived, he got out of 'Doors, and Manfully defended himſelf; but all of them aſſaulting the 'King at once, they in the end ſlew him, (thô as *Florence* relates, he firſt 'ſorely wounded *Cynheard*;) but when the King's *Thanes*, who were then 'in the ſame Houſe, heard the noiſe, they all ran thither as faſt as they 'could get themſelves ready; but *Cyneheard Ætheling* promiſed them 'great Rewards, and Pardon, if they would take his part, which none 'of them would agree to, but preſently all fought againſt him, till they 'were all kill'd, except one *Britiſh* Hoſtage, who was grievouſly wound-'ed; but the next morning the King's *Thanes* that remained at home, 'coming to know that he was kill'd, (*viz*) *Oſric*, the Ealderman, and '*Wiverth* his *Thane*, and all thoſe whom he had left behind him, they all 'came thither on Horſeback, and when they found *Cyneheard Ætheling* in 'the Town, where the King lay dead, and having the doors faſt locked 'upon them, as they approached and endeavoured to break 'in; *Cynheard* promiſed to grant them all their Liberties, and all their 'Lands and Goods, with great Riches and Honours, if they would de-'liver up the Kingdom to him peaceably; telling them moreover, That 'he had ſome of their Kinſmen with him, who would never deſert him;

but

'but they answered, That none of their Relations were dearer to them than their own Lord, and they would never obey his Murderers; and they then farther told their Kinsmen, That if they would leave their Leader, they should all be safe, from whom they also received this Answer, That the like had been already promised to those who were of the King's Party; and said, That as they then refused their promise, so themselves should now refuse the like from them, then they fought at the Gates until they were broken open, and the Conspirators forced to retire within them, but there *Cyneard Ætheling* was Slain, and all those that were with him, except one, who was the *Ealderman*'s Godson, to whom, being grievously wounded, he granted his Life. This King *Cynwulf* Reigned One and Thirty Years, and his Body lyes buried at *Wintenceſter*, but that of the *Ætheling* at *Axanmiſter*, (now *Axminſter* in *Devon-ſhire*,) being both of them deſcended from *Cerdic*, the first King of that Kingdom. *Anno Dom.* DCCLXXXIV.

'This same Year also, *Brihtic* began his Reign over the *Weſt-Saxons*, whose Body lyes buried at *Werham*, and he was also deſcended from *Cerdic* in a right Line. In those times King *Ælmond* Reigned in *Kent*; he was the Father of King *Egbert*, and *Egbert* was the Father of *Athulf*, (or *Athelwulf.*)

But the Authour of these Annals is here mistaken, for tho one *Ælmond* was Father of King *Egbert*, yet was there never any of that Name King of *Kent*.

'*Bothwin*, Abbot of *Ripun*, deceased this Year, and the same Year was held that troublesome Synod at *Cealchythe*, where Arch-Bishop *Janbryht* lost part of his Province to the See of *Litchfield*; also *Higebryht* was this Year chosen Arch Bishop of *Litchfield*, by King *Offa*, and *Egbert* his Son, was anointed King ~~with~~ him; and in those times there were Legates sent from Pope *Adrian* to renew the Faith, which had been sent us by *Auguſtine*. *Anno Dom.* DCCLXXXV

Note, the Pope had before granted the Pall to *Litchfield*, and thereby made it an Arch-Bishoprick, but it was not till the following Year confirmed in a general Synod of the Kingdom.

This Year that great *Synod*, or Council of *Calcuith* (above mentioned) was held by *Gregory*, Bishop of *Oſtia*, and *Theophilact*, Bishop of *Tudertum*, (then the Pope's Legates in *England*;) at which were also present *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Cinwulf*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*; where not only the *Nicene* Creed was again received, and confirm'd, as also the Seven first General Councils; but many Canons were made concerning Matters of Religion, and Eccleſiastical Discipline; of all which I shall here recite some that I think proper. *Anno Dom.* DCCXXXVI. Vid. *Spelman's Council. vol.* 1.

The second of these Decrees is; That Baptism be performed at the times appointed by the former Canons of the Church, and no other; and that all Men in general learn the Creed and the Lord's Prayer; that Godfathers shall be answerable for those Children for whom they stand, till they come to Years capable of learning the Creed and the Lords Prayer.

The Twelfth Canon is, That in the Election or Ordination of Kings, no Man should permit the Assent or Vote of Evil Men to prevail; but Kings shall be Lawfully Elected by the Clergy and Elders of the People, not begot of Adultery or Incest; because, as in our times, an Adulterer according to the Canons cannot arrive to the Priest-hood, so neither can he be the Lord's Anointed, and the Heir of his Country,

Anno Dom. DCCLXXXVI.

and King of the whole Kingdom, who is not begot of Lawful Matrimony. The reſt of it is for rendering Honour and Obedience to Kings, without ſpeaking Evil of them, and the chief Texts out of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, are cited to that purpoſe. It is alſo there forbid, That any Man ſhould conſpire the Death of the King, becauſe he is the *Lord's Anointed*; and if any ſhall be guilty of that wickedneſs, if he be a Biſhop or one in Prieſt's Orders, he ſhall be deprived, as *Judas* was caſt out from his Apoſtleſhip: There is alſo here likewiſe cited out of Scripture ſeveral examples of thoſe that have been puniſhed either for conſpiring the Death of Kinsg, or having actually kill'd them.

The Sixteenth Canon is, That Baſtards, and thoſe begotten of Nuns, ſhall not inherit, which is the firſt Decree we find of this kind.

The Seventeenth Canon is, That Tythes ſhall be paid according to the Scriptures, *viz. Thou ſhalt bring the Tenth part of all thy encreaſe, when thou bringeſt thy firſt fruits into the Houſe of the Lord thy God*; there is likewiſe cited the Text in *Malachi Chap.* 3. concerning the paying of Tythes, and therefore, ſays the Canon, we exhort all Men, that they pay Tythes of whatſoever they poſſeſs; becauſe it is God's ſpecial Commandment, that every Man live, and give Alms of the other 9 parts.

Whence you may obſerve, that as this is the firſt Decree of any Council in *England*, concerning payment of Tythes, ſo alſo is it hereby declared that they are due by Divine Right.

The Nineteenth Decree is, againſt Mens obſerving any Pagan Rites, and particularly of making marks and ſcars in any part of their Bodies for any falſe God. There are alſo other Decrees which ſeem very trivial, as againſt cutting off Horſes Ears, or Tails, and ſlitting their Noſes; as alſo againſt eating Horſe-fleſh, which it ſeems was then much in faſhion amongſt the Common ſort of People; as alſo againſt caſting of Lots for the deciding of Civil Controverſies.

It alſo here appears by the Addreſs of the Pope's Legates, made to him at the end of this Council, that there were two diſtinct Seſſions of it; the firſt was held before King *Ælfwald*, and Arch-Biſhop *Eanbald*, and all the Biſhops belonging to the *Northumbrian* Kingdom; as alſo all the Senators, Ealdermen, and People of that Country, who when theſe Decrees were propoſed to them, did all of them with great devotion promiſe to obſerve them, and ſubſcribed them with the Sign of the Croſs. Then follow the ſubſcriptions of the King, the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and the reſt of the Biſhops of that Province; after them follow alſo the Subſcriptions of the Presbyters and Deacons of Churches, Judges, Chief and Noble Men, ſome of whom do there ſubſcribe for all the reſt.

Where this Council was held for the Kingdom of *Northumberland* is uncertain; but the ſecond Seſſion of it was held at *Calcuith*, now ſuppoſed to be in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, which, as alſo in the concluſion of this Council, it is thus recited; 'King *Offa* with all the Senators 'of his Kingdom, with *Janbryht*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the other 'Biſhops of that Province, the ſame Decrees being read before the Coun-'cil, as well in *Latin* as in *Saxon*, ſo that all might underſtand them, 'they all agreed with one accord to obſerve them; then follow the Subſcriptions of King *Offa*, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with divers of the Nobles there preſent, who ſubſcribed in the name of all the reſt.

But *Will.* of *Malmesbury* in his First Book, *de Pontif*, hath given us a further account of the Acts of this Council, than what are expreſſed in the Canons themſelves; *viz.* That in this Council, Arch-biſhop *Janbryht* was forced to reſign part of his Province to the Biſhop of *Litchfield*, who thereby became an Arch-Biſhop; ſo that there remained no more Biſhops under the Juriſdiction of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, but thoſe of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Rocheſter*, and *Shireburne*: But thô it had been obtained by King *Offa* from the Pope by great importunity, and falſe ſuggeſtions, that Arch-Biſhop *Janbryht* ſhould be thus deprived of his Primacy; yet was it not counted of any force till it was confirmed in a great Council, and that the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* himſelf had conſented to it. *Anno Dom.* DCCLXXXVI.

The ſame Author further adds, That alſo in this Council, *Offa* the moſt potent King of the *Mercians*, did then cauſe his Eldeſt Son *Egfred*, a Comely and Valiant Young Man, and endued with all good Qualities, to be ſolemnly Crowned King; who obeying his Father in all things, Reigned together with him ſo long as he lived.

But it is very obſervable, that neither *Alrich*, then King of *Kent*, nor any of his Deputies, did appear at this Council; for which I can give no other Reaſon, than that this King did not approve of the Removal of the chief Archiepiſcopal See from *Canterbury* in his own Dominions, to *Litchfield* in another Prince's Territories.

But as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* obſerves, This Violence done to the See of *Canterbury*, thô it laſted all the Reign of King *Offa*, and alſo during the Life-time of Arch-Biſhop *Janbryht*, who ſpared neither coſt nor pains to get his See reſtored to its Ancient Dignity; yet was it all to no purpoſe, till ſuch time as *Kenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, reſtored the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury* to its former Rights, *Litchfield* becoming again an ordinary Biſhoprick, ſubject to the See of *Canterbury* to this day, having continued an Arch-Biſhoprick only during the times of two Arch-Biſhops, *viz.* for the ſpace of about Eleven Years. But it is time to return to Civil Affairs. *De Pontif. l.* 1.

The ſame Year (as *H. Huntington* relates) the Sign of the Croſs appeared of it ſelf upon Mens Cloaths, which (if true) is wonderful to future Ages.

King *Brithric* now married *Eadburghe*, the Daughter of King *Offa*, which was done (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* relates) to ſtrengthen his Intereſt with his Neighbouring Princes; alſo about thoſe times (as *Ethelwerd*, and the *Saxon* Annals inform us,) arrived in the *Weſt* Country three Ships of *Danes*, or *Norwegians*, from *Herethaland*, (that is, the Country of *Pyrates*;) theſe landing, the King's *Geref* or Officer coming thither on Horſeback endeavoured to carry them to the King's Town (of *Dorcheſter*,) becauſe he knew not from whence they came; but he was there ſlain with thoſe that attended on him; after which great Multitudes of People flocking in, the *Danes* were at laſt forced to Flee to their Ships, and leave their prey behind them; theſe were the firſt *Daniſh* Ships that ever infeſted the *Engliſh* Nation. *Anno Dom.* DCCLXXXVII.

Where *Note*, That the ſame People who are firſt called *Normans* in the *Saxon* Annals, are there alſo named *Danes* in other places; which ſhews, that the *Danes* and *Normans* were then looked upon to be one and the ſame People.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXVII. ‘ This Year there was a general Synod assembled at *Pyncanhale*, or *Finkenhale*, (now *Finkley* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, then part of the Kingdom of *Northumberland*) where *Eanbald* Arch-Bishop of *York* presided: whose Decrees you may see in Sir *H. Spelman*'s 1 *Vol.* of Councils; but its constitutions being wholly about Ecclesiastical Discipline, and the right observation of *Easter*, it is beside my purpose to take any further notice of them.

This Year also, (according to the Annals) *Albert* the Abbot deceased; and King *Charles* passed through *Almany*, to the very Borders of *Bavaria*, (as the *Latin* Text of the *Laudean* Copy relates.)

Anno Dom. DCCLXXIX. ‘ *Alfwold*, King of *Northumberland*, was slain by one *Sicga* on the IX. ‘ *Kal. Octob.*

This King is said by *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Roger Hoveden*, to have been a very Just and Worthy Prince, and that he was Slain by the Treachery of this *Sicga*, who was one of his chief Noblemen, and being Murthered at *Cilceaster*, (near the *Pict*'s Wall,) there was frequently seen a Light from Heaven over the Place, where he was Slain: He was buried in the Cathedral Church of *Hagulstad*, with great Solemnity, and there was afterwards a Church built in the Place where he was killed: and *Osred*, the Son of *Alchred*, Reigned after him, who was the Nephew of King *Alfwold*: There was also at this time another Synod held at *Aclea*.

The same Year likewise (according to *Mat. Westminster*,) *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, fought against *Kenwulf*, King of the *West-Saxons*, at the Siege of *Benfington* Castle: But *Kenwulf* being worsted was forced to flee, and so *Offa* took the Castle.

Anno Dom. DCCXC. ‘ Now *Janbryht* the Archbishop deceased, and *Ethelheard* the Abbot was ‘ elected Archbishop. Also *Osred*, King of the *Northumbers*, was betray'd, ‘ and driven out of his Kingdom; and *Ethelred*, the Son of *Ethelwald* (Sir‘ named *Mull*,) reigned after him, or rather was again restored to the King‘ dom, having reigned there before, as hath been already shewn.

But *Simeon* of *Durham* adds farther, that this *Osred*, the late King of this Kingdom, having been also shaven a Monk against his Will, escaped again out of the Monastery, into the *Isle of Man*. But the next Year,

Anno Dom. DCCXCI. As *Simeon* relates, *Oelf* and *Oelfwin*, Sons of *Alfwold*, formerly King of *Northumberland*, were drawn by fair Promises from the Principal Church of *York*, and afterwards, at the Command of King *Ethelred*, cruelly put to Death at *Wonwalderemere*, a Village by the great Pool in *Lancashire*, (now called *Winanderemere*.)

Also about this time, (according to the same Author,) one *Eardulf*, an Earl, being taken and brought to *Ripun*, was there Sentenced by the said King to be put to Death, without the Gate of the Monastery; whose Body, when the Monks had carried to the Church, with solemn Dirges, and placed under a Pavilion, was about Midnight found alive. But this Relation is very imperfect, for it neither tells us how he escaped Death; nor how he was conveyed away, though we find him five Years after this made King of *Northumberland*.

This Year (as *Simeon* of *Durham* and *Mat. Westminster* relate,) *Charles* King of *France* sent certain *Synodal* Decrees into *England*; in which alas! (for with great Grief, our Author speaks it) were found many inconvenient things, and altogether contrary to the true Faith: For it had been decreed in a Council at *Constantinople*, by more than Three Hundred Bishops,

ſhops, that Images ought to be adored, which the Church of God does (ſay they) wholly abominate. *Anno Dom.* CCXCI.

Then *Albinus*, (that is our *Alcuin*,) wrote an Epiſtle, wherein he proved it by the Authority of the Holy Scriptures to be utterly Unlawful; and this he offered, together with the Book it ſelf, to the King of *France*, on the behalf of all our Biſhops and Great Men; and this Letter of *Alcuinus* is thought to have wrought ſuch an effect on the Synod of *Francfort*, aſſembled about two Years after, that the Worſhip of Images was therein ſolemnly condemned. Vid. *Sir H. Spelman's Councel*, 1. *vol.* p. 307.

From which it is evident, that Image-Worſhip, as now practiſed in the *Greek* and *Roman* Churches, was not then received in *England*.

And this Year alſo, according to the ſame Author, *Ofred*, late King of *Northumberland*, being deceived by the Oaths of ſome great Men, returned privately from the Iſle of *Man*; when, his Souldiers deſerting him, and being taken Priſoner by King *Ethelred*, he was by his Command put to Death, at a Place called *Aynsburg*; but his Body was buried at the famous Monaſtery at the mouth of *Tine*; and the ſame Year King *Ethelred* betrothed *Elfrede* the Daughter of King *Offa*.

In whom alſo there was found as little Faith as Mercy; for this Year, according to our Annals, *Will.* of *Malmesbury*, and *Mat. Weſtminſter*; *Ethelbert*, the Son of *Ethelred*, King of the *East-Angles*, notwithſtanding the diſſwaſions of his Mother, going to the Court of King *Offa*, in order to Wooe his Daughter, was there ſlain, by the wicked inſtigations of Queen *Quendrith*; ſo that out of an Ambition to ſeize his Kingdom, *Offa* was perſwaded to make him away; but by what means it is not agreed: The Annals relate him to have been beheaded. *Anno Dom.* DCCXCII.

But the ſame Annals, and *Florence* of *Worceſter* agree, 'That his Body 'was buried (in the Monaſtery) at *Tinmouth*. But the Chronicle aſcribed to Abbot *Bromton*, as alſo *Mat. Weſtminſter*, have given us long and Legendary Accounts of the Death of this Prince; and the latter of theſe, as well as other Monks, who were favourers of this King *Offa*, would have this Murther to be committed without this King's knowledge; and *Mat. Weſtminſter* has a long Story about it, but not at all probable, eſpecially ſince the King was ſo well pleaſed with the Fact when it was done, that he preſently ſeized the Kingdom of this poor Murthered Prince, and added it to his own Dominions.

This Year, (as *Mat. Paris*, and his Nameſake of *Weſtminſter* relate,) King *Offa* was warned by an Angel to remove the Reliques of St. *Alban* into a more noble Shrine; and ſo either for this cauſe, or elſe (which is more likely) to expiate the ſeveral Murthers he had committed, began to build a new Church and Monaſtery in honour of St. *Alban*, and thither removing his Bones, into a Silver ſhrine all gilt and adorned with precious Stones, he placed them in the new Church that he had built without the Town: where (as the Monks pretended) they wrought great Miracles. *Anno Dom.* DCCXCIII.

This King having made a journey on purpoſe to *Rome*, obtained of Pope *Adrian* to have him Canonized: King *Offa* alſo conferred upon this Monaſtery very great Privileges, and vaſt Poſſeſſions, all which he confirmed by his Charter, which you may find in the firſt Volume of **Monaſt. Anglic.* as that alſo, *Anno Dom.* 1154. One *Nicholas* having been firſt a Servant in this Abbey, and afterwards was Biſhop of *Alba*, Elected Pope by the Name of *Adrian* IV: he by his Bull ordained, that, as St. *Alban* * P. 175.

was

Anno Dom. DCCXCIII. was the first Martyr of *England*, so this Abbot should be the first in Dignity of all the Abbots in *England*; and Pope *Honorius* did by a Bull in the Year 1118, not only ratifie all the Privileges made and confirmed by former Popes, but also granted to the Abbot and his Successours Episcopal Rights, together with the Habit; and that he and his Monks should be exempt from all Jurisdiction to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, with other Exemptions too long here to be set down.

'Also this Year there appeared strange Prodigies in the Country of 'Northumberland, which mightily terrified the People of that Province; '(*viz.*) immoderate Lightnings; there were also seen Meteors like fiery 'Dragons, flying in the Air; after which signs followed a cruel Famine; 'and a little after, the same Year (6° *Idus Jan.*) certain Heathens '(i.e. *Danes*) miserably destroyed the Church of God in *Lindisfarne*, 'committing great Spoils and Murthers. *Simeon* of *Durham* says, These *Danes* not only pillaged that Monastery, but killing divers of the Friers, carried away the rest Captive, sparing neither Priests nor Laymen. 'This 'Year also *Sicga* died; he who killed the good King *Alfwold*, who now (as *Roger Hoveden* relates) slew himself.

And the same Year, (according to *Florence* of *Worcester*,) *Ethelard* was ordained Arch-Bishop of *York*; and (as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates) the same Year died *Alric*, Third Son to *Withred*, King of *Kent*, after a long Reign of Thirty Four Years; in whom ended the Race of *Hengist*: Thenceforth, (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* observes,) whomsoever Wealth or Faction advanced, took on him the Title of King of that Province.

Anno Dom. DCCXCIV. 'This Year both Pope *Adrian*, and *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, 'departed this Life; the Latter after he had Reigned Forty Years.

Yet notwithstanding the Printed Copies of the *Saxon* Annals, have placed this King's Death under this Year: Yet the rest of the Copies do not agree with this Account; for the *Laudean* Manuscript Copy, in the *Bodlean* Library places this King's Death in *Anno. Dom.* 896; and that with greater Truth; for first Pope *Adrian* above-mentioned died not till Two Years after the time here specified. And, it appears farther in a Letter written by the Emperour *Charles the Great*, to this King *Offa*; and which is recited at large by *William* of *Malmesbury*, in his Life of this King, that Pope *Adrian* was dead some time before the date of that Letter: *viz. Anno. Dom.* 796; Thô it is certain, King *Offa* did not survive long after.

I thought to give the Reader notice of this, because it puts the Death of this King, and the Succession of all his Successours, just Two Years later than the common Printed Accounts: But whenever this King here died, he is said by *William* of *Malmesbury* to have been buried in a Chapel at *Bedford*, near the River *Ouse*; whose frequent Inundations had in his time, carried away both the Chapel, and the Tomb into the River: So that it could not be seen, unless sometimes by those who washed themselves in that River.

This Prince is also described by the same Author, to have had so great a Mixture of Vertues and Vices, that he does not know well what Character to give him: The Reason that so confounded him, was, That thô he was a Cruel and Perfidious Prince, yet he Built the Monastery of St. *Albans* (as you have heard,) but for all that he cannot give him many good words, because he took away abundance of good Farms from his Abbey. This seems to have been the first of our *English Saxon* Kings, who maintained any great correspondence with Foreign Princes; for thô he had

had firſt great Enmity with *Charles* the Great, which proceeded ſo far, as to the interdicting of all Commerce, yet at laſt it was changed into as much Amity; ſo that a firm League was made between them, as appears by a Letter of the ſaid *Charles* to *Offa*, extant in *William* of *Malmesbury*, in which alſo is mentioned, that he ſent him many Noble Preſents. Alſo he granted (ſaith *Henry Huntington*) a perpetual Tribute to the Pope out of every Houſe in his Kingdom, and this, perhaps, for his conſenting to tranſlate the Primacy from *Canterbury* to *Litchfield* in his own Dominions. He alſo drew a Trench of a wondrous length between *Mercia* and the *Britiſh* or *Welſh* Territories, thereby to hinder the Incurſions of the *Welſh-men*, called to this day in the *Welſh* Tongue *Claudh Offa*, (*i. e.*) *Offa's Dike*. *Anno Dom.* DCCXCIV.

But from the Grant of the above-mention'd Penſion, ſome Men of different Perſwaſions have drawn as different Conſequences. *Pol. Virgil*, and divers of the *Romiſh* Writers, have from thence concluded, That King *Offa*, by this Act, made his Kingdom Tributary to the Pope; whereas indeed it was no ſuch Thing, for it had been alſo granted by King *Ina* long before, (as hath been already obſerved,) for the Kingdom of the *Weſt Saxons*; whoſe Example King *Offa* ſeemed now to follow, and indeed was no more than a Voluntary Annual Alms, or Benevolence, as it is expreſly called in our *Saxon* Annals, as ſhall be ſhewn further hereafter.

This is alſo urged by ſome high Promoters of the Royal Prerogative, to prove this King's unlimited Power in Eccleſiaſtical, as well as Civil Matters; ſince He (as they ſuppoſe) could, without the Conſent of the Great Council of the Kingdom, charge all the Houſes in his Dominions to pay, each of them, one Penny to the Pope: But this, if it be cloſely looked into, will prove a Miſtake; for thô it be true, that upon King *Offa*'s going to *Rome*, he is ſaid to have granted this Alms, called *Rome*'s *Scot*, or *Peter-pence*, to the Pope, yet *Anno* 794, immediately upon his Return, you will find in Sir *H. Spelman*'s Councils, he called a Great Council at *Verulam*, (now St. *Alban*'s,) where this Tribute might be confirmed by the Conſent of the Eſtates of his Kingdom: Nor is the Silence of our Hiſtories, or of the Acts of this Council it ſelf, any material Argument to the contrary, ſince that Law might be loſt, or omitted, by which it was confirmed, as well as ſeveral other Councils of that Age; there being no more mention made of this King's Confirmation of the Lands given to this Monaſtery in the great Council at *Verulam*, than what is cited in Sir *H. Spelman*'s Councils out of a Manuſcript Hiſtory of St. *Alban*'s, all the Acts of that Council being now loſt. But to return to our Annals. P. 314.

'The ſame Year *Ethelred*, (who had been twice King of *Northumberland*,) 'was ſlain by his own People 13° *Kal. Maii*, and that deſervedly, (as *R. Hoveden* relates,) as having been the Death of King *Oſred*, his Predeceſſour. After *Ethelred*, one *Osbald*, a Nobleman, was made King; but held the Throne but a ſmall time, being deſerted by his Subjects, and at laſt forced to flee the Kingdom, going by Sea from *Lindisfarne*, and then taking Refuge with the King of the *Picts*, there died an Abbot. Who was moſt in fault, in all theſe frequent Rebellions, and Changes of Kings among the *Northumbers*, is hard to decide; ſince all the Annals, as well as Hiſtorians, are very ſhort in their Relations of theſe Tranſactions; but it is certain, that the People, as well as Princes, muſt have ſuffered much

Anno Dom. DCCXCIV. much by ſuch frequent Revolutions. And it is alſo very well obſerved by *H. Huntington*, that theſe frequent Rebellions, and Expulſion of their Kings, proceeded in great part from the proud and turbulent Temper of the *Northumbrian Angles*.

The ſame Year, (according to our Annals,) Biſhop *Cealwulf*, and Biſhop *Eadbald*, departed from the *Northumbers*, and *Egferth* (Son to *Offa*) began his Reign over the *Mercians*, and within a few Months after deceaſed, having ſcarce reigned half a Year. It is alſo further to be noted, That this Prince, being of great Hopes and Worth, had been crowned King 9 Years before, in his Father's Life-time, and after his Death reſtored to the Church whatever he had violently ſeized on; but before he died, he left the Crown to *Kenwulf*, the next of the Royal Line.

But the Monks do aſcribe the ſhort Reign of this good Prince, to his Father's Sins; but of theſe Things, it belongs not to us to determine.

'Alſo this Year *Eadbert*, or *Ethelbert*, (Sirnamed *Præn*,) began to Reign 'in *Kent*, and alſo *Ethelred* the Ealderman deceaſed.

This Man had been a famous Commander in his time, but was then a Monk in the City of *York*; and now alſo, (according to the Annals,) 'the Heathen *Danes* deſtroyed *Northumberland*, and robbed the Monaſtery 'built by *Egbert*, which is at the Mouth of the River *Weri*; but there 'one of the *Daniſh* Captains was ſlain, and divers of their Ships de-'ſtroyed by a Tempeſt, and many of their Men drowned; but ſome 'of them reaching the Shore, were preſently ſlain at the Mouth of the 'ſame River.

But *Simeon* of *Durham* imputes this to a Judgment inflicted on them by St. *Cuthbert*, for thus ſpoiling his Monaſtery.

Anno Dom. DCCXCV. 'The Moon was Eclipſed, 5° *Kal. Aprilis*, from the Cock crowing, till 'the Morning. *Eardwulf* alſo began to reign over *Northumberland* 1° *Idus* '*Maii*, and was afterwards Conſecrated, and placed on the Throne 7° *Kal.* '*Junii*, at *York*, by *Eanbald* the Arch-Biſhop, and by the Biſhops *Ethelbert*, '*Higbald*, and *Badewulf*.

This *Eardwulf*, as *Florence* of *Worceſter* informs us, was he, who 5 Years before had ſo ſtrangely eſcaped Death at *Ripun*, after he had been carried out to be buried; but the Chronicle of *Mailroſs* does here give great Light to the *Saxon* Annals; for it tells us, that now the *Northumbers* murthered their King *Ethelred*, the Son of *Moll*; *Simeon* places it a Year after, but ſays, The Murther was committed on the 14th of the *Kalends* of *May*, at a Place called *Colene*; but they both agree, that immediately after his Death, one *Osbald*, a Nobleman of that Country, was made King, but reigned only 27 Days; and that then being forſaken by the Chief Men of his Kingdom, he was driven into the Iſle of *Lindisfarne* with a few Followers, from whence he fled by Sea to the King of the *Picts*, where he became a Monk: And this *Eardwulf* reigned in his ſtead.

William of *Malmesbury* further adds, that *Alcuin*, writing to King *Offa*, tells him, That King *Charles*, ſo ſoon as he heard of this Murther of King *Ethelred* above-mentioned, and of the Perfidiouſneſs of the *Northumbrian* Nation, not only ſtopt the Gifts he was then ſending, but falling into a Paſſion againſt them, called them *a perverſe and perfidious Nation, and worſe than Pagans*; ſo that if *Alcuin* had not interceded for them, he would have done them all the Miſchief he could.

About

About this time alſo the *Welſh* Chronicles relate, there was a great Battle fought at *Ruthlan*, between the *Saxons* and the *Britains*; where *Caradoc ap Gwin*, King of *North Wales* was ſlain. *Anno Dom.* DCCXCV.

But as Dr. *Powel* obſerved, in his Notes upon *Caradoc*'s Chronicle, in thoſe Times there was no ſettled Government in *Wales*; therefore ſuch as were Chief Lords of any Country there, are, in this Hiſtory called *Kings*.

'This Year died *Eanbald*, Arch-biſhop of *York*, the 4th of the *Ides* of *Auguſt*, whoſe Body was there buried; alſo the ſame Year Biſhop *Ceolwulf* died, and another *Eanbald* was Conſecrated in his ſtead. This Year likewiſe *Cenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, deſtroyed *Kent* to the Borders of *Mercia*, and took *Eadbert*, (or *Ethelbert*, Sirnamed *Præn*,) and carryed him Priſoner into *Mercia*, and there cauſed his Eyes to be put out, and his Hands to be cut off. Alſo *Ethelheard*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, called a Synod; which, by the Command of Pope *Leo*, eſtabliſhed and confirmed all thoſe things relating to God's Church, which had been before conſtituted in the Reign of King *Withgar*; and then the Arch-biſhop ſaid thus. *I* Ethelheard, *Arch-biſhop of* Canterbury, *with the Unanimous Conſent of the whole Synod, and of the whole Body of all the Monaſteries, to whom Exemption hath been granted of Old Times by Believers; in the Name of* GOD, *and by his fearful Judgments,* (*and, as I have received Command from Pope* Leo,) *do Decree, That for the future none ſhall preſume to* Elect *themſelves Governours amongſt* Lay-men *over* GOD's *Heritage, but as it is contained in the Charter,* (*or Bulls,*) *which the Pope hath granted, or Holy Men,* (*to wit,*) *our Kings and Anceſtors have ordained, concerning the Holy Monaſteries, ſo let them remain inviolate, without any gain-ſaying; and if there be any one who ſhall refuſe to obey this Command from* GOD, *the Pope, and Us, but ſhall deſpiſe it, and count it as nothing; let him know, that he ſhall give an Account of it before the Tribunal of* GOD. *And I* Æthelheard *the Arch-biſhop, with Twelve Biſhops, and Three and Twenty Abbots, do hereby eſtabliſh and confirm this Decree with the Sign of the Croſs.* *Anno Dom.* DCCXCVI.

This Council, thô the Annals do not expreſly mention it under that Title, is that great Council of *Becanceld*, placed in Sir *H. Spelman*'s Collection, under *Anno* 798, being held under *Cenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*; *Æthelheard*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, with 17 Biſhops more, who all ſubſcribed to this Decree, thô the Annals mention no more than 12 Biſhops, to have been there.

'This Year the *Romans* took Pope *Leo*, and cut out his Tongue, and put cut his Eyes, and depoſed him; but preſently after (if it may be believed,) he could both ſee, and ſpeak, by the help of GOD, as well as he could before; and was alſo reſtored to the Papacy (by the Emperour *Charles*.) Alſo *Eanbald*, the Arch-biſhop of *York*, received the Pall, and *Ethelbert* Biſhop of *Hagulſtad* deceaſed 3° *Kal. Nov.* *Anno Dom.* DCCXCVII.

'This Year was a bloody Battle in the Province of *Northumberland*, in *Lent*-time, at *Wealæge*, (now called *Whalie*) in *Lancaſhire*, where was ſlain *Alric*, the Son of *Heardbert*, and many others with him. *Anno Dom.* DCCXCVIII.

The occaſion of which Civil War, *Simeon* of *Durham* hath thus given us, *viz.* That beſides *Alric*, there were divers others in *Northumberland*, who had formerly conſpired againſt King *Ethelred*, and now raiſing a Rebellion againſt *Eardwulf*, under *Wada* their Captain, after much ſlaughter on both ſides at *Billangahoth*, near *Whalie* in *Lancaſhire*; the Conſpirators being at laſt put to flight, King *Eardwulf* returned home

Anno Dom. DCCXCVIII. Victorious. The same Year *London* (according to the same Author,) with a great multitude of its Inhabitants, by a sudden Fire was Consumed.

And now (according both to *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Roger Hoveden*,) was held the Second Council of *Pinchinhale* in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, under *Eanbald* Arch-bishop of *York*, and divers other Principal and Ecclesiastical Men, where many things were ordained for the Profit of GOD's Church, and of the *Northumbrian* Nation; as concerning the keeping *Easter*, and other Matters not particularly mentioned.

Tom. 1. *p.* 187. The same Year also (according to *Monasticon Anglicanum*,) *Kenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, founded a stately Abbey at *Winchelcomb* in *Gloucestershire* for 300 Benedictine Monks, and when it was Dedicated in the Presence of *Wilfrid* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and 13 other Bishops, he then set free before the High Altar, *Eadbert*, King of *Kent*, who was then his Prisoner of War.

But having before most cruelly put out his Eyes, and cut off his Hands, and disposed of his Kingdom to another, I doubt that Liberty proved but a small Satisfaction to this poor injured Prince. But such was the Superstitious Zeal of that Age, the Foundation of a Monastery was counted a sufficient Atonement to GOD, for whatsoever Cruelties or Injustice Princes hath then committed.

Anno Dom. DCCXCIX. 'This Year *Ethelheard* the Arch-bishop, and *Cynebriht*, Bishop of the 'West Saxons, went to *Rome*, the latter to take the Habit of a Monk,) 'and Bishop *Alfwin* deceased at *Southburg*, (now *Sutbury*,) in *Suffolk*, and 'was buried at *Domuc* (now *Dunwich*,) in the same County, (being then 'the Seat of that Bishoprick;) and *Tidfrith* was chosen in his Room. 'Also this Year, the Body of St. *Wihtburh* was found at *Durham*, entire 'and uncorrupt, after she had been dead 55 Years.

And the same Year (according to *Roger Hoveden*,) *Osbald*, who had been before King of *Northumberland*, died an Abbot, and was buried in *York* Minster; and *Alred*, the Ealderman, who slew King *Æthelred*, was also killed by one *Thormond*, in Revenge of the Death of his Lord.

Anno Dom. DCCC. 'Also the Moon was Eclipsed in the second Hour of the Night, 17° *Kal.* 'Feb. Also this Year *Beorthric*, (or *Brihtrick*,) King of the *West-Saxons*, 'deceased: As also *Worre* an Ealderman: Then also *Ecgbriht* began to 'Reign over the *West Saxons*; and the same Day, (or Year, as *Florence* of 'Worcester hath it,) *Æthelmond*, Ealderman of *Wiccon*, (that is *Worcester-* 'shire,) pass'd the River *Severne* at *Cynesmeresford*, (suppose to be *Kems-* 'ford in *Gloucestershire*,) and there met him *Weoxton* the Ealdormen, with 'the *Wiltshire* Men who gained the Victory.

I cannot find in any Author the occasion of this Quarrel; only, that it was fought betweeu these Earls, one of the *West Saxons*, and the other of the *Mercians*; but such Bickerings we often meet with in these Writers, and so related, are of no more use to Human Life, than to Chronicle the Skirmishes of Crows or Jack daws flocking together, and Fighting in Air.

M.

The same Year is very remarkable, because (as our Annals relate,) 'Charles the Great was first made Emperour, and saluted *Augustus* by the 'Romans; he then condemned those to Death who had before outraged 'Pope *Leo*; but by the Pope's Intercession they were pardoned as to Life, 'and only banished; but Pope *Leo* himself anointed him Emperour.

* Dr. Powel's History. Also this Year, according to the * *Welsh* Chronicles, Publisht by *Arthen*

ap-

ap Sitfilt, King of *Cardigan*; and *Run*, King of *Divet*; and *Cadel*, King of *Powis*, all three died. *Anno Dom.* DCCC.

Now alſo (according to *Florence*, and *Simeon*,) *Alchmund*, Son to *Ethelred*, late King of *Northumberland*, being taken by the Guards of K. *Eardulf*, was by his Command ſlain; but without telling us any Reaſon why.

Alſo about this time, according to Sir *H. Spelman*'s Firſt Volume of Councils, was held the Third Council of *Cloveſhoe*, under *Kenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Athelherd*, or *Ethelhard*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with all the Biſhops, Ealdermen, Abbots, and other Dignified Perſons of that Province; in which few Things were tranſacted concerning the Faith, only the Lands of a certain Monaſtery, called *Cotham*, which had been given by *Ethelbald*, King of the *Mercians*, to the Monaſtery of St. *Saviour*'s in *Canterbury*, and had been upon the Embezeling the Deeds, unjuſtly taken away by King *Kenwulph*, but he now repenting of it, deſired they ſhould be reſtored; whereupon *Cynedrith*, his Daughter, then Abbeſs of that Monaſtery, gave the ſaid Arch-Biſhop other Lands in *Kent* there mentioned, in exchange for the ſame.

But ſince I am come to the Concluſion of this Period, I cannot omit giving you a fuller Account of the Character, and Death of *Brithric* King of the *Weſt Saxons*, and of the Succeſſion of *Egbert*, who afterwards became the Chief or Supreme King of this Kingdom, and to whom all thoſe Kings that remained were forced to become Tributary.

As for King *Britric*, he is noted by *Will.* of *Malmesbury* to have been more deſirous of Peace, than War; and to that end, courted the Friendſhip of Foreign Princes, to have been eaſie to his Subjects in ſuch Things as did not weaken his Government; yet being jealous of Prince *Egbert*, who afterwards ſucceeded him, he forced him to flee to King *Offa* for Refuge; but upon the coming of certain Ambaſſadours to Treat of a Marriage between King *Brithric*, and the Daughter of King *Offa*, he retired into *France*, till that King was made away by the means of his Wife *Æadburga*, the Daughter of King *Offa*; who having prepared a Cup of poiſoned Wine for one of his Favourites whom ſhe hated, the King, coming in by chance, taſted of it, and ſo pined away. After whoſe Death, *Aſſer*, in his Annals, relates, That when this Queen could live no longer among the *Engliſh*, (being ſo hated by them for her violent and wicked Actions,) ſhe went into *France*, where ſhe was kindly Entertained by *Charles* the Great, and there making that Emperour many great Preſents, for which he bidding her chuſe whom ſhe would have for a Husband, himſelf, or his Son, ſhe fooliſhly choſe his Son; whereupon the Emperour laughing, ſaid, *If thou hadſt choſen me, thou ſhouldeſt have had my Son, but now thou ſhalt have neither*: (A juſt Return for her deſiring to marry one ſo much younger than her ſelf.) So the Emperour put her into a Monaſtery, where ſhe lived for ſome Years as an Abbeſs; but being Expelled thence for her Incontinency, ſhe wandred about with only one Servant, and begged her Bread in *Pavia* in *Italy*, till ſhe died.

But as for *Egbert* above mentioned, when he had been for about three Years baniſhed into *France*, where (as *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us) he poliſhed the Roughneſs of his own Country Manners, the *French* Nation being at that time the moſt Civilized of any of thoſe *Gothic* and *German* Nations, who had ſome Ages before (as hath been already related) ſettled themſelves in this ſide of *Europe*: But upon the Death

Anno Dom. DCCC. of King *Brihtric*, without any Issue, (as the same Author relates,) he was recalled by the Nobility of the *West Saxon* Kingdom; and being there ordained King, reigned with great Glory and Honour, exceeding all the *English Saxon* Kings that went before him, as shall be declared in the ensuing Book.

But before I conclude this, I cannot forbear mentioning a Learned *English-man*, who flourished about this time, called *Alcuinus*, or *Albinus*; who, going into *France*, was in great Favour with *Charles* the Great, whom he taught the Liberal Arts, and by his means erected the University of *Paris*, where he read *Logic*, *Rhetoric*, and *Astronomy*; being the most Learned Man of all the *English-men* (if not of all others) in his Time. He died Abbot of St. *Martins* at *Tours*, which that King bestowed upon him. He wrote elegantly in Verse, as well as Prose, considering the Age he lived in; as appears by his Poem *De Pontificibus & Sanctis Ecclesiæ Eboracensis*, lately Published by the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Gale*, in his last Volume of *English* Historians.

So having arrived to the end of this Period, I shall in the next Book shew, how King *Egbert* obtained not only the Crown of the *West Saxon* Kingdom, but also the Supreme Dominion of the *English* Nation.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE

A Continuation of the Succession of the *English-Saxon* Kings cont and *Simeon* of *Durham*. Note, That the last King of each Co the better see how the Series is continued.

This Account differs sometimes from the Annals *some few Years, wherein they are certainly mistaken. Manuscript* Welsh *Chronic*

Anno Dom.	*Kings of* Kent.
560	Ethelbert *reigned 56 years.*
616	Eadbald, *or* Ethelbald, *his Son, 24 years.*
640	Ercombert, *his Son, 24 years.*
664	Egbriht, *his Son, 9 years.*
673	Lothair, *his Brother, 12 years.*
685	Eadric, *a Stranger to the Royal Line.*
686	Wittred & Wæbberd; *these also usurped (not being of the Blood-Royal), and reigned at once.*
694	Wightred, *who restored the Royal Line, and dying, left three Sons, that all reigned one after another,* viz.
727	Ethelbert, *who reign'd 22 years.*
749	Eadbert, *11 years.*
760	Alric; *in whom the Royal Line being extinct, several strangers were advanced to the Throne;* viz.
764	Heahbert *and* Sigared; *these reigned at once, and divided the Kingdom between them.*
778	Egfert, *another Usurper.*
786	Eadbert *or* Ethelbert, *sirnamed* Præn, *taken Prisoner by* Kenwulf *King of the* Mercians, *who bestowed this Kingdom upon*
794	Cuthred, *as his Tributary.*

Anno Dom.	*Kings of the* South-Saxons.
	In the Succession of this Kingdom we find a great Chasm, until
680	Ethelwalch, *or* Athelwald, *who being slain in Battel by* Ceadwalla, *he for some time added that Kingdom to his own, till he was driven out by* Bertune *and* Autune, *two Commanders of the late King* Ethelwalch's. *These divided the Kingdom between them; after whom followed divers Kings, who being obscure, we know not their Names, until one*
725	Aldwin, *who being slain by* Ina *King of the* West-Saxons, *he by conquering this Kingdom, added it to his own.*

Anno Dom.	*Kings of the* West-Saxons.
597	Ceolwulf *reigned 14 years.*
611	Cynegils, *and*
613	Cwichelm, *his Son, who lived not long; but* Cynegils *reigned 31 years.*
643	Kenewalch, *his Son.*
672	Sexburge, *his Queen.*
674	Æskwine, *Cousin to the late King, reigned 2 years.*
676	Centwine, *Son to* Cynegils *reigned 9 years.*
685	Ceadwalla *three years and an half.*
688	Ina, *his Cousin, reign'd 39 years.*
728	Æthelheard, *his Kinsman, reigned 14 years and an half.*
741	Cuthred, *his Cousin.*
754	Sigebert, *his Cousin, 13 years.*
755	Cynewulf *reigned 29 years.*
784	Brihtric, *his Cousin, 18 years.*
802	Egbert, *his Cousin (though far remote:)*

Anno Dom.	*Kings of the* East-Saxons.
566	Sebert 47 *years.*
617	Sexred, Seward, *and* Sigebert, *being brothers, 6 years.*
623	Sigebert *the little, their Cousin, 25 years.*
648	Sigebert *the Good.*
661	Swithelme, *his Brother, 2 years.*
663	Sigher *and* Sebba, *Cousins; the former reigned a small time; the latter, 30 years.*
693	Sigehard *and* Swenfred 7 *years.*
700	Offa *reigned 9 years.*
709	Selred, *his Cousin, reigned 37 years and an half.*
746	Swithred.
	After whose death (as Florence *tells us) few Kings reigned over the* East-Saxons; *for the same year in which the* South-Saxons *and* Kentish-men *submitted themselves to King* Egbert, *the* East-Saxons *did so likewise.*

Anno Dom.
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795

s contained in the former Book; from the *Saxon* Annals, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, ch Column in the former Table, is again repeated in this, that the Reader may

Tab. 2.

ſtakn. The Chronology of the Kings of Wales *is according to the Account of Mr* Robert Vaughan, *and that Ancient Chronicle at the end of* Domeſday-Book.

Anno Dom.	*Kings of* Northumberland			*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of the* Eaſt-Angles.	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of* Mercia.	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of the* Britains.
	Ethelfrid *reigned* 24 *years over both Kingdoms.*			599	Eorpwald, *or* Earpenwald.		Ceorl.	658	Cadwan *was now elected King, and reigned* 12 *years.*
617	Edwin, *Son of* Ælla, *reigned likewiſe over both* 17 *years; but he being ſlain, they became again divided; for then in*			636	Sigebert *the Great.*	627	Penda, *a Prince of the Royal Blood, reigned* 30 *years.*	660	Cadwallo, *his Son.*
	Deira,		Bernicia,	638	Egric, *his Couſin.*			634	Cadwallader, *the Son of* Cadwallo, *reigned* 31 *years. He going to* Rome, *there followed An* Interregnum *of* 3 *years, until*
634	Oſric, *Son to* Alfrid, *reigned one year.*	634	Eanfred, *Son to* Ethelfrid, *late King, reigned one year.*	643	Anna, *Nephew to* Redwald.	655	Peada, *his Son, one year, after whom*	665	
				654	Ethelthere, *his Brother.*	656	Oſwie, *King of* Northumberland *held that Kingdom three years; but he being expell'd,*		
	Then theſe being both ſlain in the ſame year,			656	Æthelwald, *his Couſin.*			668	Ivor, *Son of* Alan *King of* Little-Britain, *who reigned* 22 *years.*
634	Oſwald, *Brother to* Eanfrid, *reigned over both Kingdoms* 9 *years; who being alſo ſlain,*			664	Aldwulf, *Son to* Ethelhere.	659	Wulfher, *Son to* Penda, *was made King.*	690	Edwal, *ſirnamed* Wyrch, *reigning at the ſame time in* Cornwal *and* Devonſhire, *is ſuppoſed to have reigned* 19 *years after the death of* Ivor.
642	Oſwie, *Brother to* Oſwald, *reigned in* Bernicia 9 *years.*	644	Oſwin, *Son to* Oſric, *reigned in* Deira, *until after* 7 *years reign, being ſlain by,*	683	Ælfwold, *his Brother.*	675	Ethelred, *his Brother,* 39 *years.*		
				690	Beorne, *one of another Family.* Note, *That under* An. 749. Sim. *of* Durham, *and the Chronicle of* Mailroſs, *make* Hunbean *and* Albert *to have ſucceeded* Ælfwold, *and divided the Kingdom between them. But ſince* Mat. Weſtm. *calls them* Beorna *and* Athelbert, *I take this* Hunbean *to be the ſame with* Beorne *abovementioned, and* Athelbert *to be the ſame with*	704	Kenred, *his Couſin,* 5 *years.*	700	Gerent, *King of* Cornwal, *choſen King of the* Britains.
651	Oſwie *(laſt mention'd) he then united both theſe Kingdoms into one; and ſo they afterwards continued: He reigned* 28 *years.*					709	Ceolred, *Son of* Ethelred, 9 *years.*	720	Roderick Molwynoc, *Son of* EdwalWyrch, *reign'd* 32 *years.*
670	Egfrid, *or* Egfert, *Son to* Oſwie, *reigned* 15 *years.*					719	Ethelbald *the Proud, his Couſin, tho far remote,* 36 *years.*	752	Caradoc, *his Son, King of* North-Wales, *reigned* 42 *years.*
685	Alfred, *his Brother,* 20 *years.*					755	Beornred, *an Uſurper, half a year.*	755	Conan Tindaethwy, *otherwiſe called* Howel, *reigning in* South-Wales *at the ſame time, till at laſt he being expelled the Countrey, his Brother poſſeſſed the whole Kingdom.*
705	Oſred, *Son to* Alfred, 11 *years.*					756	Offa, *Nephew to* Ethelbald, 40 *years.*		
716	Kenred, *Son of* Cuthelm, 2 *years.*					796	Egfert, *his Son, about half a year.*		
718	Oſric, *Brother to* Kenred, 11 *years.*					796	Kenwulf, *one of the Blood-Royal, tho far remote,* 24 *years.*		
729	Ceolwulf, *Couſin to* Kenred, 8 *years.*								
737	Eadbert, 21 *years.*			749	Ethelred *Son to* Æthelwald; *who after the death of* Beorne *reigned alone; tho the time when is uncertain.*				
758	Oſulph, *his Son,* 1 *year.*								
759	Ethelwald, *ſirnamed* Moll, 6 *years.*								
765	Alhred, *Great Grandſon to* Ida, 16 *years.*								
774	Ethelred, *or* Ethelbert, *Son to* Moll, 4 *years.*								
778	Alfwold, 11 *years.*								
789	Ofred, *his Nephew, Son to* Alred, 1 *year.*			793	Æthelbert, *Son to* Ethelred, *murther'd by K.* Offa, *who ſeized his Kingdom; after whom were many Kings of ſmall note for* 61 *years, until* Edmund, *ſirnamed the Martyr.*				
790	Ethelred, *or* Ethelbert, *again reſtored,* 4 *years.*								
795	Osbald 27 *days, and then depoſed.*								
795	Eardulf 10 *years.*								

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Anno Dom.	*King*
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THE General History OF BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND:

As well Eccleſiaſtical, as Civil.

BOOK V.

From the beginning of the Reign of King EGBERT, *to that of* King EDGAR; *Being the ſpace of One Hundred Fifty Six Years and an Half.*

THE *Engliſh Saxons* having after their Conqueſt of ſo great a part of *Britain*, and the expulſion of the Natives into *Wales* and *Cornwall*, erected Seven (and if we reckon *Deira* and *Bernicia* as diſtinct, Eight) different Kingdoms in this part of our Iſland; that naturally followed, which always attends a Warlike People, canton'd out into many ſmall independant principalities, *viz.* conſtant diſputes about the borders of their reſpective Territories, or elſe a ſtrife for the Maſtery who ſhould be Chief, and Domineere moſt over the reſt: from whence (beſides divers other accidental occaſions of Quarrels) ſprang Civil Wars, incident to neighbouring Nations, no ways divided but by Rivers or other leſs certain boundaries, which never ceaſed until what had been begun by King *Egbert*'s Predeceſſours, was finiſh'd by himſelf, and his Succeſſours, who at length united all thoſe Kingdoms into one, to the laſting quiet and happineſs of the *Engliſh* Nation; which to ſet forth ſhall be the ſubject of this preſent Period. For though there had been before *Egbert* many chief or Principal Kings (ſeveral of whom *Bede*, as alſo the *Saxon Annals* have mentioned) who by the ſole power of their Arms ſucceeded each other in that Title, yet did it never ſo properly

properly belong to any one as to King *Egbert*, (with whoſe Reign we ſhall begin this Book;) ſince he was not ſatisfied as others had been before him, with the bare acknowledgments and ſubmiſſions of the other remaining Kings; but having ſubdued moſt of them, he laid their Kingdoms to his own, leaving only thoſe of the *Mercians*, *Northumbrians* and *Eaſt-Angles* to be held by their reſpective Princes as Tributaries to his Crown; in which ſtate they continued, till the Invaſion and Conqueſt of the *Danes* wholly ſwallowed up all thoſe Principalities, and that after their expulſion by King *Alfred*, and his Son *Edward* the Elder, theſe Kingdoms became again united to the reſt of their Dominions under the General name of *England*.

But ſince the Invaſion of the *Danes*, alſo happened in the beginning of this Period, 'tis fit we ſay ſomething of it, both as to its Cauſes, and Inſtruments by which it was performed; in the doing of which I ſhall make uſe of *H. Huntington*'s words, in the Prologue to his Fifth Book, wherein he tells us, 'That the Invaſion of the *Danes* was much the fierceſt, 'and moſt cruel that ever was felt in this Iſland; for the *Romans* althô 'they ſubdued *Britain* to their Empire, yet uſed their Victory with mo'deration, and made thoſe they conquered partakers of the *Roman* Laws 'and Civility; and as for the Invaſion of the *Picts* and *Scots* which fol'lowed the decay of the *Roman* Empire in *Britain*, though it fell ſevere'ly upon the Northern Parts, yet was it not of any long continuance, 'or of any general extent, being ſoon ſtopt by the more predominant 'Power and Valour of the *Engliſh-Saxons*; who (as you have already 'heard) conquering this Kingdom by degrees, though they drove out 'the ancient Inhabitants who refuſed to ſubmit to them; yet we do not 'find, but that they ſpared the lives of all thoſe that became their 'Vaſſals, and having Conquered the Country, they not only repaired 'the ancient Towns and Cities, but likewiſe built many new ones, 'and governed the Kingdom by their own Laws and Conſtitutions. 'Laſtly, the *Normans*, who ſucceeded the *Danes* in ſubduing this Nation, 'yet granted not only Life and Liberty to the vanquiſhed, but alſo per'mited them the uſe of their ancient Laws and Cuſtoms; whereas the '*Danes* waſted and ſpoiled this whole Iſland, for a long time together by 'frequent Incurſions, exempting no places Sacred or Prophane from Spoil 'or Ruin; ſo that ſparing neither Age nor Sex, they ſeemed for a long 'time not ſo much to deſign the Conqueſt, as Deſtruction of the *Engliſh* 'Nation;] till at laſt King *Knute* obtaining the Crown of *England*, after the Death of King *Edmund* (Sir-named *Ironſide*,) by reſtoring its ancient Laws and Liberties, made ſome amends for the continual ſpoils and depredations of himſelf and his Predeceſſours.

If therefore you do but conſider the frequent Invaſions of that Barbarous People, how they often landed in ſeveral places at once, thereby not only dividing the Forces of the *Engliſh-Saxons*, but alſo diſtracting their Commanders, that they could not tell which way to March againſt them; you may hence obſerve (that next to the Providence, and Mercy of God,) nothing but the extraordinary Valour and Conduct of thoſe Kings, whoſe Great and Noble Actions we ſhall here relate, could have preſerved this Nation from being totally ſubdued long before; nor could they ever bring it under their Power, till they met with a Prince, who fell very ſhort of his Anceſtors, as well in Prudence and Valour, as (in the chiefeſt thing of all) the love of his Subjects.

But

But as for the causes, which provoked the wrath of God to bring this dreadful Judgment upon the *English* Nation, the same Author gives us this probable Account, *viz.* 'That in the Primitive Church of 'England, Religion shined with so great a Lustre, that divers Kings and 'Queens, together with many of the great Men and Bishops undertook 'Monastick Vows, (as you have already heard;) but in process of time 'all Virtue and Piety so far declined, that the *English Saxons* suffered no 'Nation to exceed them in deceit, and all manner of wickedness; 'which chiefly appears in the precedent, as well as following History of 'the *Northumbrian* Kings, in which you will find, that all Orders and 'Degrees of Men were guilty of so great Treachery and Rebellion, 'that nothing was a greater disgrace than Piety and innocence, which 'was looked upon as a just occasion to be made away; wherefore it 'was no wonder, if God thought fit to send upon them whole swarms 'of cruel Nations, which destroyed all before them, (to wit) the *Danes* 'or *Norwegians*, together with the *Swedes* and *Vandals*. *Anno Dom.* DCCCII.

These from the latter end of the Reign of King *Egbert*, to the beginning of the Reign of *William* the First, being above Two Hundred and Thirty Years, never gave this Island any long respite from their Invasions. So that it seems it was not the Nation of the *Danes* alone, (properly so called,) who were the cause of this Destruction, but a mixture of divers of these Northern Nations, who joyning together, proposed at first to themselves no other design but Plunder and Spoil: But of this we shall speak more in due time; and shall now proceed in our History, where we left off in our last Book.

Egbert, the only surviving Prince of the Blood-Royal of the *West Saxon* Kings, as great Nephew to Ina, by his Brother *Inegilds*, being arrived in *England*, was now ordained King, as *Ethelwerd* expressly terms his Election. *Anno Dom.* DCCCII.

But since *Asser* in his Annals, places this King's coming to the Crown under *Anno* 802. as does *Simeon* of *Durham*, and also, *Roger Howden*, from an Ancient piece of *Saxon* Chronologie, inserted at the beginning of the first Book of his first part; and this account being also proved by that great Master in Chronology, the now Lord Bishop of *Litchfield*, to be truer then that of the *Saxon* Annals, or *Ethelwerd*, by divers Proofs, too long to be here Inserted. I have made bold to put this King's coming to the Crown, two Years backwarder then it is in the last Book, thô I confess the former Account in the *Saxon* Annals, would have made a more exact Epocha.

Also about this time, as appears from the ancient Register of St. *Leonard*'s Abbey in *York*; cited in* *Monast. Anglican, viz.* 'That *Anno Dom.* 800, *Egbert* King of all *Britain*, in a Parliament at *Winchester*, by the consent of his People, changed the Name of this Kingdom, and commanded it to be called *England*. * I Vol. P. 367

Now, thô by the word Parliament here used, it is certain that this Register was writ long after the Conquest; yet it might be transcribed from some more ancient Monument, since *Will.* of *Malmesbury* tells us of this King, (tho' without setting down the time,) that by the greatness of his Mind, he reduced all the Varieties of the *English Saxon* Kingdoms to one uniform Empire, or Dominion, which he called *England*; though others perhaps more truly refer it towards the latter end of his Reign, as you will find when we come to it.

This

This Year *Eardulf*, King of the *Northumbers* led his Army againſt *Kenwulf*, King of *Mercia*, for harbouring his Enemies, who alſo gathering together a great Army, they approached to each other; when by the Advice of the Biſhops and Noblemen of *England*, as alſo by the Interceſſion of the chief King of the *Engliſh*, (by whom is meant King *Egbert*; who then paſſed under that Title.) They agreed upon a laſting Peace, which was alſo confirmed by Oath, on both ſides. This we find in *Simeon* of *Durham*'s Hiſtory of that Church, and in no other Authour.

Vid. *Monaſt. Angl.* Tom. 1 p. 191. About this time alſo, St. *Alburhe*, Siſter to King *Egbert*, founded a Benedictine Nunnery at *Wilton*, which was long after rebuilt by King *Alfred*, and augmented by King *Edgar*, for Twenty Six Nuns, and an Abbeſs.

The ſame Year, the Moon was Eclipſed on the 13 *Kal. Jan.* and 'Beormod, was Conſecrated Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

Anno Dom. DCCCIII. About this time, in Obedience to a Letter from Pope *Leo* III. (who at the deſire of *Kenwulf* King of the *Mercians*, had Two Years ſince reſtored the See of *Canterbury* to its ancient Primacy,) was held the Third Synod at *Cloveſhoe*, by Arch biſhop *Ethelward*, and 12 Biſhops of his Province, whereby the See of *Canterbury* was not only reſtored to all its ancient Rights and Priviledges; but it was alſo forbid for all times to come, upon Pain of Damnation, (if not repented of,) for any Man to violate the Rights of that ancient See, and thereby to deſtroy the Unity of Chriſt's Holy Church; then follow the Subſcriptions of the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and of 12 other Biſhops of his Province, together with thoſe of many Abbots and Presbyters, who never Subſcribed before, but without the Subſcriptions of the King, or any of the Lay Nobility: Which plainly ſhews it to have been a meer Eccleſiaſtical Synod, and no great Council of the Kingdom, as you may ſee at large in Sir *H. Spelman*'s 1 *Vol* of Councils, the Decree of which Synod alſo ſhews, that the Church of *England* did not then conceive the Authority of the People alone, ſufficient to diſanul what had been ſolemnly Decreed in a great Council of the Kingdom, as was the Removal of the Primacy from *Canterbury* to *Litchfield*. The next Year,

Anno Dom. DCCCIII. 'According to our Annals, *Ethelheard*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, de-'ceaſed, and *Wulfred* was conſecrated Arch-biſhop in his ſtead, and *Forther* 'the Abbot dyed. The ſame Year alſo,

'Deceaſed *Higbald* Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*, 8° *Kal Julii*. and *Eegbert* was 'Conſecrated to that See, 3° *Ides. Junii*.

Anno Dom. DCCCIV. 'This Year, *Wulfred* the Arch biſhop received his Pall.

Anno Dom. DCCCV. 'Cuthred King of *Kent* deceaſed, as did alſo *Ceolburh* the Abbeſs, and 'Heabyrnt the Ealdorman.

This *Cuthred* here mentioned, was (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* informs us) he whom *Kenulph* King of the *Mercians* hath made King of *Kent*, inſtead of *Ethelbert*, called *Pren*.

Anno Dom. DCC VI. 'This Year the Moon was Eclipſed on the *Kal.* of *September*, and 'Eardwulf, King of the *Northumbers*, was driven from his Kingdom; 'and *Eanbryth* Biſhop of *Hagulſtad* Deceaſed. Alſo this Year (2° *Non Junii.*) the ſign of the Croſs was ſeen in the Moon upon *Wedneſday* in the, Morning; and the ſame Year, on the Third *Kal. Septemb.* a wonderful Circle was ſeen round the Sun.

This

This *Eardwulf* above-mentioned is related by *Simeon* of *Durham* to have been the Son of *Eardulf*, the firſt of that Name, King of *Northumberland*, and after Ten Years Reign, to have been driven out by one *Ælfwold*, who Reigned Two Years in his ſtead. *Anno Dom.* DCCCV.

During theſe Confuſions in the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* with great probability ſuppoſes (in his *Antiquitat. Britan. Eccleſ.*) that the *Picts* and *Scots* Conquered the Countries of *Galloway* and *Lothian*, as alſo thoſe Countries called the *Lowlands* of *Scotland*, as far as the *Friths* of *Dunbritain* and *Edenburgh*. And that this City was alſo in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh Saxons*, about an Hundred Years after this, I ſhall ſhew in due order of time; and that our Kings did long after maintain their claim to *Lothian* ſhall be further ſhewn, when I come to it: But that all the *Lowlands* of *Scotland*, as far as the *Engliſh Saxon* Tongue was ſpoken, were anciently part of the *Bernician* Kingdom, the *Engliſh* Language, as well as the Names of places, which are all *Engliſh Saxon* (and neither *Scotiſh* nor *Pictiſh*) do ſufficiently make out.

The Sun was Eclipſed on the 7th *Kal.* of *Auguſt*, about the Fifth Hour of the Day. *Anno Dom.* DCCCVII.

This Year (as *Sigebert* in his Chronicle relates) King *Eardulph* (above-mentioned) being expelled his Kingdom, and coming for Refuge to the Emperour *Charles* the Great, was by his Aſſiſtance reſtored thereunto; but ſince neither the *Saxon* Annals, nor *Florence*, nor yet any of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians do mention it, I much doubt the Truth of this Relation; thô it muſt be alſo acknowledged, that it is inſerted in the ancient *French* Annals of that time, and recited that this King's Reſtitution was procured by the Interceſſion of the Pope's and Emperour's Legates, who were ſent into *England* for that purpoſe. *Anno Dom.* DCCCVIII.

This Year (according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*) *Egbert*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, marching in an Hoſtile manner into *Cornwal*, abſolutely ſubdued it, and added it to his own Kingdom, many being there ſlain on both ſides.

The ſame Year alſo (according to *Caradoc's* Chronicle) *Run*, King of *Dyvet*, and *Cadhel*, King of *Powis*, deceaſed.

'*Charles* the Emperour made Peace with *Nicephorus* Emperour of *Conſtantinople*. *Anno Dom.* DCCCIX.

This Year alſo (according to the ſame *Caradoc*) *Elbods*, Arch-Biſhop of *North Wales*, (*i. e.* of St. *Aſaph*,) deceaſed, before whoſe Death was a great Eclipſe of the Sun: But as the Reverend Lord Biſhop of *Bangor*, in his Catalogue of the *Welſh* Kings, which he has been pleaſed to communicate to me, well obſerves, That Eclipſe falling out *Anno* 810, the Biſhops Death muſt do ſo likewiſe, and therefore in this the Chronicles muſt needs be miſtaken.

Alſo (according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*) *Ælfwold*, King of *Northumberland*, dying, *Earnred* ſucceeded him, and held it for 32 Years; which is alſo confirmed by *Simeon* of *Durham*, thô this can by no means agree with the Chronicle of *Mailroſs*, which ſays, That *Eardulf* being expelled his Kingdom, it continued without any King for many Years; but *William* of *Malmesbury* makes this Anarchy to have begun from the murther of King *Ethered*, *Anno* 794, (as hath been already obſerved in the laſt Book,) and that this Confuſion laſted for about 33 Years, during which time that Province became a Scorn to its Neighbours: But it ſeems they ſtill had Kings, thô very obſcure, and but of ſmall Account. *Hiſt. Dun. Eccles. col.* 13.

Anno Dom. DCCCX. But of greater certainty is that which *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates under this Year, *viz.* That King *Egbert* ſubdued the Northern *Welſh-men*, and made them Tributary to him.

M. But it is wholly incredible what *Buchanan*, in his *Scotiſh* Hiſtory, relates in the Year following, to wit, That *Achaius*, King of *Scots*, having reigned 32 Years, and had formerly aided (but in what Year of his Reign he tells us not) *Hungus*, King of the *Picts*, with 10000 *Scots* againſt one *Athelſtan*, then waſting the *Pictiſh* Borders; and that *Hungus*, by the Aid of thoſe *Scots*, and the Help of St. *Andrew* their Patron, in a Viſion by Night, and the Appearance of a Croſs by Day, routed the aſtoniſhed *Engliſh*, and ſlew this *Athelſtan* in Fight. But who this *Athelſtan* was, I believe no Man knows; *Buchanan* ſuppoſes him to have been ſome *Daniſh* Commander, on whom King *Alured*, or *Alfred*, had beſtowed *Northumberland*: Yet of this, I find no Foot-ſteps in our ancient Writers; and if any ſuch Thing were done in the time of *Alfred*, it muſt be above 60 Years after, for King *Alfred* began not to Reign till *Anno* 871. And *John Fordun*, in his *Scotiſh* Hiſtory, is alſo as much miſtaken, making this *Athelſtan* to be the Son of King *Ethelwulf*, who then governed the *Northern* Provinces under his Father, which alſo fails almoſt as much in point of time; this Prince *Athelſtan* here mentioned being (as appears by the *Saxon* Annals) alive, and engaged in a Sea-Fight againſt the *Danes* above 40 Years after, as you will find in its due place ſet down. This *Athelſtan* therefore, and this great Overthrow, ſeems rather to have been a meer Fancy of ſome idle Monk.

Anno Dom. DCCCXI. And this Year, (according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*,) as King *Egbert* had the Year before ſubdued the *Welſh-men*, ſo (it ſeems upon ſome freſh Rebellion of theirs) he again entred their Borders, and laid them waſte from North to South with Fire and Sword, and then returned home Victorious.

But notwithſtanding the Wars the *Welſh* had from abroad, it ſeems they had alſo time enough for Civil Wars at home; for now (according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle) *Conan*, Prince of *Wales*, and his Brother *Howel*, could not agree, inſomuch that they tried the Matter by Battle, where *Howel* had the Victory; to which Dr. *Powel* hath here added this Obſervation.

That this *Howel*, the Brother of *Conan*, King or Prince of *North Wales*, did claim the Iſle of *Mon*, or *Angleſey*, for part of his Father's Inheritance, which *Conan* refuſing to give him, thereupon they fell at Variance, and conſequently made War the one againſt the other.

And here (ſays he) I think fit to ſay ſomewhat of the old Cuſtom and Tenure of *Wales*, from whence this Miſchief grew, that is, the Diviſion of the Father's Inheritance amongſt all the Sons commonly called *Gauel kind*. *Gauel* is a *Britiſh* Term, ſignifying a *Hold*, becauſe every one of the Sons did hold ſome portion of his Father's Lands, as his lawful Son and Succeſſour. This was the Cauſe, not only of the Overthrow of all the ancient Nobility of *Wales*, (for by that means the Inheritance being continually divided and ſubdivided amongſt the Children, and Children's Children, it was at length brought to nothing,) but alſo of much Bloodſhed, unnatural Strife, and Contention amongſt Brethren; as we have here an Example, and many others in this Hiſtory. This kind of Partition is very good to plant and ſettle a Nation in a large Country, not inhabited, but in a populous Country already furniſhed with Inhabitants;

bitants; it is the utter Decay of great Families, and (as I ſaid before) the cauſe of conſtant Strife and Debate. But ſome Years after, *Howel* gave his Brother *Conan* another Defeat, and ſlew a great many of his People. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXI.

Whereupon *Conan* levied an Army in the Year 817, and chaſed his Brother *Howel* out of the Iſle of *Angleſey*, compelling him to flee into that of *Man*; and a little after died *Conan*, chief King of the *Britains*, or *Welſh-men*, leaving behind him a Daughter named *Eſylht*, who was married to a Nobleman, called *Mervyn Vrych*, the Son of *Gwyriad*, who was afterwards King in her Right.

This Year alſo, as the Manuſcript Annals of the Abbey of *Winchelcomb* relate, the Charter of this Monaſtery was granted by King *Kenulph*, as appears by a Copy there inſerted; which ſhews, what Orders of Men were ſummoned by that King to be preſent at the Council, in which this Charter was confirmed, *viz. Merciorum optimates, Epiſcopos, Principes, Comites, Procuratores meoſque* (i. e. *Regis*) *Propinquos*; which Terms having already been explained in the Introduction to this Book, I need not here repeat. There were alſo preſent *Cuthred* King of *Kent*, his tributary, and *Sutbered* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, with all others, who ſhould be preſent at thoſe Synodal Councils: Then follow the Subſcriptions of K. *Kenulph*, as alſo of both the ſaid Kings, and of *Wilfred* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with the reſt of the Biſhops and Ealdermen there ſtiled *Duces*. * *Bib. Cotton. Tib. E.* 4.

'This Year, according to our Annals, the Emperour *Charles* the *Great* 'departed this Life, (when he had Reigned Forty Five Years;) alſo '*Wilfred* the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Wigbright* the Biſhop of the '*Weſt-Saxons* went to *Rome*.' But here our Annals are miſtaken, for this Emperour dyed not till the Year 814. *Mat. Weſtminſter* alſo adds, that theſe Biſhops above-mentioned went to *Rome* about the Affairs of the *Engliſh* Church. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXII.

'Arch-Biſhop *Wilfred* having received the Benediction of Pope *Leo*, 'returned again to his Biſhoprick, and the ſame Year King *Egbert* waſted 'the *Weſtern Welſh* from the South to the *Weſt*.' This ſeems but to have been the ſame Invaſion mentioned by *Mat. Weſtminſter* under *An.* 811. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXIII.

This Year *Leo*, that worthy and Holy Pope, deceaſed; and *Stephanus* ſucceeded in the Popedome; but *Florence* of *Worceſter* more rightly places the Death of this Pope Two Years later.

Pope *Stephanus* deceaſed, and *Paſcalis* was conſecrated Pope in his 'ſtead; and the ſame Year the School or College of the *Engliſh* Nation '(at *Rome*) was burnt.' *Anno Dom.* DCCCXIV.

But *Mat. Weſtminſter* does more rightly place the Death of Pope *Stephanus* the Year following. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXVI.

At this time was held the Synod at *Calcuith*, under *Wilfred* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Kenulph* King of the *Mercians*, who was there preſent; but the Decrees being wholly Eccleſiaſtical, I paſs them by, and refer the curious to Sir *H. Spelman*'s 1. Volume of Councils: only ſhall here take notice of this one paſſage, that now Biſhops, Abbots, and Abbeſſes were firſt forbid by the Seventh Canon of this Synod, to alien their Lands committed to their truſt, in Fee, or for longer time then one Life; and that with the conſent of the Houſe.

Cenwulf King of the *Mercians* deceaſed, and *Ceolwulf* began to Reign in his ſtead, alſo *Eadbyrht* the Ealderman dyed. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXIX.

But the *Saxon* Annals do here omit, that which is very remarkable that not *Ceolwulf*, but *Kenelm*, Son to King *Kenwulf* being a Child of Seven

Anno Dom. DCCCXIX. Years Old, ſucceeded his Father under the tutelage of his Siſter *Quendride*, who being tempted by a wicked Ambition of Reigning, was by her made away, and thereby he obtained the Name of a Martyr: The manner of which (thô it is certainly but a Legend) I ſhall, to divert the Reader, relate out of *Will.* of *Malmesbury*, and *Mat. Weſtminſter.*

This young Prince was committed by his Siſter to an Attendant, on purpoſe to be made away; who carrying him into a Wood under pretence of Hunting; cut off his Head, and threw his Body into a Thicket of Buſhes; his Siſter preſently ſeizing the Kingdom, ſtraitly forbad all inquiry to be made after her loſt Brother: But ſure it was Miraculous, That a thing done ſo privately in *England*, ſhould be firſt known at *Reme*: but ſo it came to paſs by Divine Revelation; for upon the Altar of St. *Peter*, a White Dove let fall a certain Paper, which diſcovered both the Death of King *Kenelm*, and alſo the place of his Burial; which being Written in Golden Letters was thus:

In Clent Cow-batch, Kenelme King Bearne, lieth under a Thorne, heaved bereaved.

Which being in *Saxon*, may be thus Tranſlated into *Engliſh* Rhime.

In Clent-cow-paſture under a Thorne,
Of Head bereft, lies Kenelme *King Born.*

But it ſeems the Characters were ſo hard to be read, that all the *Roman* Clerks there preſent, attempted in vain at the Pope's Command to read this writing; but an *Engliſh* Man by chance ſtanding by, (whom, to make the Miracle the greater, *Mat. Weſtminſter* (reading *Angelus* inſtead of *Anglus*) calls an *Angel*, and Tranſlating this writing into *Latin*, cauſed the Pope by an Epiſtle ſent by him on purpoſe to give notice to the *Engliſh* Kings of their Martyr'd Country-man; whoſe Body being thus Miraculouſly diſcovered, was in a great Aſſembly of Clerks and Nobles, taken out of the hole where it was laid, and carried to *Winchelcombe*, in *Glouceſter-ſhire*; and there buried in the Church of that Abbey, which his Father had founded; which after ſome time brought no ſmall profit to that Monaſtery, by frequent Pilgrimages made to the Tomb of this little Saint.

Will. Malmesbury, lib. 2.

But now my hand is in, pray take all the reſt of the Story.

When the Body of this Young Prince was brought home, the Murdreſs his Siſter, being vexed with the Singing of thoſe Clerks and Laicks that attended the Corps, and looking out of her Chamber Window in pure Spite, repeated the Pſalm backward which they then Sung, thereby to diſturb the Harmony of the Chorus; but (as the ſame Authour adds,) whileſt ſhe was thus ſinging, both her Eyes fell out of her Head upon the Pſalter ſhe held in her Hands, and the Pſalter it ſelf ſet in Silver, and beſmeared with the Blood of her Eyes, (being then to be ſeen) gave a pregnant Teſtimony of her Crime, as well as puniſhment; yet it ſeems *Will.* of *Malmesbury* knew nothing of this Legend of the finding the Body, but only ſays, it was diſcovered by Miraculous Rays of a vaſt Light, which ſhining all Night over the place where it lay, was the occaſion of its being found out; but no matter for the manner, both of them being alike credible. This is enough, (if not too much) of this Boy, King and Martyr: And this is certain, that his unnatural Siſter did not enjoy the Fruits of her wicked Ambition long; for *Ceolwulf* Brother to King *Kenwulf*, ſucceeded in the Kingdom; thô he likewiſe Reigned but little more than one Year:

Anno Dom. DCCCXX.

For

For the next Year he was deprived of his Kingdom (as *Ingulphus* relates) by one *Bernulph*, an Ambitious Man, of great Riches and Power, thô no way related to the Blood Royal. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXXI.

'This Year Two Ealdermen were ſlain, *Burkelm*, and *Muca*, (but who theſe were our Annals do not acquaint us:) There was alſo this Year held a Synod at *Cloveſhoe* under King *Beornwulf*, and Arch-Biſhop *Wilfred*; whoſe Conſtitutions relating wholly to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, you may find in Sir *H. Spelman*'s 1. *Vol.* The only Civil Buſineſs, was that of the Abbeſs *Cendrythe*'s being forced to make ſatisfaction to Archbiſhop *Wilfred*, by rendering 100 Manſes or Farmes, for the wrongs which King *Cenwulf* her Father had done to the Church of *Canterbury*. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXXII.

This *Cendrythe* is the ſame with *Quendrithe*; or *Quendrida* (as ſhe was called by our *Latin* Authors,) who made away her Brother K. *Kenelme*, (as you have already heard;) and who, to Expiate for the Death of her Brother, (ſince ſhe could not be a Queen) had profeſſed her ſelf a Nun, and was now an Abbeſs.

'There was a Fight between the *Britains* and *Devonſhire* Men at *Gafulford*, now *Camelford*, in *Cornwall*; and *Florence* of *Worceſter* tells us, 'That the *Britains* were ſlain by thoſe of *Devonſhire*. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXXIII.

'The ſame Year alſo, (according to our Annals,) *Ecbriht* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and *Beornwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, fought at *Ellendune*, (ſuppoſed to be *Wilton* near *Salisbury*;) where *Ecbriht* obtained the Victory, a great ſlaughter being there made; after which King *Ecbright* ſent *Æthelwulf* his Son, and *Ealſtan* his Biſhop, and *Wulfheard* his Ealderman, with a great Army into *Kent*, where they forced King *Baldred* to Fly over *Thames* into the *Northern* parts; then the *Kentiſhmen*, and thoſe of *Surry*, together with the *South-Saxons*, and *Eaſt-Saxons*, ſubmitted themſelves to King *Egbert*; which laſt Nation had been unjuſtly wreſted from his Family, and had (as *Florence* relates) for the ſpace of ſeveral Years been ſubject to Kings that were ſtrangers; the ſame Year alſo the King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, together with the whole Nation beſeeched King *Ecbriht* to grant them Peace, and be their Protector, for fear of the *Mercians*.] And the ſame Year the *Eaſt-Angles* ſlew *Beornwulf* King of the *Mercians*, becauſe (as *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates) he challenged their Kingdom as his own, ever ſince the time that King *Offa* took it, but now the *Mercians* tried to recover it by Force.

The ſame Year was alſo held another *Synodal* Council at *Cloveſhoe*, for the Kingdom of *Mercia*, under K. *Beornwulf* and *Wilfred* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with all the Biſhops and Chief Men of that Kingdom, wherein ſome diſputes about Lands between *Heabert*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and a certain Monaſtery called *Weſtburgh*, were determined.

'This Year *Ludican* King of the *Mercians* and five of his Ealdermen were ſlain; and *Wiglaf* began to Reign in his ſtead.] *Ingulf* and *Will.* of *Malmesbury* tell us, That this *Ludican* was Kinſman to the laſt mentioned King *Beornwulf*, and leading an Army againſt the *Eaſt-Angles* to revenge his Death, was there overcome and Slain, and that both theſe Tyrants were juſtly removed, who had not only made Kings without any Right, but had alſo by their imprudence been the occaſion of the deſtruction of the Military Forces of that Kingdom, which had till then proved Victorious; and that thereupon one *Withlaf* being before Ealderman of *Mercia*, was by the conſent of all the People created King; whoſe Son *Wimond* had Married *Alfleda* the Daughter of *Ceolwulf*, the late King. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXXV.

This

Anno Dom. DCCCXXVII. This King *Withlaf* Reigned thirteen Years, as Tributary to King *Egbert*, as ſhall be further related anon.

'The Moon was Eclipſed on *Chriſtmaſs* day at Night, and the ſame 'Year King *Egbryght* ſubdued the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and all the Country 'that lay South of *Humber*: He was the Eighth King, who Ruled over all '*Britain*; but the Firſt, who had ſo great a Command, was *Ælla* King of 'the *South Saxons*; the Second was *Ceaulin*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*; the 'Third was *Æthelbryght* King of *Kent*; the Fourth was *Redwald* King of 'the *Eaſt Angles*; the Fifth was *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*; the Sixth 'was *Oſwald*, who ſucceeded him; the Seventh was *Oſwi* the Brother of '*Oſwald*; and the Eight was *Egbryght*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*; who not 'long after led an Army againſt the *Northumbers*, as far as *Dore*; which 'place is ſuppoſed to have been in *York-ſhire* beyond the River *Humber*; but 'the *Northumbers* offering him Peace, and due Subjection, they parted Friends.

From which paſſage in the *Saxon* Annals it is apparent, that this Supream Dominion of one *Engliſh* King over all the reſt was no new thing, *Bede* having taken notice of it long before; yet did they not therefore take upon them the Title of Monarchs, any more than *Egbert*, who now ſucceeded them in that Power, thô moſt of our Hiſtorians, who have written the *Saxon* Hiſtory in *Engliſh*, have (but without any juſt reaſon) given them that Title, which could not properly belong to Kings, who had divers others under them, with the like Regal Juriſdiction within their own Territories; not but that King *Egbert* was in a more peculiar manner the Supream King of *England*, becauſe by his Abſolute Conqueſt of the Kingdoms of *Kent*, and of the *South* and *Eaſt Saxons*, he was the greateſt King who had hitherto Reigned in *England*; all the reſt of the Kings that remained, Reigning by his permiſſion, and paying him Tribute; a power which never had been exerciſed by any other King before him.

But to return to our Hiſtory; it ſeems that King *Egbert* was ſo highly diſpleaſed with the *Mercians* for ſetting up a King without his conſent, that *Ingulf* and *Florence* of *Worceſter* tell us, That as ſoon as ever *Withlaf* was made King, before he could raiſe an Army, he was expell'd his Kingdom, which *Egbert* added to his own; but *Withlaf* being ſearch'd for by *Egbert*'s Commanders through all *Mercia*, he was by the induſtry of *Seward* Abbot of *Croyland*, concealed in the Cell of the Holy Virgin *Etheldrith*, Daughter of King *Offa*, and once the Spouſe of *Ethelbert*, King of the *Eaſt Angles*; where King *Withlaf* found a ſafe retreat for the ſpace of Four Months; until ſuch time as by the Mediation of the ſaid Abbot *Seward*, he was reconciled to King *Egbert*; and upon promiſe of the payment of an Yearly Tribute, permitted to return to his Kingdom in Peace; which is by him acknowledged in that Charter of his, that *Ingulf* hath given us of his *Confirmation* of the Lands and priviledges of the Abbey of *Croyland*. 'It was made in the Great Council of the whole King-'dom in the preſence of his Lords, Egbert *King of* Weſt-Saxony, *and his Son* Ethelwulf, *and before the Biſhops and Great Men of all* England, *Aſſembled at the City of* London, *to take Counſel againſt the* Daniſh *Pyrats, then infeſting the* Engliſh *Coaſts*: And in the Year 833, as you ſhall ſee when we come to that Year.

This Reſtoration of King *Withlaf* to his Kingdom is alſo mentioned in the *Saxon* Annals of the next Year, where it is ſaid

Anno Dom. DCCCXXVIII. 'That *Withlaf* again obtained the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, and Biſhop '*Ethelwald* deceaſed; alſo the ſame Year King *Egbryht* led an Army againſt

'the

' the *Northern Britains*, and reduced them abſolutely to his Obedience : For it ſeems they had again rebelled. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXXVIII.

Now likewiſe, as *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates, King *Egbert* vanquiſhed *Swithred*, King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, and drove him out of his Kingdom; upon whoſe expulſion, the *Weſt Saxon* Kings ever after poſſeſt ~~that Kingdom.~~

Now (according to the ſame Authour) King *Egbert* having ſubdued all the *South* Parts of *England*, led a great Army into the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, and having grievouſly waſted that Province, made King *Eandred* his Tributary; which is alſo confirmed by *Will.* of *Malmesbury*, who relates that the *Northumbers*, who ſtood out the laſt, fearing leaſt this King's anger might break out upon them; now giving Hoſtages, ſubmitted themſelves to his Dominion; but they continued ſtill under Kings of their own, as you will further find. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXXIX.

To this Year I think we may alſo refer that great Tranſaction, which the Annals of the Cathedral Church of *Wincheſter* (printed in * *Monaſt. Angl.* from an ancient Manuſcript in the || *Cottonian* Library) place under the Year following, *viz.* That King *Egbert* having thus ſubdued all the Kingdoms above-mentioned, and forced them to ſubmit to his Dominions, called a great Council at *Wincheſter*, whereto were ſummoned all the Great Men of the whole Kingdom; and there by the General Conſent of the *Clerus & Populus*, (*i. e.* the *Clergy* and *Laity*,) King *Egbert* was crowned King of *Britain*: And at the ſame time he Enacted, That it ſhould be for ever after called *England*; and that thoſe who before were called *Jutes*, or *Saxons*, ſhould now be called *Engliſh men*. And this I could not omit, becauſe thô *William* of *Malmesbury*, and other Hiſtorians, agree of the Matter of Fact; yet I think this the trueſt and moſt particular Account of the Time, and manner when it was performed. * 1. Vol. P. 32. || Domit. A. 13.

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But here is certainly a miſtake in this Copy of the Annals, for it was not *Feologild*, but *Ceolnoth*, who was then choſen Arch-Biſhop; for in the next Year it is thus corrected, *viz.*

' This Year *Ceolnoth* was Elected, and Conſecrated Arch-Biſhop, and ' *Feologild* the Abbot deceaſed. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXXX.

' And the Year following *Ceolnoth* the Arch-B^p^ received his Pall from *Rome*. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXXXI.

' This Year certain Heathens or Pagans waſted *Scapige* (now the Iſle ' of *Sheppey* in *Kent*.] *Anno Dom.* DCCCXXXII

But ſince this is the firſt time, that theſe *Heathens* are mentioned in the *Saxon* Annals, it is fit we ſhould tell you a little more exactly who they were, and from whence they came; for they were indeed no other than that Nation which was before in our *Saxon* Annals, called *Northmanna*, and ſometimes *Deanſcan* (i. e. *Danes*;) the Etymology of which Name, ſince I find writers are ſo divided about, I will not take upon me to determine; not that all theſe People came out of that Country, which is at this day called *Denmark*, for it is impoſſible, that ſo narrow a Region (thô you ſhould likewiſe include whatſoever that Kingdom did then, or does now enjoy upon the Continent of *Swedeland* and *Jutland*) could ever ſend out ſuch vaſt Shoales of People, as for near Two ~~Thouſand~~ Years before the *Norman* Conqueſt over-ran and deſtroyed *France*, the *Low Countries*, and alſo this Iſland; but you may, from what has been already ſaid, obſerve, that *H. Huntington*, in the Prologue to his Book above cited, does beſides the

Anno Dom. DCCCXXVII. This King *Withlaf* Reigned thirteen Years, as Tributary to King *Egbert*, as ſhall be further related anon.

'The Moon was Eclipſed on *Chriſtmaſs* day at Night, and the ſame 'Year King *Egbryht* ſubdued the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and all the Country 'that lay South of *Humber*: He was the Eighth King, who Ruled over all '*Britain*; but the Firſt, who had ſo great a Command, was *Ælla* King of 'the *South Saxons*; the Second was *Ceaulin*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*; the 'Third was *Æthelbryght* King of *Kent*; the Fourth was *Redwald* King of 'the *Eaſt Angles*; the Fifth was *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*; the Sixth 'was *Oſwald*, who ſucceeded him; the Seventh was *Oſwi* the Brother of '*Oſwald*; and the Eight was *Egbryght*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*; who not 'long after led an Army againſt the *Northumbers*, as far as *Dore*; which 'place is ſuppoſed to have been in *York-ſhire* beyond the River *Humber*; but 'the *Northumbers* offering him Peace, and due Subjection, they parted Friends.

From which paſſage in the *Saxon* Annals it is apparent, that this Supream Dominion of one *Engliſh* King over all the reſt was no new thing, *Bede* having taken notice of it long before; yet did they not therefore take upon them the Title of Monarchs, any more than *Egbert*, who now ſucceeded them in that Power, thô moſt of our Hiſtorians, who have written the *Saxon* Hiſtory in *Engliſh*, have (but without any juſt reaſon) given them that Title, which could not properly belong to Kings, who had divers others under them, with the like Regal Juriſdiction within their own Territories; not but that King *Egbert* was in a more peculiar manner the Supream King of *England*, becauſe by his Abſolute Conqueſt of the Kingdoms of *Kent*, and of the *South* and *Eaſt Saxons*, he was the greateſt King who had hitherto Reigned in *England*; all the reſt of the Kings that remained, Reigning by his permiſſion, and paying him Tribute; a power which never had been exerciſed by any other King before him.

But to return to our Hiſtory; it ſeems that King *Egbert* was ſo highly diſpleaſed with the *Mercians* for ſetting up a King without his conſent, that *Ingulf* and *Florence* of *Worceſter* tell us, That as ſoon as ever *Withlaf* was made King, before he could raiſe an Army, he was expell'd his Kingdom, which *Egbert* added to his own; but *Withlaf* being ſearch'd for by *Egbert*'s Commanders through all *Mercia*, he was by the induſtry of *Seward* Abbot of *Croyland*, concealed in the Cell of the Holy Virgin *Etheldrith*, Daughter of King *Offa*, and once the Spouſe of *Ethelbert*, King of the *Eaſt Angles*; where King *Withlaf* found a ſafe retreat for the ſpace of Four Months; until ſuch time as by the Mediation of the ſaid Abbot *Seward*, he was reconciled to King *Egbert*; and upon promiſe of the payment of an Yearly Tribute, permitted to return to his Kingdom in Peace; which is by him acknowledged in that Charter of his, that *Ingulf* hath given us of his *Confirmation* of the Lands and priviledges of the Abbey of *Croyland*. 'It was made in the Great Council of the whole King-'dom in the preſence of his Lords, Egbert *King of* Weſt-Saxony, *and his Son* Ethelwulf, *and before the Biſhops and Great Men of all* England, *Aſſembled at the City of* London, *to take Counſel againſt the* Daniſh *Pyrats, then infeſting the* Engliſh *Coaſts*: And in the Year 833, as you ſhall ſee when we come to that Year.

This Reſtoration of King *Withlaf* to his Kingdom is alſo mentioned in the *Saxon* Annals of the next Year, where it is ſaid

Anno Dom. DCCCXXVIII. 'That *Withlaf* again obtained the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, and Biſhop '*Ethelwald* deceaſed; alſo the ſame Year King *Egbryht* led an Army againſt 'the

' the *Northern Britains*, and reduced them abſolutely to his Obedience : For it ſeems they had again rebelled. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXXVIII.

Now likewiſe, as *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates, King *Egbert* vanquiſhed *Swithred*, King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, and drove him out of his Kingdom; upon whoſe expulſion, the *Weſt Saxon* Kings ever after poſſeſt ~~that Kingdom~~.

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Anno Dom. DCCCXXXII. the *Danes*, add alſo the *Norwegians*, together with the *Goths*, *Swedes* and *Vandals*, to have been thoſe Nations which for ſo many Years waſted *England*; and that he did not deliver this without Book, but had ſufficient Authority for what he wrote, I ſhall further make out from the Teſtimony of thoſe Writers, who lived in that very Age, when theſe Nations firſt infeſted thoſe parts of *Europe*: For *Eginhart*, who was Son-in-Law and Chancellour, to *Charles the Great*, thus writes in his Hiſtory of that Prince, which I ſhall here faithfully Tranſlate.

'In like manner the *Danes* and *Sweones*, with thoſe whom we call *Normans*, do poſſeſs the *Northern* Shore of *Scandinavia*, together with all the Iſlands adjoyning to it, whil'ſt the *Sclavi* with divers other Nations inhabit the *Southern* Coaſts; but the *Norwegans*, or rather *Northern* Men, (for ſo they are called by the *Swedes*, becauſe they lye more *Northerly* than the greater part of that Nation,) and indeed all thoſe that inhabit *Scanzia*, are (by thoſe People of *Europe*, that lye more remote,) with very good reaſon called in the *German* Tongue (*i.e.*) Northland Men.

Next to *Eginhart*, *Adam* of *Bremen*, (who lived about Two Hundred Years after) does not only inſert theſe very words of the aforeſaid Authour, but alſo adds this further, that the *Danes* and *Swedes* with the other Nations, beyond the River *Danubius*, are by the *French* Hiſtorians all called *Normans*; ſo likewiſe *Albertus*, Abbot of *Stade*, who wrote about the Year 1250, ſays likewiſe, that the *Danes* and other Nations, who lived beyond *Denmark*, are all called *Normans*; from which Authorities the learned *Grotius* in his *Prolegomena* to his *Gothic* Hiſtory, lays it down as an undeniable Truth, that whatever we find among any writers of that Age concerning the *Normans*, does rightly belong to the *Swedes*, who were then one of the greateſt and moſt powerful of thoſe *Northern* Nations, that were all then called by one general Name of *Normans*.

But as for their Religion, I need ſay no more of it, ſince I have already told you in the beginning of the Third Book, that all thoſe Nations had the ſame common Deities, (*viz.*) *Woden*, and *Thor*, *&c.* whoſe Names I have there already ſet down, to which laſt Deities, as *Ubbo Emmius* relates, they before any great expedition, ſacrificed a Captive, by knocking out his Brains, and ſmearing their Faces in his Blood, immediately marched againſt their Enemies; but that they were extreamly given to Witchcraft and Inchantments, all their own Authours relate, which would be too tedious here to repeat, ſince you will meet with ſome Inſtances of it in the following Hiſtory. But to return again to our Annals.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXIII. 'This Year is very remarkable, for King *Egbert* encountred Thirty Five Ships of *Daniſh* Pyrates at *Carrum* (now called *Charmouth* in *Dorſetſhire*,) where there was a great ſlaughter, but the *Danes* kept the Field,] whereby we may gueſs that they had the advantage; yet it ſeems before this time, (even in this very Year) the *Danes* had been vanquiſhed, and put to flight at *Dunmouth*, (now called *Tinmouth*, from whence (having now ſpoiled the Iſle of *Sheppey*) they Sail'd to *Charmouth* above-mentioned.

This ſhews us (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* well obſerves) the Inſtability of all Worldly grandeur; for now King *Egbert* being arrived at the height of Empire, met with this unlooked for Enemy, who harraſſed him and his Poſterity for divers Generations: And thô in this Sea Fight laſt mentioned, he had the better for the greater part of the Day, yet towards Night he loſt the Victory, thô by the help of it he retreated, and ſo ſaved the diſgrace of an entire defeat; this was the only time that Fortune ceaſed to favour King *Egbert*'s Undertakings.

'This

'This Year alſo (according to our Annals,) *Hereſrith* Biſhop of *Win-*
'*cheſter*, and *Wigen* (or *Sighelm*) Biſhop of *Scirborne*, and alſo Two Eal-
'dormen, *Dudda* and *Oſmund* deceaſed.

The ſame Year was held that General Council of the whole Kingdom at *London*, at the Feaſt of St. *Auguſtin* the *Engliſh* Apoſtle, *Egbert* King of *Weſt Saxony*, and *Withlaf* King of the *Mercians*, with both the Arch-Biſhops, and all the other Biſhops and Chief Men of *England* being preſent; at which, (beſides a Conſultation how to reſtrain the Invaſion of the *Danes*,) the Privileges, and Conceſſions of the ſaid King *Withlaf* to the Monaſtery of *Croyland*, were alſo confirmed by the ſaid Council; and were ſubſcribed to by King *Withlaf*, and both the Arch-Biſhops, and moſt of the Biſhops of *England*. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXXXIII. Vid. *Sir* H. Spelman's *Council*, 1. *vol.*

'The next Year a great Fleet of *Danes* landed amongſt the *Weſtern*
'*Welſh*, (i. e. *Corniſhmen*,) who being joyned with them in a League a-
'gainſt King *Egbert*; offered him Battle, which he accepting of, ſtreight
'ways marched againſt them with his whole Army, and at *Hengeſtdune*,
'(now *Hengſton* in *Cornwal*,) put both the *Britains* and *Danes* to flight; and as *Mat. Weſtminſter* adds, freed his Kingdom at this time from the Invaſion of thoſe barbarous Enemies. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXXXV.

'King *Egbryht* departed this Life, having Reigned Thirty Seven Years,
'and Seven Months;] but the Annals muſt needs be miſtaken, either in the time of his Reign, or elſe in the Year of his Death; for if he began to Reign *Anno Dom.* 800, and Reigned Thirty Seven Years and an half; it is evident he muſt have dyed *Anno Dom.* 838; the Printed Copy of *Will.* of *Malmesbury* places his Death, *Anno Dom.* 837, and another reading in the Margin, in 838; but *Florence* of *Worceſter* places it according to the Annals in 836. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXXXVI.

This King as the ſame Authour relates, governed his Subjects with great Clemency, and was as terrible to his Enemies, and for Nine Years Reigned Supream King over all *Britain*: Before his Death he is ſaid (by *Will.* of *Malmesbury*) to have told his Son *Ethelwulf*, whom he left his Succeſſour, 'That he might be happy if he did not permit the Kingdom,
'which he had now laid together with great Induſtry, to be ſpoiled by
'ſloathfulneſs, to which this Nation had been too much addicted.

There is little mention of this King's Children, except *Ethelwulf*, only it is ſaid by *John* of *Tinmouth*, that he had alſo a Daughter called *Edgithe*, who being firſt bred up under an *Iriſh* Abbeſs, called *Modwina*, was made Abbeſs of the Nunnery at *Poleſworth*; but this, ſince we have no better Authority than modern hands for it, I cannot be certain of; but as for the Wife of King *Egbert* who was (according to the late *Weſt-Saxon* Law,) never called Queen, her Name was *Redburge*, and ſhe is mentioned, by *John Beaver* to have procured that Law from her Husband, that no *Welſhman* ſhould without leave paſs over *Offa*'s Ditch upon pain of Death.

But the ſame Year that King *Egbert* dyed, was held a Common Council of the whole Kingdom at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, where were preſent *Egbert*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and *Ethelwulf* his Son, with *Ceolnoth* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Biſhops and Chief Men of *England*, where among other things the manner of *Mallings* in *Suſſex* having been beſtowed by *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, on *Chriſt* Church *Cant.* and being afterwards taken away from it, becauſe the great Men of that Kingdom would not ratifie the Donation, it was now by the conſent of the King and all his Chief, and Wiſe Men again confirmed. *Vid.* Sir *H. Spelman's* Council, 1. vol.

King Ethelwulf, with his Son King Athelstan.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXVI. No sooner was King *Egbert*'s Body buried at *Wincheſter*, but King *Ethelwulf* ſucceeded to the Throne, and though none of our Hiſtorians mention any former Election or Coronation of this King, yet it is certain he came to the Crown by Vertue of his Father's Teſtament; *Henry Huntington* and *Roger Hoveden* telling us expreſly, That he left his Two Sons *Ethelwulf* and *Athelſtan* his Heirs, which though it be in part a miſtake, (ſince this *Athelſtan* was not Son, but Brother to King *Ethelwulf*) yet that concerning the King's bequeathing the Crown is very probable, it being according to the Cuſtom of that time, but that this alone would not have been ſufficient ſhall be ſhewn in another place.

This Prince (as *Thomas Rudborn* in his Hiſtory of the Church of *Wincheſter* relates) had been during the Life of his Elder Brother (whoſe Name we know not) educated in the Monaſtery of *Wincheſter*, under the Tuition of *Helmeſtan* Biſhop, and *Swithune*, *Præpoſitus*, or Dean of that Church, and had there taken the Order of a Subdeacon, with an intent (as is ſuppoſed) to have profeſſed himſelf a Monk, not that he was ever made Biſhop of that Church, thô it is ſo related by *H. Huntingdon* and other Writers.

But King *Egbert* having no other Son living, he was diſpenced with to Marry; and returning very early to a Secular Life, helped his Father in his Wars; after whoſe Death he was advanced to the Throne, yet he always retained a great deal of the Monk, loved his eaſe, and had very little Ambition; and therefore not caring to trouble himſelf with the Governing of many Provinces, he reſted contented with his Paternal Kingdom of *Weſt Saxony*, and made over the Kingdoms of *Kent*, and of the *South* and *Eaſt Saxons* (being his Father's Conqueſts) to *Athelſtan*, his Son (as the *Saxon* Annals and *Will.* of *Malmesbury* expreſly call him,) and which is more, *Ethelwerd* in his Chronicle gives us the Names of Five Sons of King *Ethelwulf*, of which (ſays he) *Athelſtan* who Reigned together with his Father was the Eldeſt, that *Alfred* the Fifth Son Reigned after them all; yet moſt of the other Hiſtorians going directly contrary to thoſe Authorities, will needs have him to be his Brother, I ſuppoſe to ſave this Pious Prince's Reputation; but *Mat. Weſtminſter* ſays, That he was his baſe Son, which is moſt probable, ſince he had not any Legitimate Son then old enough to Govern a Kingdom as this *Athelſtan* at that time was, and whom we ſhall often find mentioned in this Hiſtory; thô when, or how he dyed, all our Writers are ſilent.

Anno Dom. DCCCXXXVII. 'This Year, according to the *Saxon* Annals, *Wulfheard* the Ealdorman 'fought at *Hamtun*, (i.e. *Southampton*,) with a Fleet of Thirty Three '*Daniſh* Pyrates, and there making a great ſlaughter of them obtained 'the Victory.

'The ſame Year this *Wulfheard* deceaſed: Alſo *Æthelm*, another 'Ealdorman, fought with the *Daniſh* Army at *Port*, (now called *Portland*,) 'where he being aſſiſted by the *Dorſet-ſhire* Men, ſoon put them to flight; 'but how this can conſiſt with what follows I know not, *viz.* That the '*Danes* notwithſtanding kept the Field where the Battle was Fought, and 'ſlew the Chief Commander being an Ealdorman; unleſs it relate to the 'Year following; when

'*Herelryht* the Ealdorman was killed by the *Danes*, and many others 'with

'with him in *Merſcwarum*, (that is *Mercia*;) alſo the ſame Year in *Lindiſſe*, 'as alſo among the *Eaſt Angles*, and in *Kent* many were Slain by their Forces; for there (according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*) the above ſaid Earl or Ealdormen was ſlain; the *Danes* obtaining the Victory, deſtroying all places with Fire and Sword: And (the ſame Year according to *Florence of Worceſter*) *Wiglaf* King of *Mercia* dying, *Bertulf* ſucceeded him. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXXXIX.

'There was this Year a great ſlaughter made by the *Danes*, about 'London, *Cantwic* (i. e. *Canterbury*, and *Hrofceſter*,) that is *Rocheſter*. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXXXIX.

So that now it ſeems the *Danes* had entred farther into the Land, making havock of all where ever they came.

'This Year King *Ethelwulf* fought at *Carrum*, (i. e. *Charmouth*) againſt '35 *Daniſh* Ships, who kept the Field where the Battle was fought. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXL.

'So that according to *H. Huntington*, they here obtained the Victory; 'for though the number of their Ships were but ſmall, yet they were 'very large and full of Men.

'This Year alſo the Emperour *Lewis* (the Pious) dyed.

Nor can I here omit what the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians place under the former Year, but ours under this, *viz.* The total Conqueſt of the *Picts* by *Kened* the firſt King of *Scotland*, after many fierce Battles; in the laſt of which *Drusken*, King of the *Picts*, being Slain, that Kingdom was totally deſtroyed, and as *H. Huntington* long ſince obſerved, not only their Laws, but alſo their very Language, (except what remains in the Names of places) is now totally loſt, and that Nation being long ſince incorporated with that of the Antient *Scots* and *Saxons*, ſhews us that even whole Kingdoms and Nations have both their Originals, and fatal periods, as well as particular Perſons.

But thô the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians do juſtly date the Empire of their Kings over all *Scotland*, from this Total Conqueſt of the *Picts* by King *Kened*, according to that old Verſe:

Primus in Albania fertur regnaſſe Kenedus,

Yet when thoſe Hiſtorians will by this Conqueſt extend the limits of this King and his Succeſſour's Dominions, ſo far beyond *Edenburgh*, *Southward*, making him to have Reigned from the River *Tyne*, (and ſo would take in all the County of *Northumberland*, lying between *Tine* and *Tweed*,) to the utmoſt *Orcades*, this is by no means to be admitted; ſince as the Lord *Primate Uſher* learnedly obſerves, That Country had long after not only *Engliſh*, but *Daniſh* Kings, as ſhall in the purſuit of this Hiſtory be clearly made out; and after thoſe were extinct, we may read in *Turgot*'s Chronicle of the Biſhops of *Durham*, the Earls, appointed by the Kings of *England*, under them Governed that Country; For as *Roger Hoveden*, in the Year 953, expreſly relates after *Eric*, to whom the *Northumbers* had ſworn Allegiance, that Province was committed by K. *Edred* to Earl *Oſwald*, who afterwards in the Reign of King *Edgar*, had one *Olſac* aſſigned him as a partner in that Government, the former Commanding all that lay on the North ſide of *Tyne*, and the latter all *York-ſhire*; there alſo follow all the Succeſſours of theſe Earls, as low as the Time of *Edward* the Confeſſour, under whom *Toſti* Governed it; who looſing his Earldom by reaſon of his Tyranny, it was by King *Edward* committed to Earl *Morchar*, but he being taken up with great Imployments, committed the Government of that part of it beyond *Tyne* to one *Oſwulf*, who afterwards by the Gift of K. *William*, enjoyed the Government of the whole Country: But that *Loden* and the other Low-Land Countries of *Scotland*, *Britan. Eccleſ. Antiquitat.* P. 374.

land, as far as *Edinburgh*, were long after in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, ſhall be ſhewn when we come to the Reign of King *Edgar*.

Anno Dom. DCCCXLI. About this Time *Eanred* King of *Northumberland* dying, *Ethelred* his Son ſucceeded him, as *Simeon* of *Durham* and *Mat.* of *Weſtminſter* relate, thô the latter places this the Year before.

But to give ſome account of the Affairs of *Wales*, from *Caradoc*'s Chronicle.

Anno Dom. DCCCXLIII. About this time was fought the Battle of *Ketell*, betwixt *Burthred* King of *Mercia*, and the *Britains*; wherein (as ſome do write) *Mervyn Vrych*, King of the *Britains* was Slain, leaving behind him a Son afterwards called *Rodri Mawr*, that is to ſay, *Redoric* the Great; yet according to *Nennius*, this King *Mervyn* was alive *Anno Dom.* 854, which was the Twenty Fourth Year of this Kings Reign, and in which that Authour in his Preface ſays, He wrote his Hiſtory; but I believe, there is either an errour in *Nennius*'s Account, or elſe in the Tranſcribers; ſince all the *Welſh* Chronicles agree, that about this time *Mervyn* dyed, and *Rodri* ſucceeded him.

This Prince, Commonly called *Rodoric* the Great, began his Reign over *Wales* this Year; it was he who divided all *Wales* into three Territories of *Aberfraw*, *Dineuawr*, and *Mathraval*, he had great Wars with *Burhred*, King of *Mercia*, who by the aid of King *Ethelulph* entred *North Wales* with a great Power, and deſtroyed *Angleſey*, and fought with the *Welſhmen* of *Northwales* divers times, and ſlew *Meyric*, a great Prince among them.

Anno Dom. DCCCXLIV. This Year, (according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*) *Æthelred* King of *Northumberland* was driven from his *Kingdom*, (I ſuppoſe by a Rebellion, the uſual method in that unquiet Country,) and one *Redwald* ſucceeded him, who, as ſoon as ever he was made King, fought a Battle with the *Danes*, at a place called *Aluethelie*, where the King and Earl *Alfred* were ſlain, with the greateſt part of their Army, and that then K. *Ethelred* was again reſtored to the Throne; but this Authour does not tell us by what means, nor is the Year expreſſed; and thô this Action is found in no other Authour, yet is it likely enough to be true, for *Simeon* of *Durham* in his Hiſtory of that Church; thô he does not mention this Kings Expulſion and Reſtitution to the Throne, yet he there expreſly mentions King *Ethelred* to have about this time ſucceeded his Father *Eandred*.

Cap. 5.

Anno Dom. DCCCXLV. This Year, according to our Annals, *Eanwulf* the Ealdorman, with the *Somerſet-ſhire*) Men, and *Ealſtan* the Biſhop and *Oſric* the Ealdorman, with the *Dorſet-ſhire* Men, fought with the *Daniſh* Army at the mouth of *Pedidan* (called by *Hoveden*, *Pendred*'s *Mouth*, and was indeed the River *Parret* in *Somerſet-ſhire*;) where they made a great ſlaughter of them, and obtained the Victory over the *Danes*; after which the Kingdom enjoyed Peace for divers Years.

Anno Dom. DCCCXLVIII. But the *Northumbers* ſtill continued their old cuſtom of driving out, or killing their Kings, for about 3 Years after, as *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *Simeon* of *Durham* relate, *Ethelred* King of the *Northumbers* being Slain, *Oſbert* Reigned in his ſtead Eighteen Years; and the ſame Year there was an Eclipſe of the Sun, about the Sixth Hour of the Day, on the *Kal.* of *October*; this is that King *Osbert*, who was afterwards killed by the *Danes*.

According

According to *Florence*, and *Mat. Weſtminſter* a Son called *Ælfred*, was now Born to King *Ethelwulf* at *Wanating* (now *Wantige* in *Berk-ſhire*,) his Mother was *Osberge* the Daughter of *Aſlat*, or *Oſlac*, chief Butler to King *Æthelwulf*, who was related to *Stuffe* and *Whitgar*, firſt Princes of the Iſle of *Wight*; ſhe was a Woman as remarkable for her Piety, as her Birth, and deſerved to be the Mother of him, who was afterwards to prove ſo great a Prince. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXLIX.

The ſame Year alſo (from the ſame Authours) *Berthferth* the Son of *Bertwulf*, King of *Mercia*, wickedly ſlew his Couſin *Wulſtan*, who was Nephew to both the late Kings of *Mercia*; but his Body was buried at the Famous Monaſtery of *Rependun* (now *Repton* in *Darby-ſhire*,) in the Tomb of *Wiglaf* his Grandfather, and, if we may believe our Hiſtorians, a Pillar of Light reaching up to Heaven, ſtood over the place for Thirty Days, which procured him the Title of a Saint.

'This Year the Pagan *Danes* returned hither, and *Ceorl* the Ealdorman, 'together with the Forces of *Devonſhire*, fought with their Army at '*Wicganbeorch* (ſuppoſed to be *Wenbury* in *Devon-ſhire*;) and there obtain-'ed the Victory: And the ſame Year alſo King *Æthelſtan*, and Duke '*Ealcher*, fought with them a Sea Fight, and routed a great Fleet of them 'near *Sandwic*, (now *Sandwich*, in *Kent*) took 9 Ships and put the reſt to Flight; 'now alſo the *Danes* Wintered in the Iſle of *Thanet*, (or as *Aſſer* in his Annals 'relates in the Iſle of *Sheppy*;) and the ſame Year came 300 of their Ships 'into the Mouth of *Thames*, and the *Danes* landing took *Canterbury* and '*London*; and routed *Beorthwulf* King of the *Mercians*, with his whole 'Army, who had come out to Fight with them; after which the *Danes* 'marched Southward beyond *Thames* into *Surry*, and there K. *Æthelwulf*, 'and his Son *Æthelbald*, with the Forces of the *Weſt-Saxons*, fought a-'gainſt them at *Aclea*, (now called *Oakley* in *Surry*,) where they made a 'greater ſlaughter of the Pagan Army, than had been heard of at any 'time before; ſo that the greateſt part of them were deſtroyed. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLI.

The ſame Year alſo (according to Sir *H. Spelman*'s 1. Vol. of Councils) was held the Council of *Kingsbury* under *Berthwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, *Ceolnoth*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* with the other Biſhops and Wiſe Men of the Province being preſent, wherein, beſides the publick buſineſs of the Kingdom, ſeveral grievances of the Monks were redreſſed, and the Charter of that King to the Abby of *Croyland* is confirmed under the Rule of St. *Benedict*, and is ſuppoſed by Sir *H. Spelman* in his Councils to be a great Council of that Kingdom; becauſe it bears date in the Week of *Eaſter*, when they were Aſſembled about the publick Affairs of the Kingdom, at which time as alſo at *Whitſontide* and *Chriſtmaſs*, the great Men of the Kingdom were wont of courſe to attend at the King's Court, to conſult, and ordain, what ſhould be neceſſary for the common Good, when alſo the King uſed to appear in State with his Crown upon his head; which cuſtom of holding great Councils, was alſo continued after the *Norman* Conqueſt, to the middle of the Reign of *Henry* the Second, as Sir *H. Spelman* learnedly obſerves in his Notes at the end of this Council.

This Year (according to the *Peterburgh* Copy of the *Saxon* Annals) *Ceolred* Abbot of *Medeſhamſtead*, and his Monks leaſed out to one *Wulfred* the Land of *Sempigaham* (perhaps *Sempingham* in *Lincoln-ſhire*,) on Condition, That after his Death it ſhould again revert to the Monaſtery, he paying in the mean time a Yearly Rent of ſo many Loads of Wood, Coals *Anno Dom.* DCCCLII.

Anno Dom. DCCCLII. Coals and Turf, and ſo many Barrels of Beer and Ale, and other Proviſions, with Thirty Shillings in Money, as is there ſpecified; at which Agreement *Burherd* King of the *Mercians*, who had (now ſucceeded *Beorthwulf*) was preſent, together with *Ceolred* the Arch-Biſhop, with divers other Biſhops, Abbots and Ealdormen.

I have inſerted this, to let you ſee the form of Leaſing out the Abbey Lands in thoſe Days, and which it ſeems required the Solemnity of the Common Council of that Kingdom to confirm it.

The ſame Year alſo, (according to *Florence*) *Berthulph* King of the *Mercians* deceaſed, and *Burhed* ſucceeded him,

Anno Dom. DCCCLIII. 'Who this next Year together with his *Wites*, (that is the Wiſe 'Men of his Great Council,) deſired King *Æthelwulf* that he would 'aſſiſt them to ſubdue the *Northern Welſhmen*, which he performed, and 'marching with his Army through *Mercia*, made the Men of **North-'Wales* Subject to King *Burhed*; but of this, the *Welſh* Chronicles 'are ſilent.

* Florence, *and* Math. Weſtminſter, *call them the* Midland Welch, *or* Britains: *and if their Copies of the Annals are true, the Men of* Powiſland *are here meant.*

'This Year alſo, King *Æthelwulf* ſent his Son *Ælfred* to Pope *Leo* to 'Rome, who there anointed him King, and adopted him for his Epiſcopal 'Son. It is much diſputed among ſome of our Modern Hiſtorians, of what the Pope anointed *Alfred* King, whether of any preſent, or elſe future Dominions; But ſince, an ancient Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library (containing an Hiſtory of the Kings of *England*) ſays expreſly, That he was anointed *In Succeſſorem Paterni Regni*, and that we do not read of any Territories King *Alfred* enjoyed till after the Death of his Brethren; it is moſt reaſonable to underſtand it in the plain Literal Senſe, as it is here ſet down, not only in theſe Annals, but in *Aſſer*'s Account of this King's Life and Actions, that the Pope anointed him King as a Prophetical Preſage of his future Royal Dignity.

'And the ſame Year *Ealcher* with the *Kentiſh-men*, and *Huda* with the '*Surrey-men*, fought with the *Daniſh* Army in the Iſle of *Thanet*, and at 'firſt had the better of them, but there were many killed and drowned 'on both ſides, and both the Ealdormen or Chief Commanders periſhed.

'Alſo *Burhed* King of the *Mercians* now married the Daughter of 'King *Ethelwulf*. *Aſſer* relates the Marriage to have been kept with great Solemnity at a Town of the King's, called *Cippenham* (now *Chipnam*) in *Wiltſhire*.

Anno Dom. DCCCLIV. 'This Year the *Danes* winter'd in *Scepige*, (or *Sheppie*;) and the ſame 'year King *Æthelwulf* diſcharged the Tenth part of his Land through-'out his whole Kingdom of all Tribute or Taxes for the Honour of God 'and his own Salvation.

This being the famous and ſolemn Grant of King *Æthelwulf* concerning Tythes, requires a more particular Relation, and therefore I ſhall here give you the Words of the ſaid Grant at large. —— "I *Æthel-*"*wulf*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, with the Councel (or Conſent) of my "Biſhops and Chief Men, *&c.* have conſented, That a certain Hereditary Part of the Lands heretofore poſſeſs'd by all Orders and Degrees "of Perſons, whether Men or Women, Servants of GOD, (*i. e.* Monks "or Nuns,) or meer Laicks, ſhall give their Tenth Manſion, and where "it is leaſt, the Tenth Part of all their Goods, free and diſcharged of all "Secular Servitude, and particularly of all Royal Tributes or Taxations, "as well the greater as the leſs, which they call *Wittereden*, (*which ſignifies a certain Fine or Forfeiture*;) "and that they be free from all other "Things,

"Things, as Expedition, building of a Bridge, or fortifying of a Ca- *Anno Dom.*
"ſtle, *&c.* And that they may the more diligently pour out their Prayers DCCCLIV.
"to GOD for us without ceaſing, we do in ſome part diſcharge their
"other Service. Theſe Things were done in *Wincheſter*, in the Church
"of St. *Peter*, in the Year of our LORD's Incarnation 855,
"the Third Indiction, on the *Nones* of *November*, before the great
"Altar, in Honour of the Glorious Virgin *Mary*, the Mother of
"GOD, St. *Michael* the Arch-Angel, and St. *Peter* Prince of the Apo-
"ſtles, as alſo of our bleſſed Father Pope *Gregory*, all the Arch-Biſhops
"and Biſhops of *England* being preſent, and ſubſcribing to it; as alſo
"*Beorhed* King of *Mercia*, together with the Abbots, Abbeſſes, Earls,
"and other chief Men of the whole Kingdom, with an infinite mul-
"titude of other Believers, who all of them have witneſſed, and con-
"ſented to the Royal Grant, but the Dignitaries have thereunto ſub-
"ſcribed their Names.

But, as *Ingulph* relates, King *Æthelwulf*, for the greater firmneſs thereof, offered this Charter at the Altar of St *Peter* at *Rome*; but that the Biſhops received it in the Faith of God, and tranſmitted it to be publiſhed throughout all the Churches in their ſeveral Dioceſſes.

Thô this Grant of Tithes is mentioned by the Annals, as to be made before the King's going to *Rome*, yet it appears by the Date, as alſo from *Aſſer* and *Ingulph*, not to have been done till after his Return from thence; which makes Sir *H. Spelman* conjecture, (and not without good Grounds,) that this Grant was twice made; once before his going to *Rome*, it being there confirmed by the Pope, and was alſo regranted by a Great Council of the Kingdom after his Return, as appears by the Charter here recited.

I have been the more exact in reciting this Law concerning Tythes, both becauſe it gives us the form of paſſing an Act in the great Council of the Kingdom at that time, and who were the Parties to it, as alſo becauſe this was the firſt general Law that was ever made in a Mycel Synod of the whole Kingdom for the payment of Tythes, thô I do not deny but there had been before ſome particular Laws of King *Ina* and King *Offa* to the ſame effect; yet thoſe could only oblige the *Weſt Saxon* and *Mercian* Kingdoms.

The next Year alſo (according to *Florence* and *Aſſer*'s Chronicle) *Anno Dom.*
K. *Æthelwulf* went to *Rome*, carrying *Ælfred*, his youngeſt and beſt beloved DCCCLV.
Son along with him, but to what intent, having been ſo lately there before, we know not, any more than what the King did there, unleſs to repair the *Engliſh* School or Colledge for Youth, that had been lately burnt; but it is certain, he ſtayed abroad near a Year, and in his Return home, *Charles*, (Sirnamed *The Bald*,) King of the *Franks*, gave him his Daughter to Wife, who was called *Leotheta*, (in French *Judith*,) and ſo, together with her, he returned into *England*.

But as *Aſſer* relates, there was in the mean time an infamous Conſpiracy framed in the Weſtern Parts of *England*, for Prince *Æthelbald*, the King's eldeſt Son, and *Ealchſtan* Biſhop of *Scirborne*, and *Æanwulf* Earl of *Somerſet*, had plotted together, that King *Æthelwulf*, at his Return Home, ſhould never be received into his Kingdom; moſt Men laid this to the Charge of this Biſhop and Earl only, thô many do chiefly attribute it to the Perverſeneſs of this young Prince, who was alſo very obſtinate in other Wickedneſs. So the King his Father returning from

Rome,

Anno Dom. DCCCLV. *Rome*, Prince *Ethelbald*, together with his Councellors, contrived this great Villany, *viz.* to expell the King from his own Kingdom, thô God would not permit it to take effect, neither did all the Noblemen of *England* consent to it; yet leſt ſo great a Miſchief ſhould happen, that the Father and Son making War on each other, the whole Nation ſhould be engaged in mutual Slaughter, by the wonderful Clemency of the King, and with the Conſent of all his Nobility, the Kingdom, which was before united, became now divided between the Father and the Son, the *Eaſtern* Countries being allotted to the former, and the *Weſtern* to the latter; but where the Father ought indeed by Right to have Reigned, there Ruled this Rebellious and Undutiful Son, for the *Weſtern* part of *England* was always accounted before the *Eaſtern*. King *Ethelwulf* therefore coming back from *Rome*, the whole Nation (as it ought) highly rejoyced at his return, and would, if he had pleaſed, have expelled his wicked Son *Æthelbald*, with all his Adherents, out of the Kingdom; but the King would by no means ſuffer it, uſing great Clemency and Prudence, leſt the Kingdom might thereby be endangered.

All this Diſturbance ſeems to have been raiſed by his Son and his Faction, becauſe of his marrying this new Wife, whom notwithſtanding having now brought over with him, he placed by him on the Royal Throne as long as he lived, without any Diſpute or Oppoſition from his Nobles; thô (ſays this Author) the Nation of the *Weſt Saxons* did not permit the Queen to ſit by the King, or to be called *Queen*; which Cuſtom our Anceſtors relate to have proceeded from a certain wicked Queen, called *Eadburga*, the Wife of King *Brythric*, whoſe Story, *Aſſer* in his Annals, as alſo in his *De Geſtis Alfredi*, hath given us at large, where ſpeaking of the Occaſion of this ſevere Law, he tells us, it proceeded from the wicked Carriage of that Queen, (already mentioned at the end of the former Book,) who abuſing her Husband's Affections by untrue Accuſations, took away many Men's Lives; and being hated by the *Engliſh* after that King's Deceaſe, they made that Law now mentioned.

William of *Malmesbury* and *Mat. Weſtminſter* do aſſure us, That King *Ethelwulf* lived but two Years after his return from *Rome*, during which time he thought not only of the World to come, but alſo what ſhould happen in this after his Deceaſe; and therefore, leſt his Sons ſhould quarrel among themſelves after his Death, he commanded his Teſtament to be written, (*Aſſer* calls it an *Hereditary*, or *Commendatory* Epiſtle,) in which he ordained, his Kingdom ſhould be divided between the two eldeſt Sons, as alſo his own proper Inheritance between all his Sons and Daughters, and near Kinſmen; but for his Money, he ordered it to be divided between his Sons and his Nobles, and what was left, to be employed for the good of his Soul; to which end he ordained, That his Succeſſours throughout all his own Hereditary Lands, ſhould maintain out of * every Ten Families one Poor Perſon, (either Native or Stranger,) with Meat, Drink, and Apparel; always provided, that the Land did not then lie waſte, but was cultivated by Men and Cattle: It is alſo to be noted, That this Grant was wholly different from that of Tythes, thô *Bromton*'s Chronicle hath confounded them together, and made them all one; he alſo ordered to be ſent every Year to *Rome* 300 *Mancuſes*, which *William* of *Malmesbury* renders *Marks*, thô what the Sum was is uncertain: but it was to be equally diſtributed between the Churches of St. *Peter* and St.

* *From whence came the Corrodies, that ſtill remain in divers places.*

St. *Paul*, to provide Lights on *Eaſter* Eve; and of this 300 *Marks*, the Pope was to have 100 to himſelf. Theſe Grants are ſuppoſed by Sir *Henry Spelman* to have been made in a general Council of the whole Kingdom, but after this time we find no more of them for many Years, by reaſon of the frequent Invaſions of the *Danes*. But not long after King *Ethelwulf* died, and was buried at *Wincheſter*, having reigned 20 Years and 5 Months; for the *Saxon* Annals, which allow him but 18 Years and an half, are certainly miſtaken. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLV.

This Year alſo, (according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*,) *Humbert* the Biſhop anointed that Glorious Martyr, *Edmund* King of the *Eaſt Angles*, being then but 15 Years old, at a Town called *Buram*, being then the Royal Seat.

But having no Account of King *Edmund*'s Pedigree, or of the Place of his Birth from any of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, you muſt be content with what *Johannes Anglicus* of *Tinmouth* hath told us, or in his Legend of Saints, (called *Sanctilogium*,) of this King and Martyr, *viz.* That he was the Son of one *Alemond*, a Nobleman of the Blood Royal of the *Eaſt Angles*, who having fled for fear of King *Offa* into *Old Saxony*, out of which his Family firſt came, had there by his Wife called *Cwara* a Son, whom he named *Edmund*, the pretended Miracles of whoſe Birth I purpoſely omit. This Prince having been inſtructed in all Chriſtian and Moral Duties, lived in *Germany* to the 14th Year of his Age, and upon his return into *England* was ſo acceptable to the *Eaſt Angles*, that he was by them Elected *King*, and, till his Death, continued in the quiet Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, without any oppoſition of King *Ethelwulf*, or any of his Sons, then Kings of the *Weſt Saxons*, to whoſe Dominions that Kingdom of the *Eaſt Angles* had lately been made ſubject; and hence it may be reaſonably inferred, that it was by King *Ethelwulf*'s Conſent, that *Edmund* being returned out of *Germany*, took Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom.

Being thus made King, and, by reaſon of his tender Age, not eſteeming himſelf capable of managing the Affairs of the Nation, he willingly ſubmitted them and himſelf to the Direction of the ſaid Biſhop of the *Eaſt Angles*, by whom he was Crowned, and by whoſe Councel and Direction he behaved himſelf as became a Prince, endued with all Kingly Virtues; ſo that during his Reign, his principal Care was to repair the Ruines which the *Mercian* Arms and Tyranny had brought upon the Churches of the *Eaſt Angles*, reduced by War to extream Poverty, and conſequently to a Neglect of Piety and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. And thus he Reigned 14 Years in Peace, with the Affection of all his Subjects, till GOD was pleaſed, by ſending the Pagan *Danes* as a Scourge to his Country, to render this Prince a high Example of Chriſtian Fortitude and Conſtancy.

King *ETHELBALD*, and King *ETHELRED*.

After the Death of *Ethelwulf* King of the *Weſt Saxons*, his two eldeſt Sons divided their Father's Kingdom according to his Will: *Ethelbald*, his eldeſt Son, ſucceeded him in *Weſt Saxony*, whilſt his younger Brother *Ethelred* Reigned in *Kent*, as alſo over the *Eaſt* and *South Saxons*. And now (according to our Annals) the Pope hearing of the Death of King *Ethelwulf*, anointed *Alfred* to be King, and alſo delivered him to a *Anno Dom.* DCCCLVII.

Anno Dom. DCCCLVII. Biſhop to be Confirmed: If this was ſo, the King his Father muſt have left him behind at *Rome*; for *Aſſer* ſays expreſly, That he went thither with him; but over what Kingdom the Pope ſhould Anoint him, I know not, unleſs foretold by way of Prophecy, he would be King after his Brothers.

But as for King *Ethelbald*, above-mentioned, both *Ingulph* and *Will.* of *Malmesbury* give him a very bad Character, That he married *Judeth*, his Father's Widow, and was alſo beſides both Lazy, and Perfidious; but * *Thomas Redhorne*, in his larger Hiſtory of *Wincheſter*, ſays, That by the Admonition of *Swithin*, Biſhop of that Church, he repented of his Inceſt, and put away *Judeth* his Mother-in-Law, and obſerved all Things that the Biſhop enjoyned him. This Author farther relates from one *Gerard*, of *Cornwal*'s Hiſtory of the *Weſt Saxon* Kings, not now extant that I know of, That he died in a few Years after, without doing or ſuffering any thing that deſerves to be mentioned; for we do not find that the *Danes* troubled this Kingdom all his Reign, concerning the Length of which there is very different Relations amongſt our Hiſtorians; the *Saxon* Annals, and *William* of *Malmesbury*, making him to have reigned 5 Years, whereas *Aſſer* and *Ingulph* allow him but Two and an half, which ſeems to be the truer Account, for if King *Ethelwulf* returned from *Rome* in the Year 855, and lived above Two Years after, it is plain King *Ethelbald* could not Reign above Two Years and an half; for the *Saxon* Annals tell us, that in the next Year but one, *viz.*

* *Edit. in 1. Vol. Angl. Sacr.*

Anno Dom. DCCCLX. 'King *Ethelbald* deceaſed, and that his Body was buried at *Scire-* 'borne.

King *ETHELBERT* alone.

'Then *Æthelaryght*, his Brother took the Kingdom, and held it in great 'Concord and Quiet.

I ſuppoſe our Author means, from Domeſtick Commotions; for he immediately tells us, That in this King's time there came an Army (of *Danes*) from the Sea, and took *Wincheſter*; with whom (in their return to their Ships) *Oſric* and *Æthelwulf* the Ealdormen, with the *Hampſhire* and *Berkſhire-men*, fought, and put the *Danes* to flight, and kept the Field of Battle, but the Annals do not tell us in what Year of his Reign this Invaſion happened.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXI. 'This Year deceaſed St. *Swithune* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

Now concerning this holy Biſhop, as alſo *Alſtan* Biſhop of *Shirborne*, * *William* of *Malmesbury* gives us this Character, which omitting all the Bedroll of Miracles that follow, I ſhall here ſet down.

* *De Pontif. l. 1.*

King *Æthelwulf* bearing a great Reverence to St. *Swithune*, whom he calls his Teacher and Maſter, deſiſted not till he had honoured him with the Government of the ſaid Biſhoprick, ſo that he was Conſecrated with the Unanimous Conſent and Joy of all the whole Clergy of that Dioceſs, by *Ceolnoth* Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury*; hereby Biſhop *Swithune*'s Authority encreaſing, his Councels, for the Good of the Kingdom, proved of greater weight; ſo that by his Admonitions, both the Church and State received great Benefit: And indeed he was a rich Treaſure of all Virtues; but thoſe in which he took moſt Delight, were Humility and Clemency; and in the diſcharge of his Epiſcopal Function, he omitted nothing belonging to a True Paſtor.

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By his Aſſiſtance principally, together with that of the Prudent and Couragious Prelate *Alſtan*, Biſhop of *Shirborne*, King *Æthelwulf* was enabled to ſupport the Calamities his Kingdom ſuffered by the frequent Irruptions of the *Danes*, for theſe two were his principal Councellours in all Affairs. Biſhop *Swithune*, who contemned Worldly Things, informed his Lord in all Matters which concerned his Soul, whilſt *Alſtan* judging that Temporal Advantages were not to be neglected, encouraged him to oppoſe the *Danes*, and provided Money for his Exchequer, and alſo ordered his Armies; ſo that thô this King was of a ſlow, unactive Nature, yet by the Admonitions of theſe two worthy Councellours, he Governed his Kingdom prudently and happily: Many noble Deſigns for the good of the Church and State being well begun, were proſperouſly executed in his Reign. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXV.

'This Year the *Daniſh* Army landed in *Thanet*, and wintering there, 'made a League with the *Kentiſh-men*, who promiſed them Money, provi-'ded they would keep the Peace; under pretence of which, and of the 'Money promiſed, the *Danes* ſtole out of their Camp, and waſted all the 'Eaſt part of *Kent*.] For, as *Aſſer* well obſerves, they knew they could get more by Plunder, than by Peace.

'Now, according to the ſame Annals, King *Æthelbryht* died, to the 'great Grief of his Subjects, having governed the Kingdom 5 Years with 'a general Satisfaction, and was buried at *Scyreburne*, near to his Brother. This Prince is ſuppoſed to have had a Son call'd *Ethelwald*, whom you will find in this Hiſtory to have raiſed a Rebellion againſt King *Edward* the elder many Years after. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXVI.

King *ETHELRED.*

'Then (according to the Annals) *Æthelred*, Brother to the late King, 'began his Reign; and the ſame Year a great Army of *Danes* landed in '*England*, and took up their Winter Quarters among the *Eaſt Angles*, and 'there turned Horſemen, and that Nation was forced to make Peace 'with them.

'Then the *Pagan* Army ſailed from the *Eaſt Angles*, and went up the River '*Humber* to the City of *York*, where was at that time great Diſcord be-'tween the People of that Nation.] I ſhall here give you *Aſſer*'s Account of this Tranſaction, being to the ſame effect (thô more particular than that) in the Annals themſelves. For (ſays he) the *Northumbers* had now expelled *Osbright*, their lawful King, and had ſet up a Tyrant or Uſurper, one *Ælla*, who was not deſcended of the Royal Line; but now when the *Pagans* invaded them by the Interceſſion of the great Men, and for the Common Safety, the two Kings joyned their Forces, and ſo marched to *York*; at whoſe coming the *Danes* preſently fled, and endeavoured to defend themſelves within the City; which the Chriſtians perceiving, reſolved to follow them to the very Walls, and breaking in, and entering the Town with them; (for it ſeems, that City had not in thoſe Times ſuch ſtrong Walls, as they had when *Aſſer* wrote his Hiſtory;) therefore when the Chriſtians had made a Breach in the Wall as they deſigned, and that a great part of them had entred the City, the *Pagans* being compelled by Neceſſity and Deſpair, broke out upon them, and killed, routed, and put to flight the whole Army, as well within as without the Town; ſo that both the Kings were ſlain, together with many Noblemen, and a vaſt number of Common Souldiers; and a great many were *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXVII

Anno Dom. DCCCLXVII. taken Priſoners, and thoſe that remained alive were forced to make Peace with the *Danes*, who (according to the Chronicle of *Mailroſs*,) made one *Egbert* King over the *Northumbers* that were left, thô under the *Daniſh* Dominion; but it ſeems, it was only over thoſe that lay on the North ſide of the River *Tine*, as *Simeon* of *Durham*, in his Hiſtory of that Church, relates.

'The ſame Year alſo died *Æalhſtan* the Biſhop, after he had held his 'See of *Scireborne* 50 Years, whoſe Body was buried in that Town.

*Vid. X. Script. Col. 802.

But ſince the Chronicle that goes under the Name of Abbot * *Bromton* undertakes to give ſome probable Account how the *Danes* came to invade the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, thô it looks ſomewhat like a Romance, yet I ſhall here give it you, ſince it is found in no other Author that I know of, being thus. *Osbriht*, King of *Northumberland*, going one day a hunting, as he returned home went privately to the Houſe of one of his Noblemen, called *Bruern Brocard*, to refreſh himſelf; *Bruern* knowing nothing of the King's coming, was gone to the Sea ſide, according to his Cuſtom, to ſecure the Shoar againſt Pirats; but his Wife, a Woman of great Beauty, entertained the King at Dinner very ſplendidly. The King having dined, took her by the Hand and led her to her Chamber, telling her, He muſt ſpeak with her in private; and there removing all out of the way, but ſuch as were privy to his Secrets, he by Force and Violence lay with her. Having thus had his Will, he ſpeedily returned to *York*, whilſt ſhe ſo lamented, and wept, that her Face was extremely altered; which cauſed her Husband at his return to ask the cauſe of ſo ſudden a Change, and ſuch an unuſual Sadneſs: Whereupon ſhe told him the whole Matter, how the King had forced her; which having heard, he comforted her, bidding her not to afflict her ſelf, ſince ſhe was not able to reſiſt a Man ſo potent; aſſuring her, becauſe ſhe had told him the Truth, he would not love her leſs than he had done before; and if GOD gave him leave, he would Revenge both himſelf, and her, upon him that had committed the Crime. Then did *Bruern*, being a Man both Noble and Powerful, call his Kindred together, to whom he revealed the Affront put upon him, and his Intention ſpeedily to Revenge it; To which they all conſenting, and approving his Purpoſe, he with them took Horſe and rode to *York*. The King, upon ſight of him, called him to him very civilly, but he having all his Relations at his Back, defied him, renouncing his Allegiance, giving up his Land, and whatſoever elſe he held of him. This ſaid, without any more Words he withdrew, making no ſtay at all at Court.

So his Friends conſenting, he went ſtraitways over to *Denmark*, where he made a great Complaint to the King of the Affront offered to him and his Wife by K. *Osbriht*, deſiring his ſpeedy Relief and Supplies to put him into a Capacity to revenge himſelf. At this News, *Godrin* and his *Danes* conceived very great Joy, having now ſome Reaſon to induce them to invade the *Engliſh*, and revenge the Injury offered to *Bruern*, who was deſcended of his Blood; whereupon he ſpeedily prepared a great Army, over which he made Captains, two Brothers, called *Inguar*, and *Hubba*, moſt valiant Souldiers; and to them he gave a Navy, furniſhed with all Neceſſaries, to tranſport an innumerable Company of Men. Theſe Adventurers landing in the Northern Parts, and taking their way through *Holderneſs*, deſtroyed all the Towns, with their Inhabitants; and coming to *York*, provoked *Osbriht* to come out and fight them, where he

he and his Brother-King were both ſlain, as you have already heard.

'This Year the *Daniſh* Army marched into *Mercia* as far as *Snotinga-* *Anno Dom.*
'*ham*, (now *Nottingham*,) and there took up their Quarters; but *Burh-* DCCCLXVIII.
'*red*, King of the *Mercians*, with his Great or Wiſe Men, entreated *Æthel-*
'*red*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, and *Ælfred* his Brother, to help them to
'fight againſt the *Pagans*; whereupon they likewiſe marched to the ſame
'place, where finding the *Daniſh* Army ſtrongly fortified, they only be-
'ſieged *Nottingham*.] But (as *Aſſer* and *Ingulph* relate) the Chriſtians not being able to take either the Town or Caſtle, there was very little fighting, ſo that the *Mercians* were forced to make Peace with the *Pagans*; whereupon the *Danes* marched back again into the Kingdom of *Northumberland*.

The ſame Year *Aſſer* (in his Life of K. *Alfred*) tells us, That the King married the Daughter of *Æthelred* the Ealdorman of the *Gaini*, *i.e.* of the Country about *Gainesburrough* in *Yorkſhire*.

'But the next Year, the *Daniſh* Army returned again to *York*, and there *Anno Dom.*
'ſtayed Twelve Months; and now there was alſo a great Mortality DCCCLXIX.
'both of Men, and Beaſts.

But we cannot here omit the Relation of *Mat. Weſtminſter* under this Year, concerning what the *Danes* did before they left the North of *England*, where he ſays, they ſlew both Old and Young, not ſparing the Lives or Chaſtities ſo much as of the Nuns, where he gives us a ſtrange Example of an Heroick (if not too Great a) Love of Chaſtity; for *Ebba*, (afterwards Sainted,) then Abbeſs of *Coldingham* Nunnery in *Yorkſhire*, being more afraid of the loſs of her Virginity, than her Life, calling her Nuns into the Chapter-houſe, there made a Speech to them, ſetting forth the Luſt and Cruelty of the *Danes*, and alſo exhorting them to follow her Example in avoiding it; which they all promiſing to obſerve, ſhe then took a Razour and cut off her own Noſe and upper Lip, in which ſhe was immediately followed by all the Siſters; which being done, thoſe cruel Tyrants, *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, coming thither the next day, together with their Forces, and ſeeing ſo horrible a Spectacle, they not only ran out of the Monaſtery and left them, but alſo gave order to their Followers, that they ſhould ſet the Houſe on fire, which they forthwith did; ſo it was burnt to Aſhes, together with the Abbeſs, and all her Nuns, who thought themſelves happy in thus ſuffering Martyrdom for the preſervation of that which was dearer to them than their Lives. Nor did they diſcharge their Fury upon this Nunnery alone, but upon all the reſt of the Monaſteries of the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, having not long before deſtroyed the Monaſteries and Church of *Linaiſfarne*, with thoſe of *Girwy* and *Weremuth*, beſides the famous Nunneries of *Streanſhale* and *Tinmuth*; moſt of which were never rebuilt, and thoſe that were, not till ſeveral Ages after. But to proceed with our Annals. In the *Peterborough* Copy, it follows thus:

'Then the *Danes* quitting the North, and mounting themſelves on *Anno Dom.*
'Horſeback, marched through *Mercia* into *Eaſt England*, and took up DCCCLXX.
'their Winter Quarters at *Theodford*; the ſame Winter King *Eadmund*
'fought with them, but the *Danes* gained the Victory, and ſlew that holy
'King, and deſtroying all the Monaſteries that lay in their way, they
'wholly conquered that Kingdom. The Names of the Princes who
'ſlew him were *Higwais* and *Ubba*, (whom other Writers call *Hinguar*
'and

Anno Dom. DC CLXX. ‘ and *Hubba*.) At the ſame time alſo they came to *Medeſhamſtead*, which ‘ Monaſtery they burnt and deſtroyed, killing the Abbots and Monks, ‘ with all the Men they found there, carrying away all the rich Spoil of ‘ that place.

But ſince the *Saxon* Annals are very ſhort in this Relation, I ſhall give you from *Ingulph* a more particular Account of what they did this Year in their march into *East England*, who further adds; That Winter being ended, the *Danes* took Shipping and went into *Lindiſſe* in *Lincolnſhire*, and landing at *Humberſtan*, ſpoiled all that Country, at which time that famous and ancient Monaſtery of *Bardney* was deſtroyed, the Monks and all others being ſlain in the Church without Mercy; and when they had there ſtayed, waſting the Country for the whole Summer: About *Michaelmas* they did the like to the Country of *Keſteven*, in the ſame Province, where they committed the ſame Murders and Deſolations.

The ſame Year, in the Month of *September*, Count *Algar* drew together all the Youth of *Hoyland* (now called *Holland*) in *Lincolnſhire*, with two Knights his Seneſcals, *Wibert*, and *Leofric*, who marched in the Head of them, together with a brave Body of 200 Men belonging to *Croyland* Abbey, who being all ſtout Fellows, were led by one *Toly*, then a Monk, but formerly a famous Souldier among the *Mercians*; theſe taking with them about 300 ſtout and warlike Men more from *Deping*, *Lanioſt*, and *Boſton*, to whom alſo joyned *Morchar*, Lord of *Brunne*, with his ſtrong and numerous Family, and being met by the Sheriff of *Lincoln*, a valiant and ancient Souldier, with the *Lincolnſhire* Forces, all which muſtering together in *Keſteven* on St. *Maurice*'s Day, they joyned Battle with the *Pagans*, where GOD gave them the Victory, three Kings being ſlain, with a very great multitude of Souldiers; the Chriſtians purſued the Pagans to their very Camp, where finding a ſtout Reſiſtance, Night at laſt parted them, and the Earl drew back his Army.

But it ſeems there returned that Night to the *Daniſh* Camp all the reſt of the Princes of that Nation, who dividing the Country among them, had marched out to plunder; their names are Barbarous, and too long to be repeated, but their chief Kings were *Godrum* and *Baſſeg*, and their Earls or Leaders, *Hingar* and *Hubba*, with others, who then returned with great Forces, and a multitude of Captives, and a great deal of Spoil; and their coming being known, the greateſt part of the Chriſtians ſtruck with terrour fled away; whil'ſt thoſe that were left, early in the Morning, after hearing Divine Service, and receiving the Sacrament, being reſolved to dye for Chriſt, and in Defence of their Country, marched into the Field againſt their Enemies; but the Earl perceiving his Forces to be too much weaken'd appointed Fryer *Toly* with his Five Hundred Men to Fight in the Right Wing, becauſe they were the ſtrongeſt; and Earl *Morchar* with thoſe who followed him, as alſo the Sheriff of *Lincoln* making other Five Hundred in the Left Wing; whileſt he with his Seneſcals kept the main Body, as ready to help either Wing if there were occaſion; but the *Danes* being now enraged at the ſlaughter of their Men, having buried their Three Kings at a place, which is thence called *Trekingham*; afterwards 2 Kings and 8 Counts marched out, whilſt the reſt guarded the Camp, and Captives; but the Chriſtians, becauſe of their ſmaller Number, drawing themſelves up in one Body, made with their Shields a ſtrong *Teſtudo* againſt the force of their Enemies

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Arrows, and kept off the Horſe with their Pikes; and thus being well ordered by their Commanders, they kept their Ground the whole day: But thô they remained unbroken till night, and had ſtill withſtood the force of their Enemies Arrows, but their Horſes being then tired, began to flag; the Pagans feigning a Flight, on purpoſe ſeemed to quit the Field, which the Chriſtians perceiving, althô their Commanders forbad and oppoſed it, yet nevertheleſs breaking their Ranks, were all diſperſed through the Plain without any Order or Command; but the Pagans returning like Lions upon a Flock of Sheep, made a great Slaughter amongſt them; whilſt the ſtout Count *Algar*, and Frier *Toly*, with ſome Souldiers, getting upon a riſing Ground, and being drawn up into a round Body, did for a long time endure the Pagans Inſults; and when the ſaid Earl and other Captains ſaw the ſtouteſt Men of their ſmall Army ſlain, they got upon the thickeſt heaps of the Chriſtian dead Bodies, and there being reſolved to ſell their Lives as dear as they could, they fell down dead, having received many Wounds; only a few young Men of *Sutton* and *Gedeney* flinging away their Arms, fled into a Neighbouring Wood, and ſo eſcaping, came the Night following to the Monaſtery of *Croyland*, and there related the ſlaughter of the Chriſtians, and the loſs of their whole Company: which when they had told at the Church door with great lamentations, the Abbot and Monks, being extreamly confounded at this ill news, reſolved to keep only with them the Elder Monks, and ſome few Children, to provoke compaſſion, and ſo ſent away all the Younger Men, together with the Reliques, Jewels, and Charters of their Monaſteries, by Boat to the Wood of *Ancarig*, adjoining to their Iſland; where they ſtaid with one *Foret* an Anchorite Four days, being Thirty in number, whereof Ten were Prieſts: But the Abbot having hid the reſt of the Plate; with the rich Table of the Altar, and put on his Sacred Veſtments, and had with his Brethren ſaid Maſs, and communicated; they had ſcarce finiſhed all this when the Pagans breaking into the Church, ſlew Abbot *Theodore* at the Altar, who periſhed by the hands of their King *Oketule*, all the reſt as well Old Men as Children, being alſo ſlain, except one handſome Boy of about Ten Years Old, who (being intended for a Monk) was ſaved by Count *Sidroc* the Younger, and ſtripping him of his Habit, put on him a *Daniſh* Coat, ordering him to follow him where ever he went, and ſo the Boy ſticking cloſe to him, his Life was ſaved, and he alone eſcaping, gave a relation of what he had ſeen; but the *Danes*, when they had broke open the Tombs of St. *Guthleak*, and the Princes there buried, and finding no more Plunder, ſet the Church on Fire, and burnt the dead bodies that were in it together. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXX.

So likewiſe of the deſtruction of the Monaſtery of *Medeſhamſtead*, this Author hath given us a larger account than what we find in this Copy of the Annals, *viz.* That four days after the deſtruction of *Croyland*, the *Danes* march'd towards that Monaſtery, where finding the Gates lock'd, they began to make an aſſault upon it; but receiving a Repulſe, at the ſecond aſſault, *Tuba* the Brother of Count *Hubba* being knocked down with a Stone, was carried off for Dead, whereat *Hubba* was ſo enraged, that breaking into the Monaſtery he ſlew all the Monks that came in his way, whileſt the reſt of them deſtroyed the others, till at laſt all periſhed, ſo that in ſhort, the Monaſtery was wholly deſtroyed, and the Church, together

Anno Dom. DC CLXX. ' and *Hubba.*) At the ſame time alſo they came to *Medeſhamſtead*, which ' Monaſtery they burnt and deſtroyed, killing the Abbots and Monks, ' with all the Men they found there, carrying away all the rich Spoil of ' that place.

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But it ſeems there returned that Night to the *Daniſh* Camp all the reſt of the Princes of that Nation, who dividing the Country among them, had marched out to plunder; their names are Barbarous, and too long to be repeated, but their chief Kings were *Godrum* and *Baſſeg*, and their Earls or Leaders, *Hingar* and *Hubba*, with others, who then returned with great Forces, and a multitude of Captives, and a great deal of Spoil; and their coming being known, the greateſt part of the Chriſtians ſtruck with terrour fled away; whil'ſt thoſe that were left, early in the Morning, after hearing Divine Service, and receiving the Sacrament, being reſolved to dye for Chriſt, and in Defence of their Country, marched into the Field againſt their Enemies; but the Earl perceiving his Forces to be too much weaken'd appointed Fryer *Toly* with his Five Hundred Men to Fight in the Right Wing, becauſe they were the ſtrongeſt; and Earl *Morchar* with thoſe who followed him, as alſo the Sheriff of *Lincoln* making other Five Hundred in the Left Wing; whileſt he with his Seneſcals kept the main Body, as ready to help either Wing if there were occaſion; but the *Danes* being now enraged at the ſlaughter of their Men, having buried their Three Kings at a place, which is thence called *Trekingham*; afterwards 2 Kings and 8 Counts marched out, whilſt the reſt guarded the Camp, and Captives; but the Chriſtians, becauſe of their ſmaller Number, drawing themſelves up in one Body, made with their Shields a ſtrong *Teſtudo* againſt the force of their Enemies

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Arrows, and kept off the Horſe with their Pikes; and thus being well ordered by their Commanders, they kept their Ground the whole day: But thô they remained unbroken till night, and had ſtill withſtood the force of their Enemies Arrows, but their Horſes being then tired, began to flag; the Pagans feigning a Flight, on purpoſe ſeemed to quit the Field, which the Chriſtians perceiving, althô their Commanders forbad and oppoſed it, yet nevertheleſs breaking their Ranks, were all diſperſed through the Plain without any Order or Command; but the Pagans returning like Lions upon a Flock of Sheep, made a great Slaughter amongſt them; whilſt the ſtout Count *Algar*, and Frier *Toly*, with ſome Souldiers, getting upon a riſing Ground, and being drawn up into a round Body, did for a long time endure the Pagans Inſults; and when the ſaid Earl and other Captains ſaw the ſtouteſt Men of their ſmall Army ſlain, they got upon the thickeſt heaps of the Chriſtian dead Bodies, and there being reſolved to ſell their Lives as dear as they could, they fell down dead, having received many Wounds; only a few young Men of *Sutton* and *Gedeney* flinging away their Arms, fled into a Neighbouring Wood, and ſo eſcaping, came the Night following to the Monaſtery of *Croyland*, and there related the ſlaughter of the Chriſtians, and the loſs of their whole Company: which when they had told at the Church door with great lamentations, the Abbot and Monks, being extreamly confounded at this ill news, reſolved to keep only with them the Elder Monks, and ſome few Children, to provoke compaſſion, and ſo ſent away all the Younger Men, together with the Reliques, Jewels, and Charters of their Monaſteries, by Boat to the Wood of *Ancarig*, adjoining to their Iſland; where they ſtaid with one *Foret* an Anchorite Four days, being Thirty in number, whereof Ten were Prieſts: But the Abbot having hid the reſt of the Plate; with the rich Table of the Altar, and put on his Sacred Veſtments, and had with his Brethren ſaid Maſs, and communicated; they had ſcarce finiſhed all this when the Pagans breaking into the Church, ſlew Abbot *Theodore* at the Altar, who periſhed by the hands of their King *Oketule*, all the reſt as well Old Men as Children, being alſo ſlain, except one handſome Boy of about Ten Years Old, who (being intended for a Monk) was ſaved by Count *Sidrac* the Younger, and ſtripping him of his Habit, put on him a *Daniſh* Coat, ordering him to follow him where ever he went, and ſo the Boy ſticking cloſe to him, his Life was ſaved, and he alone eſcaping, gave a relation of what he had ſeen; but the *Danes*, when they had broke open the Tombs of St. *Guthleak*, and the Princes there buried, and finding no more Plunder, ſet the Church on Fire, and burnt the dead bodies that were in it together. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXX.

So likewiſe of the deſtruction of the Monaſtery of *Medeſhamſtead*, this Author hath given us a larger account than what we find in this Copy of the Annals, *viz.* That four days after the deſtruction of *Croyland*, the *Danes* march'd towards that Monaſtery, where finding the Gates lock'd, they began to make an aſſault upon it; but receiving a Repulſe, at the ſecond aſſault, *Tuba* the Brother of Count *Hubba* being knocked down with a Stone, was carried off for Dead, whereat *Hubba* was ſo enraged, that breaking into the Monaſtery he ſlew all the Monks that came in his way, whileſt the reſt of them deſtroyed the others, till at laſt all periſhed, ſo that in ſhort, the Monaſtery was wholly deſtroyed, and the Church, together

Anno Dom. DCCCLXX. together with a noble Library of Books, and all its Charters were reduced to Aſhes.

But the fourth day after this the Pagan Army having got together all the ſpoil they could, marched toward *Huntington*; but in their way thither, as the two Counts *Sidrocs* brought up the Rear of the Army, which had now paſſed the River *Nene*, two Waggon loads of rich moveables happened to be ſunk in the Ford, as alſo the Beaſts that drew them, in getting out of which, whileſt *Sidroc* and his Men were buſied, the Boy *Turgar* ſlipped away into the next Wood, and walking all Night about break of Day he got to *Croyland*, where he found the Monks returned again, and buſie in quenching the Fire, as well as they could; to whom he related all that had happened, and diſcovering where the body of the Abbot and moſt of the Monks lay, they removed the rubbiſh, and buried them, and then having choſen *Godric*, one of the Monks that eſcaped, for their Abbot, they were reſolved to go and do the like Pious Office for the late Prior and Monks of *Medeſhamſtead*, where arriving, they buried the Bodies of above fourſcore Monks in one Grave in the Church-yard, placing over them a Pyramidal Stone of about a Yard high, whereon were carved the Images of the Abbot and Monks about him, which was then to be ſeen in *Ingulph*'s time.

In the mean time the ~~*Britains*~~ ſpoiling the Country as far as *Grant-bridge* (now *Cambridge*,) they then fell upon, and burnt the famous Nunnery of *Ely*, killing all that were therein both Men and Women, and carrying away a great deal of Riches, which had been brought thither from all parts for their better ſecurity; from whence they paſſed over into the Country of the *Eaſt-Angles*, where they ſlew Earl *Wulketule* coming againſt them, and making a ſtout reſiſtance with his ſmall Forces, from whence they marched againſt King *Edmund* himſelf, of whoſe Life and Martyrdom, I ſhall out of *Aſſer*'s Annals, give you a particular account; and thô I will not paſs my word for the truth of all his Relation, being written after the manner of the Legends of thoſe times, yet the ſubſtance of it is no doubt true, and the reſt may ſerve, if not to inſtruct, yet at leaſt to divert the Readers.

But before I proceed to the Story of the Martyrdom of this King, it may not be amiſs to relate the occaſion, why the *Danes* invaded the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and put King *Edmund* ſo cruelly to Death, which ſtory thô it be not very probable; yet ſince it is found in *Mat. Weſtminſters Flores Hiſtoriarum*, I will from thence repeat it in as few words as I can, being to this effect; That in the Kingdom of *Denmark* there was one *Lothbrook*, who being deſcended from the Royal Family, had by his Wife two Sons, *Inguar* and *Hubba*: *Lothbrook* going to Sea by himſelf, in a Boat, with only a Hawke on his Fiſt, to ſeek for Game in a Neighbouring Iſland, being taken by a ſudden and violent Storm, was toſſed up and down for ſeveral Days, till at laſt he was by the Wind and Tide driven upon the Coaſt of that Country, we now call *Northfolk*; where being found alone with his Hawk, he is preſented to *Edmund* the King, and being kindly received for the comlineſs of his Perſon, continued in his Court, and told the King the Tale of his ſtrange Fortune, and often went out in the Field for his Recreation, with *Beorn* the King's Huntſman, being extraordinarily dexterous both in Hunting and Fowling; for this Reaſon, this Huntſman greatly envied him, and

and as they two were hunting together alone, he ſecretly murdered him, and hid his Body in a Wood. Now *Lothebroc* kept a Greyhound, which was exceedingly fond of him, and the Huntſman being gone away with the reſt of the Dogs, he ſtayed there alone by his Maſter's Body; next day, when the King asked for *Lothebroc*, *Beorn* anſwered, *That the day before he ſtayed in the Wood, and ſince that he had not ſeen him.* But behold, the Greyhound comes to Court, and fawning upon the King, as well as others, as ſoon as he had filled his Belly, again departed; till doing this often, he was followed to the place by ſome of the King's Servants, who there found out the Body, and brought the Relation of it to the King: The Matter being examined, and found out, the Huntſman is ſentenced to be put into the ſame Boat in which *Lothebroc* arrived, without any Oars or Tackling; in which, after a few days, (ſurely the Boat knew its way,) he was caſt upon the Coaſt of *Denmark*, where being brought to *Lothebroc*'s Sons, and by them examined what was become of their Father, whoſe Boat they ſufficiently knew, he affirmed, That he was killed by *Edmund*, King of the *Eaſt Angles*; Whereupon they prepare a Navy, and paſſing into *England*, landed firſt in the *Northern* Parts, and, as was ſaid before, they grievouſly haraſs'd the Country of the *Northumbers*, and having brought it under Subjection, *Hinguar* quits his Company, and with a great Fleet ſailed to *Eaſt England*, where King *Edmund* Reigned. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXX.

But *Saxo Grammaticus* gives us quite another Account of the Death of theſe Prince's Father, whom he calls *Regner*, *viz.* That he was taken Priſoner in *Ireland*, and there killed in Priſon by Snakes, where none, you muſt know, ever were, a Story altogether as probable as the former; ſo I have here given you, from ſeveral Authors, two different Accounts of the Reaſon of the *Danes* invading *England*, and ſhall leave it to the Reader to believe one, or neither, ſince as they cannot both be true, ſo neither of them ſeem very probable.

This King *Edmund* had now Reigned five Years with great Affection of his Subjects, for, being a Prince of great Hopes, he was by the *Unanimous Favour*, and *Conſent of the People* of that Province, not only Elected, but rather forced to Rule over them. He had a Majeſtick Meen that became a King, and in his Countenance appeared a certain Air of Piety mixed with Meekneſs and Devotion. It was indeed but a ſhort time he Reigned, but in that time he did by his Charity to the Poor, and his Care over Widows and Orphans, perform all the Duties of a Pious Man, as well as of a Good King.

But to come to the Story it ſelf: The *Danes*, having now ſpoiled the Country, and routed the King's Army, as you have heard, came on a ſudden upon a certain City, and taking it by Surpriſe, they killed the Inhabitants, and raviſhed the Women, ſparing neither Age nor Sex; but when they had pretty well ſatiated their Fury, *Hinguar* their Captain examined ſome of the ordinary People that were left alive, where their King uſed to reſide; but here our Author ſuppoſes the King to have never yet reſiſted them, and therefore that they would firſt ſeizeon him, to prevent him from raiſing any Forces againſt them; which is not at all likely, eſpecially ſince the *Saxon* Annals tell us expreſly, that King *Edmund* had already fought againſt him, and been put to flight: But this ſeems more probable, that the King being then fled to one of his Houſes in the Country, called *Hegleſdune*, was by the *Danes* diſcovered: Whereupon *Hinguar* ſent one of his Servants on a Meſſage to him, the Sub-

Anno Dom. DCCCLXX. ſtance of which was, 'That Earl *Hinguar*, his Lord, commanded him to 'deliver up all his Treaſures, and that he ſhould ſubmit himſelf and his 'Kingdom to his Power, which if he refuſed to do, he ſhould then be 'deprived both of his Kingdom and Life. To which the King anſwered, *That he would never renounce the Vow he had made in Baptiſm, and being made King by the General Conſent of the whole People, he was reſolved never to do any thing to the Prejudice of the Common-weal of the* Engliſh *Nation, nor ever to ſubmit his Neck to any Yoke but that of Chriſt, whoſe Example he now intended to imitate, and by his Grace would Suffer for his Name:* And ſo he bid the Meſſenger return, and tell this to his Maſter. It ſeems the King had no ſooner finiſhed what he had to ſay, but as the Meſſenger was going back with this Anſwer, *Hinguar* himſelf met him, to whom having told what the King had ſaid, he immediately commanded his Men to enter the Palace, and to lay hold of none but the King, and He, being there ſoon found, was immediately tied, and brought before the Captain, who commanded him firſt to be cruelly beaten, and then bound to a Neighbouring Tree, to be inhumanly whipped; all which he manfully endured, ſtill calling on the Name of Chriſt: Whereat his Enemies being enraged, in a moſt barbarous manner ſhot his Body ſo full of Arrows, that it ſeemed capable of receiving no more; yet none of the Wounds killing him outright, *Hinguar* at laſt commanded one of his Souldiers to cut off his Head; which our Author deſcribes with a great deal of Monkiſh Eloquence: This being done, and leaving his Body there, they carried away the Head along with them, that ſo it might not be buried with it; but at laſt they flung it into a Wood, (which *John* of *Tinmouth*, in his *Hiſtoria Aurea*, calls *Edgleſdun*;) but the People, after they were gotten out of their Hiding-places, began to look for it, and having long ſearched up and down the Wood, they at length heard the Head when they cried out to one another, *Where are you?* Anſwer (in *Engliſh*,) *Here, here:* Nor ceaſed repeating thoſe words, till they came where it lay. As for this part of the Story, it ſounds ſo like a Legend, that I ſhall leave it to be ſwallowed by thoſe who are apt to be taken with ſuch Things. I have no more to add, but that King *Edmund* Suffered on the 12th of the *Kal.* of *December*, in the Year above-mentioned: But enough in Conſcience, if not too much, of this King's Martyrdom, who had afrerwards a Church and Monaſtery erected to his Memory, as you will find when you come to it; for it is certain, the *Engliſh Saxons* attributed as great Sanctity to this, as to any of their ancient Saints, and had as great a Belief of his Miracles, his Body being preſerved uncorrupt (whether by Art or Miracle I ſhall not determine) for many Ages after.

I have no more to Remark under this Year, 'but that now *Ceolnoth* the 'Arch-Biſhop deceaſed, and *Ethelred* Biſhop of *Wiltun-ſcire* was Elected 'Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* in his ſtead.

Alſo that the Town of *Dunmoc*, being now deſtroyed by the *Danes*, *Helmham* in *Norfolk* continued to be the ſole Biſhop's See for the Kingdom of the *Eaſt Angles*, till it was long after removed to *Norwich*.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXI. This Year (as both *Aſſer* and the *Saxon* Annals relate) the Army of the *Danes* leaving the *Eaſt Angles*, marched into the *Weſt Saxon* Kingdom, and came to a Town of the King's called *Reading*, lying on the South ſide of *Thames*, in that County which was then called *Bearrockſhire* (now *Berkſhire*;) and the third Day after their coming, divers of their

their Commanders rid out with great part of their Forces to Plunder, whilſt the reſt remained behind to caſt up a Trench between the two Rivers, *Thames* and *Kynton*, on the right ſide of the Town, whom Earl *Æthelwulf* with his Forces met at *Englefeild* in that County, where it was ſtoutly fought on both ſides; but after a long Battle, one of the Counts *Sydrock* being ſlain, and a great part of his Army routed, the reſt eſcaping by flight, the Chriſtians got the Victory, and kept the Field. And four Days after, King *Æthered* and *Ælfred* his Brother joyning their Forces together, marched to *Reading*, and when they came to the Caſtle, they killed and deſtroyed all the *Danes* whom they found without the Gates; but they within did not make a leſs obſtinate Reſiſtance, for ſallying out, the Fight became very ſharp on both ſides, in ſo much that the Chriſtians were at laſt forced to turn their Backs, and the Pagans gained the Victory, and there Earl *Æthelwulf* above-mentioned was ſlain amongſt the reſt; with which the Chriſtians being much provoked, 4 days after they fought with them again at a place called *Æſcesdune* (now *Aſton*) in *Berkſhire*, when the Pagans divided themſelves into two equal Bodies, for they had then two Kings, beſides many Earls; ſo they allotted one part of the Army to the two Kings, and the other to the Earls; which the Chriſtians perceiving, they likewiſe did the ſame with their Army: But *Elfred* came ſooner into the Field with his Men, than did the King his Brother; for (as *Aſſer* tells us) he had heard from thoſe that were there, that the King was then in his Tent hearing Maſs, and poſitively affirming, that he would not depart thence till it was finiſhed, which he made good; and this Piety of the King's was thought to prevail much with God, for the Chriſtians had reſolved that King *Ethered* with his Forces ſhould maintain the Fight againſt the two Pagan Kings, whilſt *Ælfred* his Brother, with his Detachment, ſhould oppoſe the Earls. And now both Armies being drawn up in Battle Array, whilſt the King ſtayed ſomewhat long at his Prayers, Prince *Ælfred*, then his Brother's Lieutenant, was not ſtrong enough alone to ſuſtain all the Pagan Forces, for tho he ſaw he muſt either Retreat, or elſe Engage the Enemy before his Brother's coming up, which ſtill the King delayed, yet the Prince (truſting on the Divine Aſſiſtance, and) having put his Men in good Order, preſently marched againſt the Enemy, who had much the Advantage of him, by reaſon of the higher Ground they had got. There was alſo in the ſame Field a ſingle Thorn Tree, (which *Aſſer* ſays he himſelf had ſeen,) about which the Enemies Troops were all drawn up; but when they had both bloudily fought for a long time, the Pagans being no longer able to withſtand the Chriſtians Arms, a great part of their Troops was ſlain, and the reſt ſaved themſelves by flight, leaving behind them dead upon the place one of their Kings called *Bachſeg*, and ſeveral other great Men, with many Thouſands of common Souldiers, needleſs here to be particularly mentioned; but this King here called *Bachſeg*, the *Daniſh* Hiſtory names *Ivar*, the Son of *Reynere*; ſo the reſt of their Army fled that night to the Caſtle of *Reading* above-mentioned, whither the Chriſtians following killed them as long as day-light would permit. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXI.

But tho *Aſſer*, the Writer of King *Alfred*'s Life and Actions, hath for his Honour attributed the whole Succeſs of this Battle to that Prince; yet it is more probable what the Manuſcript, called *Scala Chronica*, (cited by Mr. *Speed*,) relates, That when Prince *Ælfred*'s Men, being now ſpent,

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXI. were ready to Retreat, King *Ethered* came into the Battle from his Prayers; and ſo well ſeconded his Brother with freſh Forces, that renewing the Fight, the Victory (the greateſt they had ever yet obtained) was chiefly owing to their Valour.

But Fifteen Days after this, King *Æthered*, with his Brother *Ælfred*, marched again towards *Baſing* to fight the Enemy, where another Battle happened, and the Pagans, making there an obſtinate Reſiſtance, obtain'd the Victory, and kept the Field; after which Fight, a freſh Army of Pagans coming from beyond Sea, joyned themſelves to the former.

But here the *Saxon* Annals further add, 'That about two Months after 'this, King *Æthered*, and *Ælfred* his Brother, fought again with the Pagans 'at *Meretune* (now *Merton*) in *Surrey*, where the Army being divided into 'two Parts, at firſt put the Enemy to the Rout, and had the better for 'a great part of the day; yet at laſt, after a mighty ſlaughter, the *Danes* 'kept the Field, and there was ſlain Biſhop *Heamund*, with abundance 'of brave Men.

After this Battle, during the whole Summer following, the *Danes* remained in quiet at *Reading*; but the ſame Year King *Æthered*, having now for five Years ſtoutly and nobly Govern'd his Kingdom, thô with many Troubles, deceaſed, and was buried in the Monaſtery of *Winburne* in *Dorſetſhire*. But thô the Chronicle that goes under the Name of Abbot *Bromton*, (from I know not what Authority,) relates this King to have died of the Wounds which he had received in a Fight againſt one *Somerled*, a *Daniſh* King, who had newly deſtroyed the Town of *Reading*; and the Inſcription on this King's Tomb at *Winborne*, (cited by * Mr. *Camden* in his *Britannia*,) relates him to be ſlain by the *Danes*; yet ſince neither *Aſſer*, *Ingulph*, the *Saxon* Annals, nor *William* of *Malmesbury*, mention any ſuch thing, and that the Inſcription it ſelf is but Modern, I rather ſuppoſe him to have died a natural Death of the Plague, which then reigned.

* Tit. *Dorſetſhire.*

This King is ſaid, by the Annals of *Ireland*, to have had a Daughter named *Thyra*, married to *Gormun*, King of the *Danes*, who on her begat *Sweyn*, the Father of King *Cnute*. This *Ethered* had alſo ſeveral Sons, as *Alfred*, ſuppoſed to be Grandfather to *Ethelwerd*, called *Quæſtor* the Hiſtorian; as alſo *Oſwald*, who his Father mentions in his Charter to the Abbey of *Abingdon*.

King *ÆLFRED*, otherwiſe called *ALFRED*.

Immediately after King *Ethered*'s Death, (as *Aſſer* relates,) Prince *Alfred*, (who, during the Lives of his three Brothers, had been only their Deputy, or Lieutenant,) now by the General Conſent of the whole Kingdom, took the Government upon him, which he might have had if he pleaſed during their Life-time, ſince he exceeded them all both in Wiſdom and Courage; ſo that indeed he Reigned almoſt whether he would or no. But before the firſt Month of his Reign was at an end, he, truſting on the Divine Aſſiſtance, marched his Army (thô but few in compariſon of the Pagans) to *Wilton*, lying on the South ſide of the River *Willie*, (from which both the Town and Country take their Names,) where it was valiantly fought on both ſides for great part of the day, till the Pagans not being able any longer to endure the Force and Valour of the *Engliſh*, began to turn their Backs, but then finding the Number of the Purſuers to be ſmall, they rallied, and obtaining the Victory, kept the Field.

Nor

Nor let this ſeem ſtrange to any, that will but conſider how ſmall the Number of the Chriſtians were, in compariſon of the Pagans; for the *Engliſh* had in the ſpace of one Year fought 8 or 9 Battles againſt them, beſides innumerable Skirmiſhes which King *Alfred*, or his Commanders, had with them, wherein thô they loſt one King and nine Earls, or Principal Commanders; yet receiving ſuch frequent Recruits from beyond Sea, whilſt the *Saxons* every day grew weaker, it is no Wonder if they prevailed; yet notwithſtanding *Aſſer*, and the *Saxon* Annals, tell us, That this Year there was a Peace made with the *Danes*, upon condition that they would depart the Kingdom; which they for the preſent obſerved, but to little purpoſe. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXI.

For the next Year, (as the ſame Author tells us,) the *Danes* having landed again, marched from *Reading* to *London*, and there took up their Winter-Quarters; and the *Mercians* were forced to make Peace with them. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXII

Alſo this Year, (according to the Chronicle of *Mailroſs*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*,) the *Northumbers* expelled *Egbert* their King, and *Wulfher* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, who both (as *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates) flying to *Berulph* King of the *Mercians*, were by him honourably received.

About the ſame time (according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle) alſo died *Gwgan*, King or Prince of *Cardigan*, who, as ſome *Britiſh* Chronicles relate, was drowned by misfortune; and at the ſame time the *Danes* deſtroyed the Town of *Alcluid* in *Scotland*.

'This Year the *Daniſh* Army leaving the Countries about *London*, 'marched into the Kingdom of the *Northumbers*, and there Wintered in a 'place called *Turſtige* (now *Torſwick*) in *Lindſey*, (which was then part of 'the *Northumbrian* Kingdom;) ſo that the Neighbouring Nations were 'again forced to renew their League with them. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXIII.

And now alſo (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) *Egbert*, King of *Northumberland*, dying, one *Ricſtige* ſucceeded him, and Arch-Biſhop *Wulfher* was now reſtored to his Biſhoprick.

'The next Year the Pagan Army leaving *Lindiſſe*, marched into *Mer-* 'cia, and wintered in a place called *Hreoptun* (now *Repton*) in *Derby-* 'ſhire, where they forced *Burhred*, King of the *Mercians*, to deſert his 'Kingdom, and paſs the Seas to go to *Rome*, where arriving, he lived 'not long, but there dying in the 22d Year of his Reign, he was honou- 'rably buried at the *Engliſh* School or College in the Church of St. *Mary* 'thereunto belonging. The *Danes*, after his Expulſion, brought the 'whole Kingdom of *Mercia* under their Dominion, and then delivered it 'to one *Ceolwulf*, an inconſiderable Fellow, and Servant of the late King, 'upon this miſerable Condition, That he ſhould deliver it up to them 'again whenſoever they required it; and for this he gave Hoſtages, 'ſwearing to obey them in all Things. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXIV.

'Now the *Daniſh* Army leaving *Hreoptun*, became divided into two; and '*Halfden* their Commander marched with one part of it into the King- 'dom of *Northumberland*, and there took up his Winter-Quarters near the 'River *Tine*, where they conquered the whole Country, and alſo ſpoiled 'the Country between the *Picts* and the *Stræcled Welſh-men*, (who then 'inhabited part of *Galloway* in *Scotland*,) whilſt another part of them, un- 'der the Command of *Godrun*, *Oskytel*, and *Amwynd*, (three of their 'Kings,) marched to *Grantbridge*, and there Wintered: And the ſame Sum- 'mer King *Ælfred* fought at Sea againſt ſeven of their Ships, and took one 'of them, the reſt eſcaping. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXV.

This

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXVI. This Year (as *Asser* and the *Saxon* Annals relate,) *Rollo*, the *Dane* or *Norman*, wasted *Neustria*, (afterwards called *Normandy*,) and, in some time after, made an entire Conquest of it: *Asser* also says, that this *Rollo* having had a Dream of a Swarm of Bees flying towards the *South*, he chose to leave *England*, and go over into *France*; though, as other Authours affirm, it was because he was so warmly received by King *Alfred*, that he did not like to stay here, but rather chose to pass into another Country of easier Conquest, as *Normandy* indeed proved, for he reigned there fifty Years.

The same Year (according to the Chronicle of *Mailrosse*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*,) *Ricsig*, King of *Northumberland*, dying, another *Egbert* succeeded him; but we have no account of his Actions, more than that he reigned beyond *Tyne* as a Tributary to the *Danes*, who possessed all the rest of the Country, as you will find by the *Saxon* Annals.

'The same Year, (accordingly) the *Danes* stealing away by 'Night from *Granthridge*, (where they had long encamped,) marched 'to *Werham*, (now *Warham* in *Dorsetshire*,) being then a strong Castle of 'the *West-Saxons*; this place they took, and destroyed, together with the 'Nunnery there; then passing higher, as into a secure Harbour, they 'drew up all their Ships, so that now King *Alfred* was reduced to such 'great streights, that he was forced to make Peace with him; and they 'gave the King for Pledges some of the Noblest Persons in their Army, 'and took an Oath upon a sacred Bracelet they had, (which Oath they 'would never take to any Nation before,) that they would presently 'depart the Kingdom; but in the mean while, that part of the Army, 'which had Horses, stole away to *Exanceaster*, (now *Exeter*,) where-'upon the King put all their Hostages to Death.

'The same Year in the Month of *August*, *Healfden* the *Danish* King 'divided the Kingdom of the *Northumbers* among his People, who now 'settling there, ploughed and sowed; from whence the *Danes* date their 'Reign over that Kingdom. But the Year following,

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXVII. The *Danes* having left *Werham*, and come to *Exeter*, (as you have already heard,) their Fleet in the mean time fetching a compass, sailing towards the *West*, (I suppose to *Exmouth*) there arose so violent a Storm, as that 120 of their Ships were cast away near *Swandwic*, (now *Swanwick* in *Hampshire*;) then King *Alfred* followed that part of the Army as far as *Exeter*, thô he could not overtake them, till they had got into the Castle, which proved so strong, that no body could come at them; but he streightning them there, they gave him what Hostages he required, and took fresh Oaths, and for a small time observed the league they had made; yet nevertheless in the Month of *August* following, the same *Danish* Army marched into the Province of the *Mercians*, where, dividing part of it between themselves, they left the rest to *Ceolwulf* above mentioned.

About this time also, according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle, the English, having entred *Wales* the Year before, fought a Bloody Battel with the *Welshmen*, though this Authour neither tells who were the Commanders, nor who had the Victory; and the Year following there was another Battel between them, wherein *Rodorick*, Sirnamed *The Great*, King or Prince of *Wales*, and *Guyriad* his Brother, or (as some say,) his Son, were slain.

This *Rodorick* had, by his Wife *Engharaud*, the Daughter of Prince *Meyric* several Sons, as *Anarawd* his Eldest, to whom he gave *Aberffraw*, with

with *North Wales*: *Cadelh* the ſecond, to whom he left *Dynevowr*, with *South-Wales*; who alſo took by force *Marthraval* and *Powyſland*, after the Death of *Mervyn* the third Son; to whom their Father *Rodorick* had given the ſame; To which Dr. *Powel* likewiſe adds, That this *Rodorick* is eſteemed by all Writers, to be ſole King of all *Wales*; *North-Wales* deſcending to him from his Mother *Eſylcht* the Daughter and ſole Heir of *Conan Tindaethwy*; but *South-Wales* he had in Right of his Wife, the Daughter and Heir of *Meyric ap Dyfnwal*, King of *Cardigan*; *Powis* he had by *Neſt*, the Siſter and Heir of *Congen ap Cadhel*, King of *Powis*, his Father's Mother: Theſe three Dominions he appointed under their Meeres and Bounds, with a Princely Houſe in each of them. Theſe he had named *Ytair Talaeth*, and left them unto three of his Sons, *Anarawd*, *Cadhel*, and *Mervyn*, who were called *Yrir Tryſoc Talaethioc*, that is, the three Crown'd Princes, becauſe each of them did wear upon his Bonnet, or Helmet, a Coronet of Gold, being a broad Lace or Head-band indented upwards, ſet and wrought with precious Stones; which, in the *Britiſh* or *Welſh* Speech, is called *Talaeth*; and to which Mr. *Vaughan*, in his Additional Notes to *Caradoc*'s Hiſtory hath added, out of an ancient *Welſh* Manuſcript, That this *Rodorick* is ſaid to have corrected ſome of the old *Britiſh* Laws, and to have appointed new ones: He alſo ordained, that his Eldeſt Son ſhould have the Crown, or Coronet of *Aberffraw*, with the Fifteen *Cantreds* thereunto belonging. This *Aberffraw* is now a ſmall Village in the Iſle of *Angleſey*; and was anciently the chief Seat of the Princes of *Guyneth*, or *North-Wales*: He left to his ſecond the Crown or Coronet of *Dinevowr* or *Cardigan*, with its fifteen *Cantreds*, extending from the Mouth of the River *Devi* to the Mouth of *Severne*; and alſo that his Son ſhould have the Crown, or Coronet of *Mathraval*, with the Fifteen Cantreds of *Powis*, from the mouth of the River *Dee*, to the bridge over *Severne* at *Glouceſter*. He ordained alſo, That his Eldeſt Son, and his ſucceſſours ſhould continue the payment of the ancient tribute to the King of *London*, (*i. e.* King of *England*) and that the other two, their Heirs and Succeſſours, ſhould acknowledge his Sovereignty, and pay the like tribute to him and his Succeſſours; and that upon the Invaſions of Strangers, they ſhould all ſend him aid, and be alſo ready to protect them, when there ſhould be need.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXVII.

Moreover he ordained, That when any difference ſhould ariſe between the Princes of *Aberffraw*, and *Cardigan*, the Three Princes ſhould meet at *Birlchy Pawl*, and after hearing of Council on both ſides, the Prince of *Powis* ſhould be Umpire between them.

And if the difference were between the Kings of *Aberffraw*, and *Powis*, that they ſhould likewiſe all Three meet at *Dolhrianedd*, (perchance *Morvarhianed*, on the Bank of the River *Dee*) where the King of *Cardigan* was to end the Controverſie.

And if there ſhould be any difference between the Kings of *Powis*, and *Cardigan*, the meeting ſhould be at *Llyſwen*, upon the River *Wy*, and the King of *Aberffraw* to decide it.

This, thô it ſeems to have been as wiſe a courſe as could be taken to maintain amity in a divided Kingdom, yet did prove of no effect; for it ſeems the Princes of theſe Countries did not long obſerve this Conſtitution of their Anceſtour King *Rodoric*, but perpetually weakned each other with Civil Wars; ſo that the *Engliſh* taking advantage of their mutual diviſions, by aſſiſting the weaker Prince againſt the ſtronger; they

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXVIII they at laſt by degrees reduced them all under the *Engliſh* Dominion, as ſhall be further ſhewn in its proper place.

About this time *Anarawd*, the Eldeſt Son of *Rodorick* above mentioned, began his Reign over *North-Wales*.

This Year (according to *Aſſer*) the *Danes* ſtealing away privately after the Feaſt of *Epiphany* to *Cypenham*, and having now got Horſes, marched through all the Country of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and there began to fix their Quarters; forcing many of the Inhabitants beyond Sea, and ſubjecting the reſt of their Dominion, in ſo much that King *Alfred* was forced with a few of his Nobles, and with ſome Souldiers and Vaſſals, to lurk among the Woody and Boggy parts of *Somerſet-ſhire*, where he led a very uneaſie Life, in great Trouble and Scarcity, having no Proviſions but what he could take away by frequent incurſions from the Enemies, or elſe thoſe Chriſtians who had ſubmitted themſelves to their Dominion; and it is found in the Life of St. *Neot*, as he lay hid with a certain Cow-herd, it happened one day, that as his Wife was making of Cakes, the King ſate by the Fire, fitting up his Bow and Arrows, and other Weapons; but when the Woman ſaw the Cakes which lay before the fire begin to burn, ſhe preſently ran and removed them, and chiding the King, (whom ſhe did not know,) ſaid thus, "Doeſt thou, Fellow think "much to turn theſe Cakes, which thou can'ſt eat faſt enough when they "are baked? At which the King laughing, took all in good part; but be the Story true or falſe, this much is certain, that the King lay at this time ſo private, that neither his Friends nor Enemies could tell where he was; in ſo much that all this while the Royal Patrimony became a prey, as well to the revolting *Engliſh*, as to the *Danes* themſelves.

But the Monkiſh writers of theſe times, (according to their uſual Cuſtom of interpreting all misfortunes to be God's Judgments) will needs have this to be a judgment upon this King, becauſe that in the beginning of his Reign, being taken up with the deſire of Learning, or elſe diverted by Hunting and other Juvenile Pleaſures; he had too much neglected the publick affairs; and that being admoniſhed by St. *Neot*, and refuſing to amend, the Holy Man foretold, there would be a time, when he ſhould be driven from his Kingdom, and from his own Houſe.

But be this as it will, whileſt King *Alfred* was thus over-powered by the great multitude of *Danes* that daily entred the Kingdom, he was forced to retreat; yet even then, being followed by a ſmall band of Stout and Loyal Souldiers, he often ſet upon the Enemies by ſurprize, and with ſo good ſucceſs, that he let them ſee, though he was overcome by numbers, yet he was not vanquiſhed, ſince he remained formidable even in his flight; but to this Retreat, the then Woody and Bogy parts of *Somerſetſhire*, between the Rivers *Thone* and *Parret* chiefly contributed, which were then almoſt an Iſland, and not to be enter'd without a Boat, unleſs by one narrow way, (as *Leland* in his *Itinerary* hath rightly obſerved) but *Will.* of *Malmesbury* tells us, That it is to no purpoſe to relate all the little Skirmiſhes and Adventures of this King, during his Retreat; only one paſſage will not be unpleaſant, whether it be true or falſe, it happen'd one Day that whil'ſt King *Alfred* lay private in a little Caſtle, or Fort, in the Wood *Athelney*, it being Winter time, and the Waters frozen up, he ſent out his followers to ſeek for ſome Fiſh or Fowle, whereby they might ſuſtain Nature, ſo that none were left at home, but himſelf

ſelf and his Mother, (for it ſeems the Queen his Wife was either dead, or elſe lay concealed ſome where elſe;) but the King having to paſs away the time taken up a Book, and began to read, (as his cuſtom was, when he had nothing elſe to do) a certain poor Man knocked at the door, and begged an Alms; whereupon the King calling to his Mother, deſired her to ſee if there was any thing for him to eat; but ſhe told him, that there was no more than one Loaf left, and this would not be enough for the whole Company when they returned home; the King hearing this, ſaid no more, *but let God be bleſſed for all his gifts*, then praying his Mother, to beſtow half of it upon this poor Chriſtian, further added, that he who had fed 5000 Men with Five Loaves and Two ſmall Fiſhes, could alſo, if he pleaſed, make half a Loaf ſuffice their neceſſities; whereupon his Mother complying with his deſire, and the poor Man having got more than he looked for, went his way, but the King having read till he was tired, happened to fall aſleep, and dreamt that he ſaw St. *Cuthbert* (formerly Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*) coming to him, and telling him, that he was ſent from God to let him know, that he was now reſolved to put an end to the long and grievous puniſhments which the *Engliſh* had hitherto ſuffered for their Sins; and that the Alms which he had juſt now beſtowed, was ſo acceptable in his ſight, that he would reſtore him to his Kingdom, and ſaid, as a ſign of this, his Servants, who were then gone out a Fiſhing, thô with very ſmall hopes of catching any thing, ſhould return home ſo loaded, that he ſhould look upon it with wonder; but that which is more ſtrange, his Mother fell alſo a ſleep, and dreamed the like Dream at the ſame time, as ſhe told the King her Son when he awaked her; but whileſt they with great aſtoniſhment diſcourſed of this Miracle, his followers returned home, bringing Fiſh enough with them to have ſerved a little Army, if there had been occaſion. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXVIII.

But be this Story true or falſe, it is certain that not long after, the King received news, that *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, returning out of *Wales*, (where having made a great ſlaughter of the *Britains*, they had paſt the Winter) and being lately landed in *Devon-ſhire* with Twenty three Ships, there met with ſome of the King's party, by whom their Captain with, 1200 Souldiers were ſlain, near the Caſtle of *Kenwith*, the manner of which was thus; *Odin*, Earl of *Devon-ſhire*, with many others of the King's Subjects, upon the arrival of *Hubba*, had fled hither for refuge; but when the *Danes* knew the Caſtle was but weakly fortified, and they within were not provided of things neceſſary for a Siege; they then reſolved to ſit down before it, ſuppoſing that the *Engliſh* would quickly ſurrender for want of Proviſions; which they being alſo ſenſible of, were endeavouring to prevent, and reſolving either to obtain the Victory or dye; they ſallyed out early one Morning upon the Enemy, who lay Encamp'd without any good Guards, ſo falling upon them at unawares ſlew *Hubba* their Leader, with his whole Army, except a few who were forced to flee to their Ships.

And this *Hubba* being here buried under a heap of Stones, gave name to the place, being called *Hubbleſtones* to this day; but the *Engliſh* having ſtripped the dead bodies, they there found among the ſpoils, that famous Banner, called *Reafan*, (that is the *Raven*) being the Picture of a Raven embroidered by the Three Siſters of *Hinguar*, and *Hubba*, in one forenoon on purpoſe for this Expedition, and which being Enchanted by their Magic Arts, they put ſo great a confidence in it, that they believed Vid. *Camden. Britan. Tit.* Devonſhire.

Anno Dom. DCLXXVIII.

if they were to meet with good ſucceſs, this figure would clap its Wings, as if it were alive; but if otherwiſe, would let them fall; but be this Story true or falſe, it ſeems they now loſt their Oracle before they had time to conſult it, and the loſs of it was certainly a great diſcouragement to them.

King *Ælfred* being now much encouraged with the news of this good ſucceſs of the *Devon-ſhire*-men, began to conſider how he might perform ſome worthy action againſt the Enemy; therefore this Year, (as the *Saxon* Annals relate,) 'having firſt fortified with his ſlender Forces a ſmall Caſtle or 'Fort at *Æthelinga-gaige* (now called *Athelney* in *Somerſet-ſhire*) where he had reſided hitherto; he marched from thence the Seventh Week after, and with his Subjects and Vaſſals there, to fight againſt the *Pagans*; and it is alſo about this time, that we may place that memorable action of this King which is thus related by *Ingulph*, and *Will.* of *Malmesbury*, which if true, ſhews not only his great Courage, but Conduct too; for knowing the Enemy to exceed him in numbers, as well as other advantages, and that if he ſhould ſet upon them with open Force he would be able to do them little, or no prejudice, nor could he hope for any better ſucceſs, unleſs he knew in what condition the Enemie's Army was, and not having any one whoſe Sagacity or Fidelity he could well truſt, he was reſolved to go himſelf to ſpy out the Enemie's Camp: ſo taking upon him the Habit of a Country Minſtrel (or Fidler) he went with only one Companion into the *Daniſh* Camp, where he became ſo acceptable, as well for his Singing, as Playing, that at laſt he was introduced to the King's Tent, and when he had there, as well as in the reſt of the *Daniſh* Camp, learnt as much as he had a mind to know, he again returned to his Caſtle at *Athelne*; where having called together all his chief followers, he related to them the careleſs condition of the Enemies Camp, and with what eaſe they might be deſtroyed: whereat they being extraordinarily ſurpriſed, he then reſolved to muſter up what Forces he could.

So the Seventh Week after *Eaſter*, he march'd to *Ecgbyrth-ſtan* (now ſuppoſed to be *Brixſtan* in *Somerſet-ſhire*,) lying on the Eaſt ſide of *Selwood* Foreſt, where met him all the *Wilt-ſhire*, *Somerſet-ſhire* and *Hamptſhire* Men; who were mightily pleaſed to behold their King after ſo many hazards; but ſtaying there only one night, he marched away to *Iglay*, (where the place was is not very well known,) and there encamped another night, in which (as *Aſſer* relates) St. *Neot*, who had been formerly his Kinſman, and Friend, appeared to him in a Dream, and bid him not be afraid of the great Army of the *Pagans*, becauſe God would now have mercy upon him and his People; and that what had happen'd to him, was for his too great Arrogance in his Youth, and that God would Fight for him and his People: The King you may be ſure was much rejoyced at this Dream, and failed not to encourage his Men with it; ſo the next Morning removing his Camp from thence, he came in one Day more to *Ethandune*, (but where it is we cannot tell) where the *Danes* lay encamped, and marching againſt them in very cloſe order, he fought their whole Army, and though they did for a long time ſtoutly reſiſt the frequent charges the King's Men made upon them, yet at laſt they gave ground, and beginning to flee he obtained a notable Victory, making a great ſlaughter of the *Pagans*, as they retreated to a certain Caſtle not far off, and at which they lay encamped, where the King beſieged them for fourteen Days; till being overcome by hunger, they were reduced to

that

that neceſſity, as to deſire Peace on theſe Conditions, That the King ſhould receive from them what Hoſtages He ſhould name, but He not to return any to them; ſo they made ſuch a Peace with him, as they had never done with any King before; for they ſwore that they would depart his Kingdom, and that *Gythram* (or *Gutrum*) their King ſhould become a Chriſtian, all which was performed, for about Three Weeks after the ſaid King with about Thirty more of his Chief Noblemen came to the King, being then at *Alrey* (the place is now unknown) only that it lay near *Athelney* above-mentioned, where King *Alfred* receiving him from the Font at his Baptiſm, became his Go-father, and took him for his adopted Son: But he did not receive the Chriſme till Eight Days after, at a Town of the Kings called *Wedmore*, where he ſtaid with him for the ſpace of Twelve Days, who preſented him, and all thoſe that accompanied him, not only with Money, but Houſes and Lands, being now reſolved to fix here. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXVIII. *in Somerſetſh.*

So this next Year the *Danes* (according to their promiſe) removed from *Cippenham* (i. e. *Chippenham* in *Wiltſhire*) to *Cirenceaſter*, and there ſtaid one Year. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXIX.

But now another Army of *Pagans*, arriving from beyond the Sea, ſailed up the River *Thames*, to whom (notwithſtanding their former Oaths) the Army that was here before alſo join'd, and took up their Winter Quarters at *Fullanham* (now *Fulham*, not far from *London*,) 'and the 'ſame Year (according to the Annals) the Sun was Eclipſed for one whole 'hour; alſo now part of the *Pagans* who had quartered at *Cirenceſter*, (as ſay the Annals and *Aſſer*) marched from thence under the Conduct of King *Gythrum*, into the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*; and dividing the Country among them, began to inhabit it; which, having been in their poſſeſſion ever ſince the Death of King *Edmund*, King *Alfred* now yielded up to their King *Gythram*; 'but thoſe *Danes* who had before ſtaid at '*Fulham*, now ſailed into *Frankland*, and quartered at *Ghent* for one whole 'Year; from whence you may obſerve, that what we now call *Flanders* was then accounted part of *France*, or *Frankland*.

And to this time we may alſo refer, that League or Agreement made between King *Alfred* and King *Guthram*, which ſets out the Territories of each of theſe Princes. Vid *Lambard's Archaion.*

'The Firſt Article is, That it is agreed that the Limits of K. *Alfred*'s 'Land are firſt upon the *Thames*, then proceed they to the River *Lee*, 'as far as his Fountain; then ſtraight to *Beaford*, and then along the 'River *Ouſe*, as far as *Watling-ſtreet*; which I ſuppoſe, is thus to be underſtood; that K. *Alfred* did hereby grant him *Eaſt-England* and *Eſſex*; ſo that the bounds of theſe Kings Dominions were firſt the *Thames*, then the River *Lee*, as far as *Harford*, whereabouts it ariſes: Then from *Harford* to *Bedford*, all along *Watling-ſtreet*, and then from *Bedford* all along the *Ouſe* to the Sea.

'The Second Article appoints the value of a Man ſlain, whether *Engliſh* or *Dane*, to be four Marks of pure Gold, and the Redemption of 'each Four hundred Shillings.

'But if the King's Servant or *Thane* was accuſed of Man-ſlaughter; 'the Third Article proceeds, That he then ſhould be tried by Twelve

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXIX.

'other of the King's Servants; or in case he was not the King's Servant, but belonged to some inferiour Lord, he should be tried by eleven of his Equals, and by one of the King's Servants. The same Order was taken in all Suits, which exceeded four Marks; but in case he refused to undergo this Trial, his Fine was to be encreased threefold.

'The Fourth appoints Vouchers for the Sale of Men, Horses, or Oxen.

'The Fifth and Last Ordains, That none from either Army should pass to the other without Leave; and in case it be by way of Traffick, such shall find Sureties for their good Behaviour, that the Peace may not be broken.

'This was the League it self, with some other Articles needless to be here recited; the Preface to which declares, That it was made betwixt the two Kings, *Ælfred* and *Gythrum*, (so the *Saxon* Original,) by Consent of all the Wise Men of the *English*, and of all those that inhabited *East England*, and that not only in behalf of themselves, but of their Posterity.

This sufficiently shews, that the *Eastern* Parts of *England* then belonged to the *Danes*; yet *Polydore Virgil* calling this King by the Name of *Gormon*, vehemently contends, that he had not that Country bestowed upon him. *Krantzius* also denies, that this *Gormon* was converted to the Faith; yet confesses, that about this time one *Froto* was converted: But whatever they write, this League sufficiently evinceth the Distinction of their Territories, and the Testimony of *Asser* is uncontrollable as to his Baptism, who lived himself at this very time, not to mention that the *Saxon* Annals also affirm the same thing.

After which follow the Ecclesiastical Laws, said in their Title to be made between King *Alfred* and King *Gythrum*, as they are to be found in Abbot *Brompton*'s Chronicle.

The First of which is, That the *Danes* and *English* should Love and Serve the true GOD alone, and Renounce *Paganism*.

And in the next place, That if any should Renounce his *Christianity*, and Relapse to *Paganism*, then he should pay his *Weare*, *Wite*, and *Lashlite*, according to what he had done.

The Third Law is, That if any in Holy Orders shall either Fight, Perjure himself, or commit Fornication, let him likewise make Amends by the like Penalties above-mentioned; and likewise make Satisfaction to GOD according to the Canons of the Church; and also give a Pledge or Security to do so no more.

Note, That the *Weare*, *Wite*, and *Lashlite*, above-mentioned, were all of them Fines, or Mulcts, which the *Danes* and *English* were to pay according to the value of their Heads, as hath been already shewn; but as for the last of these Words, Mr. *Somner*, in his *Glossary*, supposes it to be

be purely *Daniſh*, and ſignified no more than the two former Words, but was ſo called in relation to the *Danes* alone, who were to undergo it; after which follow ſeveral Conſtitutions againſt the Offences of Clergymen, againſt committing Inceſt, and with-holding of Tythes, and *Romeſcot* or *Peter-pence*; in all which Offences a *Dane* was to pay the like *Weare*, and *Wite*, with an *Engliſh-man*; as alſo againſt Buying, Selling, and Working on the *Lord's Day*; in which Caſes, if a Freeman wrought upon Holy-days, he was to loſe his Liberty, or pay his *Wite*; but if he were a Servant or *Villain*, he was to ſatisfie it with his Skin, *(i.e.* by Whipping,) or pay his *Head-Gild*; but if a Maſter compelled his Servant to work upon Holy-days, he was to pay his *Laſhlite* as the *Danes*, and his *Wite* as the *Engliſh* did, that is, according as he was a *Dane*, or an *Engliſh-man*; (which ſufficiently juſtifies Mr. *Somner*'s Senſe of that Word:) The reſt of theſe Laws being againſt divers other Offences, as againſt violating the Faſts of the Church, againſt making *Ordeal*, or taking an Oath on Sundays or Faſt-days. Not that this *Ordeal*, or Trial by a hot Iron, or boyling Water, in caſe the Perſon was accuſed of a Crime, was to be uſed, unleſs there was no direct Proof againſt him. The reſt of the Laws are againſt putting any Man to Death upon a Sunday; as alſo againſt Witches, Perjured Perſons, and Common Whores, all which Perſons were to be baniſhed the Country. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXVIII.

But the laſt Law ſaving one, is a ſort of Cruel Mercy; for thereby if a Man had loſt any of his Members for any Crime, and ſurvived the ſame four Nights, it was afterwards lawful with the Licenſe of the Biſhop for any one to give him Help and Aſſiſtance, which it ſeems before that time it was not lawful to do.

But the Reader may further from the Title of theſe Laws obſerve, the Subjection or Dependence which King *Gytrum* then had upon K. *Alfred* at that time; for King *Gytrum* and his *Danes* gave their Conſent to them in a Common-Council of the Kingdom, in the ſame manner as the Kings of *Mercia*, and of the *Eaſt Angles*, were wont to do in the General Council of the *Weſt Saxon* Kingdom, in acknowledgment of its Superiority over them, as may be proved by divers Examples; and if this King *Gytrum* could have made Laws by his own Authority, he might have called a Council of his own to do ſo, which we do not find he ever did, having received his Kingdom wholly from the Bounty of King *Alfred*.

Alſo about the Year laſt mentioned, King *Alfred* new built the Town of *Shaftsbury*, as appears by an old Inſcription cited by * Mr. *Camden*, out of an old Manuſcript Copy of *William* of *Malmesbury*, then belonging to the Lord *Burghley*; which Inſcription was in that Author's time to be ſeen in the Chapter-houſe of that Nunnery, which was built at this place by this King ſome Years after.

* *Britan. Dorſetſhire.*

'The Pagans entred further into *France*, where the *French* fought with 'them, and (as it is ſuppoſed) were routed, for here the *Danes* found 'Horſes enough to mount the greateſt part of their Men. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXXI.

'This Year the *Danes* ſailed up the *Maeſe* (now the *Meuſe*) into *Frank-* 'land, and there ſtayed another Year. The ſame Year alſo King *Ælfred* 'ſailing out with his Fleet, fought againſt four *Daniſh* Pirat Ships, and 'took *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXXII.

'took two of their Men, and the other two (the Men being very much 'wounded and tired in the Fight) ſurrendred themſelves.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXIII. 'The *Danes* ſailed up the *Skeld* to *Cundoth*, (which was then a Mona-'ſtery, and is now ſuppoſed to be *Conde* upon the River *Eſcaut*) where 'they ſtayed a whole Year. Now alſo *Marinus*, that Religious Pope, 'ſent ſome of the Wood of our LORD's Croſs to *Alfred*, and in Re-'turn the King ſent to *Rome* the Alms he had vowed by the Hands of '*Sighelm* and *Ethelſtan*: Alſo he ſent other Alms into *India*, to St. *Thomas*, 'and St. *Bartholomew*, (who being there martyr'd, are accounted the *In-'dian* Apoſtles.) And about that time the *Engliſh* Army lay encamped 'againſt the *Danes*, who held *London*, where yet (thanks be to GOD) 'all Things ſucceeded proſperouſly.

Alſo this Year, (according to the Chronicle of *Mailroſs*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*,) King *Alfred* having ſlain the two *Daniſh* Captains, *Ingwar* and *Halfdene*, cauſed the waſted Parts of *Northumberland* to be again Inhabited; then *Edred* the Abbot, being ſo commanded by *Cuthbert* in a Viſion, redeemed a certain Youth who had been ſold to a Widow at *Withingham*, and made him King of *Northumberland* by the joynt Conſent both of the *Engliſh* and *Danes*, King *Alfred* himſelf confirming the Election. This King *Guthred*, in Gratitude to St. *Cuthbert*, did alſo beſtow all the Land between the Rivers of *Weol* and *Tyne*, and ſays upon that Saint, that is, upon the Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*, who this Year removed the Biſhop's See from thence to a place then called *Concaceſtre*, now *Cheſter*; and thither they alſo removed the Body of St. *Cuthbert*. But as for the Miracle of the Earth's opening and ſwallowing up a whole Army of *Scots*, who came to fight with King *Cuthred*, I leave it to the Monks to be believed by them, if they pleaſe. This is certain, that thus making this poor Youth King, the Church got all that Country now called the *Biſhoprick* of *Durham*. And who can tell but all this Viſion was a Contrivance of Abbot *Edred*'s, for that very Deſign; yet if it were ſo, it was but a Pious Fraud, which highly tended to the enriching of that Church.

The ſame Year (according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*) died *Aſſer*, Biſhop of *Shirburne*; who could not be the ſame with that *Aſſer*, who writ the Life and Actions of King *Alfred*, ſince that Author writ to *Anno* 993, being the 45th Year of King *Alfred*'s Age, as appears by that Work. Arch Biſhop *Uſher* ſuppoſes this *Aſſer* the Hiſtorian to have been he, who was afterwards the Biſhop of St. *David*'s, and was the ſecond of that Name who ſate in that See; but without any good Authority.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXIV. 'This Year the *Danes* ſailed up the River *Sunne*, (*i. e. Some*,) as far 'as *Embenum* (now *Amiens*, in *Picardy*, where they remained one whole 'Year. And now alſo deceaſed the worthy Biſhop *Athelwold*.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXV. The *Danes* being thus employed abroad, did nothing this Year in *England*; but the next we find in *Aſſer*, that the *Pagan* Army divided it ſelf into two Bodies, the one whereof ſailed to the Eaſt Parts of *France*, whilſt the other making up the Rivers of *Thames* and *Medway*, beſieged the City of *Rocheſter*, and having built a ſtrong Fort before the Gates, from thence aſſaulted the City, yet could by no means take it, becauſe the Citizens valiantly defended themſelves, until ſuch times as King *Ælfred* came to their Aſſiſtance with a powerful Army; which when the Pagans ſaw, quitting their Forts, and all the Horſes which they had brought with them out of *France*, together with a great many Priſoners, to the *Engliſh*,

Engliſh, they in great haſt fled away to their Ships, and being compelled by neceſſity paſſed again that Summer in *France*;) King *Ælfred* having now reinforced his Fleet, was reſolved to fall upon the *Daniſh* Pyrates, who then ſheltered among their Country Men of *Eaſt England*; upon which he ſent his Fleet that he had got ready in *Kent*, (being very well Mann'd) into the mouth of the River *Stoure*, (not that in *Kent*, but another that runs by *Harwich*, where they were met by Sixteen *Daniſh* Pyrates, who lay there watching for a Prey; and immediately ſetting upon them, after a ſharp reſiſtance the King's Men boarding them, they were all taken, together with great Spoils, and moſt of the Men killed. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXXV.

'But as the King's Fleet were returning home, they fell among another 'Fleet of *Danes*, much ſtronger, with whom fighting again, the *Danes* 'obtained the Victory; thô with what Loſs to the *Engliſh*, the Annals 'do not ſay.

But the reſt of the *Danes* of *Eaſt England*, were ſo much incenſed at this Victory; as alſo with the ſlaughter of their Country Men, that ſetting out a great *Fleet* very well Mann'd, they ſail'd to the mouth of *Thames*; where ſetting upon divers of the King's Ships, by ſurprize in the Night, when all the Men were aſleep, they had much the better of them; but what damage the King's Ships received, and how many Men were loſt, our Authour does not tell us.

'The ſame Year, ſomewhat before *Chriſtmaſs*, *Charles*, King of the '*Weſtern Franks*, was killed by a wild Boar, which he was then hunting; 'but his Brother *Lewis* dyed the Year before: They were both Sons to 'that King *Lewis*, who deceaſed the Year of the laſt Eclipſe, and he 'was the Son of that *Charles*, whoſe Daughter, *Ethelwulf* King of the '*Weſt Saxons* had married.

'The ſame Year happened a great Sea Fight among the ancient '*Saxons* of *Germany*, but the Annals do not acquaint us with whom they 'fought, However, it is ſuppoſed to have been with the *Danes*; and they 'further add, That they fought twice this Year, where the *Saxons* being 'aſſiſted by the *Friſians*, obtained the Victory.

Here alſo *Aſſer*, as well as our Annals, proceed to give us a further account of the *French* and *German* affairs, with a brief deſcent of their Kings, from *Charles* the Great; as that this Year *Charles* King of the *Allmans* received all the Kingdoms of the *Weſtern Franks*, which lye between the *Mediteranean* Sea, and that Bay, which was between the Ancient *Saxons* and the *Gauls*, by the voluntary conſent of all the People; the Kingdom of *Armorica*, (that is, of leſſer *Britain*,) only excepted: This *Charles* was the Son of *Lewis*, Brother of that *Charles* laſt mention'd; and both the Kings were the Sons of *Lewis*, the Younger Son of *Charles* the Great, who was the Son of King *Pipin*.

'The ſame Year alſo the good Pope *Marinus* deceaſed, who freed the '*Engliſh* School at *Rome*, at the entreaty of King *Ælfred*, from all Tax 'and Tribute.

'Alſo about the ſame time the *Danes* of *Eaſt England* broke the Peace, 'which they had lately made with King *Ælfred*.

'The *Pagans* who had before Invaded the *Eaſt*, quitting that, now 'marched towards the *Weſt* parts of *France*; and paſſing up the River '*Seine*, took their Winter Quarters at *Paris*. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXXVI.

The

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXVI. The ſame Year (according to *Aſſer*, as well as the Annals,) King *Alfred*, after ſo many Cities being burnt, and ſuch great deſtruction of People, not only took the City of *London* from the *Danes*, who had it long in their Poſſeſſion; but he now repaired it, and made it habitable; and then committed it to the Cuſtody of his Son-in-Law, *Ethered* Earl of the *Mercians*; and now all the *Engliſh*, (*viz.*) the *Mercians* and *Kentiſhmen*, as alſo the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Saxons*, who had been before diſperſed, or made Priſoners with the *Danes*, being now returned home, put themſelves under King *Alfred*'s Protection

But theſe *Daniſh* Storms being pretty well blown over, King *Alfred* began now to make ſome uſe of the Learned Men he had ſent for from abroad; for as Mr. *Camden* ſhews us in his * *Britannia*, we have a large account of the Univerſity of *Oxon*. Under the Year of our *Lord*, 886, '*viz.* That in the Second Year of St. *Grimbald*'s coming over into *England*, 'the Univerſity of *Oxford* was founded; the firſt Regents there, and 'Readers in Divinity were St. *Neot*, an Abbot, an Eminent Profeſſor of '*Theology*, and St. *Grimbald*, an Eloquent and moſt Excellent In-'terpreter of the Holy Scriptures; whilſt Grammer and Rhetorick were 'Taught by *Aſſer* a Monk, a Man of extraordinary Learning; Logick, 'Muſick and Arithmetick, were Read by *John* a Monk of St. *Davids*; 'Geometry, and Aſtronomy were profeſſed by *John* another Monk, and 'Collegue of St. *Grimbald*; one of a ſharp Wit, and Immenſe Know-'ledge.

* Oxfordſhire.

'Theſe Lectures were often honoured with the preſence of the moſt 'Illuſtrious and Invincible Monarch, King *Ælfred*, which is alſo aſſert-'ed by *Will.* of *Malmesbury*, who tells us a conſtant Tradition of his 'time, that King *Alfred* by the Advice of *Neot* the Abbot, firſt founded 'publick Schools of various Arts at *Oxford*; which is further confirm'd by an Ancient Manuſcript Copy of *Randolph Higden*'s *Polychron*, in *Bayliol College Library*, which in the beginning treating of all the Kings of *England*, when he comes to King *Alfred*, ſays thus, *That he firſt founded the Univerſity of* Oxford. *John Rouſe* in his Manuſcript Treatiſe, *de Regibus Angliæ*, (Lib. 1.) ſeems alſo to have ſeen this paſſage in *Wincheſter* Annals, and adds Three Halls to have been thus built, The one for *Grammar*, near the *Eaſt-Gate*; the Second near the *North-Gate* for *Logicians*; and the Third in the *High-Street*, for *Divines*.

But ſince this only proves that King *Alfred* firſt founded publick Schools here, and not that there was any ſuch thing here before; I ſhall recite alſo what follows, as it is quoted by the ſaid Mr. *Camden*, out of an ancient Copy of *Aſſer de Geſtis Alfredi*, which, I could wiſh may clear this point: 'About this time (ſays he) there aroſe a ſharp and grievous 'diſſention between *Grimbald*, and thoſe learned Men whom he brought 'hither with him, and the old Scholars whom he found here at his com-'ing; for theſe abſolutely refuſed to comply with the Statutes, Inſtitu-'tions and Forms of Reading perſcribed by *Grimbald*; the difference 'proceeded to no great height, for the ſpace of Three Years, yet there 'was always a private Grudge and Enmity between them, which ſoon 'after broke out with the utmoſt violence imaginable; to appeaſe theſe 'Tumults, the moſt Invincible King *Ælfred*, being informed of the 'Faction, by a Meſſage and Complaint from *Grimbald*, came to *Oxford* 'to accommodate the matter, and ſubmitted to a great deal of Pains and

'Patience

'Patience, to hear the Cauſe and Complaint of both Parties: The Con- *Anno Dom.*
'troverſie depended upon this; The Old Scholars maintain'd, that before DCCCLXXVII.
'the coming of *Grimbald* to *Oxford*, Learning did here flouriſh, thô the
'Students were leſs in number, than they had formerly been, becauſe
'very many of them had been Expell'd by the cruel Tyranny of the
'*Pagans:* They farther declar'd and proved, by the undoubted
'Teſtimony of their ancient Annals, that good Orders and conſtitu-
'tions for the Government of that place had been already made by Men
'of great Piety, and Learning; ſuch as *Gildas*, *Melkin*, *Ninnias*, *Kenti-*
'*gern* and others; who had there proſecuted their Studies, to a good
'old Age: All things being then managed in happy Peace and quiet;
'and that St. *German* coming to *Oxford* and reſiding there half a Year,
'after he had gone through all *England* to Preach down the *Pelagian*
'Hereſie, did well approve of their Rules and Orders: The King
'with incredible Humility and great attention heard both parties, ex-
'horting them with Pious and Importunate entreaties, to preſerve Love
'and Amity with one another; upon this he left them, in hopes that they
'both would follow his Advice, and obey his Inſtructions: But *Grim-*
'*bald*, reſenting theſe proceedings, retired imediately to the Monaſtery of
'*Wincheſter*, which King *Ælfred* had lately founded: and ſoon after he
'got his Tomb to be removed thither to him, in which he had deſigned
'his Bones ſhould be put after his Deceaſe, and laid in a Vault under the
'Chancel of the Church of S. *Peters* in *Oxford*; which Church the ſaid *Grim-*
'*bald* had raiſed from the ground, of Stones hewn and carved with great Art.

But ſince it muſt be confeſſed that this paſſage of the quarrel of St. *Grimbald*, and the Old Scholars of *Oxford*, is not to be found in that ancient Copy of *Aſſer*, which Arch-Biſhop *Parker* firſt publiſhed in *Saxon* Characters (like thoſe in which it is written, being ſtill Extant in the *Cottonian* Library) yet though it was publiſhed by Mr. *Camden* in that Edition of *Aſſer*, which was printed at *Frankford*, in 1603. The Original of which the Lord Primate *Uſher* in his *Ant. Brit. Eccleſ.* expreſly tells us, Mr. *Camden* never ſaw; from whence Sir *John Spelman* in his * Hiſtory of the Life of King *Ælfred*, hath made a very hard inferences, as if that clauſe was not to be found in any of the ancient Copies of that Authour, but had been foiſted in either by the Publiſher, or elſe by Mr. *Camden* himſelf; thô this Authour does not ſay ſo in expreſs terms,

* *Publiſhed at* Oxford *in Latine.*

I ſhall therefore repeat in ſhort what Mr. *Ant. Wood* hath anſwered to this Objection, in the * Antiquities of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, from a Manuſcript Teſtimonial, under the hand of the learned Mr. *Twyne*; *viz.* That he himſelf, long after diſcourſing with Mr. *Camden* on this Subject, and asking him expreſly about this paſſage, whoſe authority began to be then queſtioned, 'His Anſwer was, that he very well knew that he had
'truly tranſcribed, that paſſage from an ancient Manuſcript of *Aſſer*,
'which he had then by him, and which as the ſaid Mr. *Wood* in his Notes
'tells us, then belonged to Sir *Henry Savile* of *Banke*, near *Halifax* in
'*York-ſhire*.

* Page IX.

But I ſhall not now take upon me to Anſwer the reſt of the Objections which the ſaid Sir *John Spelman* does there produce againſt the validity of the above cited paſſage; which ſuppoſes publick Schools to have been at *Oxford*, before King *Alfred*'s time; for they are all reduceable to theſe two heads; Firſt the expreſs words of the Annals, of the Abbey of *Hyde* above-mentioned, as alſo that of *Polychronicon*, 'That King *Alfred* was

Anno Dom. DCCCLXVIII. ‘ the first King who founded a University there: all which may be answered, by allowing that to be true in respect of a University, endow'd with Priviledges, and distinct Halls and Colledges built on purpose; and yet there might very well have been before that time a publick *School*, or *Studium*, (as it was then call'd,) where the Liberal Arts were taught; as for the other Objection of the improbability of the old Scholars falling out with the new Professors, in the very first Year of the Institution of the University, (that is, as soon as ever they came thither,) this may be also answered, by supposing that those Annals were written many Years after the Death of King *Alfred*, from a Common received Tradition, and so this transaction might have been dated there, or Four Years later than it really happened: as *John Rouse* in his Manuscript History of the Kings of *England* also places it.

This objection further urged by Bp. Stillingfl. Orig. Brit. c. 4. p. 128

I confess there is one Objection, which I wish I could Answer; and that is, How *Gildas* and *Nennius* could study at *Oxford*, when the latter was not so much as Born, till about the Conclusion of this, or Beginning of the following Century, and much less the Former; when even by the best Accounts of those Times, the *Pagan Saxons* were then Masters of that part of *England*.

Having said thus much concerning the Antiquity of that Famous University, to which I owe my Education, I shall not trouble my self with enquiry into the Reality of those supposed Ancient Schools, of *Creeklad* and *Leacklade*; (which the Monkish writers suppose to have been anciently called *Greeklade*, and *Latinelade*,) the latter of which Derivations, tho' Mr. *Camden* justly explodes, yet he seems to have more Veneration for the former, since in the place from whence I have transcribed the above-cited Quotations; he also tells us, “ That the Muses were transported “ to *Oxford* from *Creeklade*; (now a small Town in *Wilt-shire*.) All the Authority for which (that I know of, beside uncertain Tradition) depends upon the Credit of a Manuscript, lately in the Liberary of *Trinity* Hall in *Cambridge*, and is cited by Mr. *Wheelock* in his Notes upon *Bede*; where speaking of *Theodorus*, Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*, he says, That he held or maintained Schools in a Village near the Water, which is called *Greekiſlake*; but Mr. *Somner* in his Learned * *Glossary*, hath given us a much more likely Derivation of this place, (*viz.*) from the Old *Saxon* Word *Creek*, signifying a River, or Torrent, running either into some River, or else into the Sea; and *Gelad*, which signified an emptying, for it was anciently written *Crecca Gelade*, and not *Greeklade*, as some would now write it.

lib. 4. cap. 2.

ad fin. X. script.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXVII. ‘ This Year the *Pagans* passing under the Bridge of *Paris*, and from ‘ thence by the *Seine* up the River *Meterne*, (now called *Marne*,) as far as ‘ *Cazii*, (now *Choisy*) and which *Florence* says signified a Royal Village, ‘ where, and at *Jona*, (a place we know not,) they staid Two Years; also ‘ the same Year Deceased *Charles* (the Grosse) King of the *Franks*, but ‘ *Earnwulf* his Brother's Son had expell'd him out of his Kingdom six ‘ Weeks before his Death; after which it was divided into five Parts, ‘ over whom were set five Kings; but this partition was with *Earnewulf's* ‘ good leave, for they all promised to Govern under him, because none ‘ of them was Heir on the Fathers side, besides himself alone; therefore ‘ *Earnwulf* fixed the Seat of his Kingdom in the Countries lying on the ‘ East side of the *Rhine*; whilst *Rodulf* took the middle, or inward part ‘ of the Kingdom; and *Odo* (or *Otto*) the *Western* Part; and *Beorngar*, ‘ and

'and *Witha*, (called in *Latine Beringarius*, and *Wido*) held *Lombardy*, and 'all the Countries on that ſide the Mountains; all which Kingdoms they 'held with much Diſcord, Fighting two great Battles, and waſting thoſe 'Countries, till ſuch time as each of them had expell'd the other from 'his Kingdom; alſo the ſame Year *Ethelelm* the Ealdorman carried the 'Alms of King *Alfred*, and the *Weſt Saxons* to *Rome*. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXXVII.

This was the Benevolence, called *Peter Pence*, which is here juſtly termed an *Alms*, and not a *Tribute*, as Modern Popiſh Writers have termed it.

But to return to our own Domeſtick Affairs; *Aſſer* above-mentioned, informs us, that the Kingdom being now pretty well at quiet from the *Danes*, the King began to mind his Civil Government, to repair his Cities and Caſtles, and alſo to build others in the moſt neceſſary places, altering the whole face of the Country into a much better form; and having walled ſeveral Towers and Caſtles, he made them defenſible againſt the *Pagans*: Nor was he leſs careful in the Political Affairs of his Kingdom; for divers of his own Subjects, having, under the name of *Danes*, committed great Spoils and Rapines, theſe the King reſolving to puniſh, and reſtrain from theſe Exceſſes, he firſt of all divided all the Provinces of *England* into Counties, and thoſe again into Hundreds and Tythings; ſo that every Legal Subject ſhould dwell in ſome *Hundred* or *Tything*, whereby if any were ſuſpected of Robbery, and being thereof Condemned, or abſolved by his Hundred or Tything, they ſhould either undergo due puniſhment, or elſe if Innocent be acquitted.

But the Governours of Provinces, who were before called *Vice Domini*, and in *Engliſh Saxon Geriffs*, he divided into two Offices, That is, into Judges, whom we now call Juſtices, and into Sheriffs, who do yet retain that name; and by the Kings care and induſtry in a ſhort time, there was ſo great a Tranquility through out the whole Kingdom, that if a Traveller had happen'd to have loſt a Bag of Money in the High-way, he might have found it again untouched the next day.

And *Bromton*'s Chronicle relates, That thô there were Gold Bracelets hung up at the parting of ſeveral *High-ways*; yet Juſtice was ſo ſtrictly executed, that no Man durſt preſume to touch them.

But in the Diſtribution of his own Family, he followed the Example of King *Solomon*; for dividing it into Three Companies, or Bands, he ſet a Chief over each of them; ſo that every Captain with his Band, performed his Service in the King's Palace for the ſpace of one Month; and, then going with his Company to his own Eſtate, he looked after his private Affairs for Two Months, and ſo did each of them in their Order, which Rotation of Officers this King obſerved all the reſt of his Reign.

And to this Year alſo, Sir *H. Spelman* refers that Great Council wherein King *Alfred* made thoſe Laws that go under his Name; in which, after a Preface, wherein he firſt recites and confirms the Ten Commandments, as alſo divers other Laws, which are ſet down in *Exodus* and *Leviticus*, he concludes to this effect, That whatſoever he found worthy of Obſervation either in the time of K. *Ina*, his Kinſman, or *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, or of *Ethelbert*, the firſt Chriſtened King, he had gathered them all together, and committed thoſe to writing which he thought moſt deſerving, omitting others which he judged leſs convenient, in doing of which he had taken the Advice, and had the Conſent of his Wiſe-

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXVII. Men, and having reviſed the Laws of thoſe Princes, he tranſcribed ſuch of them as he liked into his own; and by the Conſent of the ſaid Wiſemen he thereof made a Collection, and commanded them to be obſerved by all *Engliſhmen*; under which name the *Saxon* and *Jutes* were then included.

The firſt of his Laws requires (as moſt neceſſary to all his Subjects) that each Man keep his Oath or Pledge, (*i. e.* his promiſe to obſerve the Laws, and keep the Peace) and if any ſhould be compelled to Swear, or depoſite a pledge whereby he may be bound to betray his Lord, or unjuſtly to aſſiſt any Perſon, he ought to break his promiſe, rather than perform it: But in caſe he hath engaged to perform any thing which might juſtly be done, and doth it not, his Arms and all his perſonal Eſtate ſhall be put into the hands of his Friends; and he himſelf kept in the King's Priſon for Forty Days, till he undergo that Pennance which the Biſhop ſhall enjoin him; and alſo his Friends (*i. e.* Relations) require of him: but if he have not wherewith to ſuſtain himſelf in the mean while, if his Kindred are not able to provide him Victuals, the King's Officer ſhall do it; but if he reſiſt and be taken by force, he ſhall forfeit both his Arms and his perſonal Eſtate; and if he be killed, nothing ſhall be paid as the Value of his Head: and in caſe he eſcape before his time, *viz.* of Forty Days be out, and be retaken, he ſhall be returned back again to Priſon for other Forty Days: If he eſcape, he ſhall have no benefit of the Laws, but be Excommunicated from all Chriſts Churches, and if any Man have been ſecurity in his behalf, he ſhall make ſatisfaction for it according to Right, and do Pennance, till he make ſuch ſatisfaction as his Prieſt ſhall appoint.

'The Second bears the Title of the Immunity of the Church, and 'we ſhall ſpeak of it among the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions.

'The Third is, concerning the breach of the King's Surety-ſhip, by 'the payment of a Mulct of Five Pounds of *Mercian*, (*i. e.* larger Money) 'but the Violation of Surety-ſhip, (or the Peace) made to an Arch-'Biſhop by a fine of Three Pounds: and if any one break or forfeit 'the King's Pledge, (or Recognizance,) he ſhall make amends according 'to Right, and the breach of the Surety-ſhip to a Biſhop or Ealdorman, 'by two Pounds.

'The Fourth Law is, concerning the Death of the King, or any other 'Lord; If any one, that, either by himſelf alone, or by any other per-'ſon, ſhall attempt againſt the King's Life, he ſhall loſe his Life and 'Goods; but if he will purge himſelf, let him do it according to the 'valuation of the King's Head; the ſame is alſo ordained in all Judg-'ments concerning other Men, whether Noble or Ignoble: whoſoever 'Conſpires againſt his Lord, ſhall loſe both his Life and Eſtate; or elſe 'pay the Valuation of his Lord's Head.

From which Laws we may obſerve, That according to the cuſtom of thoſe Times, there was a Rate ſet upon every Man's Life, even upon the King's himſelf, if he were killed.

The

'The Seventh Law is, againſt Fighters in the King's Palace; If any 'Man ſhall Fight, or ſhall draw a Weapon in his Houſe, his Life ſhall lye 'at the King's Mercy, whether he will Pardon him or not; but if the 'offender flee, and be taken, he ſhall redeem his Life, with the price of 'his head, or be fined according to his Offence. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXXVII.

Whereby it appears that the Offender might have redeemed this crime with Money at the firſt, or elſe the laſt Clauſe had been vain.

'The Ninth Law ordains, What mulct a Man ſhall pay, that Kills a 'Woman with Child, which was to be according to the Value of her 'head; and he was alſo to pay for the Child in her Womb, half as 'much as for a living one, according to the quality of its Father.

'The Tenth ordains, What fines or amends every Man ſhall pay to 'a Husband, for committing Adultery with his Wife; which was to be 'encreaſed according to the Eſtate, or Quality, of him againſt whom 'the Offence was committed.

The reſt of the Law, being about the quantity of the mulcts appointed for ſeveral Theſts, I omit.

'The Eleventh appoints, What mulct a Man ſhall pay, that wantonly 'handles the Breaſts of a Country Man's Wife, or offers her any Vio-'lence, as by flinging her down, *&c.* though he does not lye with 'her.

This ſhews how careful the ancient *Engliſh Saxons* were of the Perſons and Chaſtity even of the meaneſt Subjects.

I ſhall skip over a great many of the other Laws, they only ordaining penalties for ſeveral petty treſpaſſes, and ſmall Offences, and ſhall paſs

'To the Twenty Sixth Law, Which appoints what mulcts ſhall be 'paid by thoſe who ſhall Kill in Troops or Companies, and alſo to whom 'theſe Mulcts were to be paid. If the Slain and Innocent Party were an 'Ordinary Perſon, (that is, one whoſe head was valued but at Two 'Hundred Shillings,) he that ſlew him muſt pay the value of his head, 'and a Fine beſides to his Kindred: Alſo every one that was in the Com-'pany, muſt pay Thirty Shillings; which Penalty was ſtill to be 'encreaſed, according to the Value of the Eſtate of the Party Slain; ſo 'that as the Penalty for the Death of a Man valued at Twelve Hundred 'Shillings, every one that was preſent ſhall pay 120 Shillings, and the 'Man ſlayer himſelf the price of his Head, and a Fine beſides: But in 'caſe the whole Company ſhall deny that he gave the Mortal Wound, 'all of them are to be impeached together, and to pay both the Value 'and the Fine beſides.

Now concerning this Troop, or Company, which our *Saxon* Anceſtors called *Hlothe*, how many Men made up one of them, the Reader may pleaſe to take notice, that by the Laws of King *Ina* they were to be above Thirty.

'The

Anno Dom. DCCLXXXVII.

'The Twenty Seventh appoints, What ſhare of the Mulct, or ſatisfaction a Man's Kindred by the Mothers ſide ſhall receive, in caſe he have no kindred on his Father's ſide; and what ſhare thoſe of his *Guild*, or Fraternity ſhall pay in caſe he have committed Man-Slaughter in a quarrel, (*viz.*) The former ſhall pay a Third part, and the latter one half of the price of the head of the party ſlain.

But whether by thoſe here mentioned of the ſame *Guild*, are meant ſuch as were fellow Contributors to the ſame Pariſh Feaſts in honour of the Saints, as was the Cuſtom of thoſe Times; or elſe (which is more likely) ſuch as were bound together in the ſame Decenary, or Tything, it being very obſcure, I ſhall not take upon me to determine.

'The Twenty Eighth Law was made againſt publick defamers, or ſpreaders of falſe news, (whereby is meant ſpreaders of falſe news againſt the Government,) and Commands that ſuch a one being Convicted, ſhou'd ſuffer no leſs puniſhment, than the cuting out of his Tongue, except he redeem it by payment of the value of his Head, and even then he was afterwards to be eſteemed of no Credit.

'The Thirtieth Ordains, That Merchants when they Land ſhall bring ſuch as come on Shore with them, before the King's Officers in *Folcmote*, and there declare their number, that they may be ready to produce them to anſwer any thing that ſhall be demanded of them in the ſaid *Folcmote*; and if it happen that they bring many ſtrangers on ſhore, that they alſo certifie this to the King's Officer in that ſaid Aſſembly; that ſo they may be forth coming.

Now conſidering the Times wherein King *Alfred* lived, when there was ſuch flocking of Strangers, being Enemies, into *England*; this Law was very juſtly and ſeaſonably made.

'The Thirty Firſt inflicts upon him that ſhall put a *Ceorles*'s Man (that is an ordinary Country-Man) without any fault into Bonds, *viz.* A Mulct of Ten Shillings; upon him that beats ſuch a one, Twenty Shillings; if he hang him up a-loft, Thirty Shillings; if he cut off his Hair to expoſe him like a Fool, Ten Shillings; if he ſhave his Head like a Prieſt, (yet bind him not) Thirty Shillings; and in caſe he only cut off his Beard, Twenty Shillings; but if he bind him, and ſhave his Hair like a Prieſt, then Sixty Shillings.

Which Law was no doubt made to reſtrain the Tyranny and Inſolence of the *Engliſh* Nobility, who were wont before that Law too much to domineer over poor Country-Men, (here called Ceorles-men;) and therefore it ſeems highly probable, that the Commons of *England* had then Repreſentatives in the Great Council, or elſe it is not likely the Nobility would ever have loſt that Power they then Uſurped over them: Wherefore I ſhall leave it to the Indifferent Reader to Conſider, whether the Common People of *England* were then ſuch Slaves, as ſome late Writers would fain make them; ſince not only ſatisfaction was to be made for their Lives,

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'The Thirty Fourth Law impoſes upon him that ſhall ſtrike or fight 'in open Court, before the King's Ealdorman, both the value of his 'own head, and ſuch a Fine beſides, as ſhall be thought fit; and alſo '120 Shillings to be paid to the Ealdorman by him, that by thus draw-'ing his Weapon ſhall make any diſturbance in the *Folcmote*, or County 'Court; if the Ealdorman were not preſent, but the fact was done be-'fore his Subſtitute, or the King's Prieſt, then a *Were* or *Amerciament* of 'Thirty Shillings.

Here by the King's Prieſt, is meant either the King's Chaplain or Biſhop, I will not determine whether; who as we formerly ſaid in thoſe times preſided alſo in the *Folcmotes*, and there diſpatched all buſineſs relating to the Church.

'The Thirty Fifth ordains, What ſatisfaction ſhall be made for breach 'of the Peace in any other place; as for Example, he that fights in the 'home-ſtall of a Country-man, ſhall pay the ſaid Country-man Six 'Shillings; if he drew his Sword, but ſtruck not, half as much; which 'Penalty alſo was to be encreaſed according to the Eſtate or Quality 'of him upon whoſe ground the Aſſault was made: So that if he fought 'in the Houſe of one worth 600 Shillings, he was to pay Three times 'as much; if of one worth 1200 Shillings, then the Amends was to be 'twice as much as the former.

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'The Thirty Seventh is, That Law concerning *Bocland*, by vertue 'whereof he that holds Lands left him by his Anceſtors, was forbid to 'alienate it from his Kindred to others, in caſe it could be proved by 'Writing or Teſtimony, before the King, or the Biſhop, his Kindred 'being preſent, that the Man who firſt granted them, forbid him all 'Alienation. and laid on him this Condition.

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From

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXVII. From the making of this Law Mr. *Selden* informs us, that we may here find an Eſtate in Fee-Tail, much more ancient than the thirteenth Year of *Edward* the Firſt.

The 38th Law is concerning Quarrels, or deadly Feuds, which, ſince it gives a ſtrange Licence for Men to take Satisfaction on their Enemies, even without the Preſence of any Officer, I ſhall likewiſe ſet down:

'First, It forbids any Man to attack his Enemy, if he find him in 'his own Houſe, except he firſt demand of him Satisfaction: But if he 'have force enough, he may beſiege the Houſe for ſeven days, yet he 'ſhall not aſſault him, if he will ſtay within; but if he then ſurrender 'himſelf, and his Arms, into the Defendant's hands, he may keep him 'thirty Days, without hurt, but then ſhall leave him ſo to his Kindred 'or Friends. In caſe he flie to a Church, the Honour of the Church is to 'be preſerved: But if the Demandant have not Strength enough to be-'ſiege him in his Houſe, he may deſire the Aſſiſtance of the Ealderman, 'which, if he cannot obtain, he muſt appeal to the King before he can 'aſſault him. If any one by chance light upon his Adverſary, not 'knowing that he keeps himſelf at home, and he will deliver up his 'Arms to him, he ſhall keep him ſafe thirty Days, and then deliver him 'to his Friends; But in caſe he will not deliver up his Arms, then he 'may fight with him; but if he be willing to deliver up himſelf, and 'his Arms, to his Enemy, and any other Man ſets upon him, ſuch a Man 'ſhall pay the value of his Head, if he kills him; or give Satisfaction 'for his Wounds if any be given him, according to the Fact; beſides 'which, he ſhall be fined, and loſe all that may fall to him, by reaſon 'of Kindred.

From whence you may obſerve, that the nature of that Rough and Martial Age, did allow Men a greater Liberty of righting themſelves againſt thoſe that had injured them, than was afterwards thought fit to be allowed in more ſettled and peaceable Times.

The laſt of King *Alfred*'s Laws is concerning Wounds and Maims, which being very long, I ſhall only give you an Abſtract of it. It is, (in ſhort,) to appoint what Satisfaction in Money any Man ſhall pay for wounding or maiming another, or for cutting off any Member or part of his Body, even to the Nail of his little Finger: All which was aſcertained according to the particular Sums there ſet down; and I ſhall leave it to wiſer Judgments to conſider, whether it would not be better if the Law were ſo at this day, ſince it would not only prevent the too great Favour of Juries in ſome Caſes, but alſo their over-Severity in others, by often giving either very ſmall, or elſe exceſſive Damages, according as the Plaintiff or Defendant is more or leſs known to them, or that they have a greater or leſs Kindneſs for them.

There was likewiſe made in the ſame *Synod* divers Eccleſiaſtical Canons, ſome of which, taken from amongſt the Civil Ones, I ſhall here likewiſe ſet down.

The firſt is concerning the Immunities of the Churches, by which it is ordained, That if a Man, guilty of any little Crime, flie to a Church, which does not belong to the King, or the Family of a private Perſon

Perſon, he ſhall have three Nights to provide for himſelf, unleſs in the mean time he can make his Peace: But if any Man, within that Term, ſhall inflict upon him either Bonds or Blows, he ſhall pay the Price of his Head, according to the Cuſtom of the Country; and alſo to the Miniſters or Officers of the Church 120 Shillings, for violating the Peace thereof. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXXVIII.

The next Law but one is likewiſe to the ſame effect, whereby is granted to every Church, conſecrated by the Biſhop, the like Peace, and if any Offender ſhall flie to it, none ſhall take him thence for ſeven Days; if any Man ſhall preſume to do ſo, he ſhall be culpable of breaking the King's and Churche's Peace: If the Officers ſhall have need of their Church in the mean time, he ſhall be put into another Houſe, which has no more Doors than the Church; only the Elder, (*i.e.* Presbyter) of that Church ſhall take Care he have no Meat given him: But if he will ſurrender himſelf, and his Arms, to his Enemies, he ſhall be kept thirty Nights, and then be delivered up to his Kinſmen. Alſo, whoſoever ſhall flie to a Church for any Crime, which he hath not yet confeſs'd, if he ſhall there make Confeſſion of it, in God's Name, half the Penalty ſhall be remitted to him.

From whence you may obſerve the Antiquity and Deſign of Sanctuaries in *England*, which were not then (as they were afterwards,) abuſed, being at firſt only intended for Places where Offenders might ſtay for a time, 'till they could agree with their Adverſaries or Proſecutors, as well as they could; ſince almoſt all Crimes whatever were redeemable with pecuniary Mulcts in thoſe days.

The 5th Law is, that if one ſhall ſteal any thing out of a Church, he muſt reſtore the value, and alſo forfeit as belongs to an *Angild*; the meaning of which you may ſee in the next Law.

The 6th Law is, That if any one ſhall ſteal on the *Sunday*, or on *Chriſtmas*, or *Eaſter*, or *Aſcenſion*-days; the Forfeiture ſhould be as belongs to an *Angild*, (*i. e.*) the whole value of his Head; Alſo the Hand with which he ſtole was to be cut off: But if he would redeem his Hand, it ſhould be permitted him to compound for it, according as it ſhould appertain to his *Were*, (*i. e.*) the Price of his Head.

Beſides which Laws, *Alfred*, Abbot of *Rieval*, in his *Geneal. Regum Angliæ*, mentions another Law of this King's, whereby every Freeman of the Kingdom, having two Hides of Land, was obliged to keep his Sons at School 'till they were 15 Years of Age, that ſo they might become Men of Underſtanding, and live happily; for (ſaid the King in this Law,) a Man Free-born, and unlettered, is to be regarded no otherwiſe than a Beaſt, or a Man void of Underſtanding.

The 12th is concerning the Breach of the Peace by Prieſts: If a Prieſt kill any one, he ſhould be taken, and all his Eſtate confiſcated; and alſo the Biſhop ſhould degrade him, and put him out from the Church, unleſs his Lord would obtain his Pardon by the Price of his Head. The reſt, being concerning the Penalties for the Violation of Nuns, I omit.

Anno Dom. DCC.LXXXVIII. I have been the more particular in the reciting of these Laws of King *Alfred*, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, that the Reader may see the Penalties that were inflicted upon Offenders in that Age; and how different they were from ours. But to return to our Annals,

'This Year *Beocca* the Ealderman carried the Alms of the *West-Saxons* 'as well as the King's, to *Rome*; Also Queen *Æthelswith*, who was the 'Sister of K. *Ælfred*, and Widow of *Burhed* King of *Menia*, died in her 'Journey thither, whose Body was buried at *Pavia*: And the same Year '*Æthered*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Æthelwald* the Ealderman, de-'ceased in the same Month.

About this time also (according to *Asser*,) King *Alfred* built two Monasteries; the one for Men at *Ethelingaie*, (now *Athelney*,) that is, *The Isle of Nobles*, (where he had before lain so concealed;) and the other for Nuns at *Shaftsbury*, where he made *Algiva*, his own Daughter, Abbess; endowing them both with great Revenues.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXIX. 'This Year none went to *Rome*, unless two ordinary Messengers, whom the King sent with Letters;] yet nevertheless *Florence* of *Worcester* affirms, the King Commanded all the Bishops and Religious Men of *England* to Collect the Alms of the Faithful, in order to send them to *Rome*, and *Jerusalem*: And,

Anno Dom. DCCCXC. The next Year, (according to the same Annals) *Beornhelm*, Abbot of the *West Saxons* carried those Alms to *Rome*; and also *Goarun*, (or *Gythrum*) King of the *Normans*, (*i.e.*) *Danes*, deceased, and being God-Son to King *Ælfred*, his Christian Name was *Ethelstan*; this was he who possessed the Country of the *East-Angles*, after the Death of King *Edmund*.

Also the same Year the *Danes* left the River *Seine*, and came to *Sand-Laudan*, which place lyes between the *Bretons* and the *French*; but the *Bretons* fighting with them, obtained the Victory, and drove them into a River, where many of them were drown'd.

This Year also the Annals relate, That *Plegmond* was Elected by God and all his Holy Men to the Arch-Bishoprick of *Canterbury*, thô *Florence* of *Worcester* places it, and that more rightly, under the Year before.

Anno Dom. DCCCXCI. The *Danes* again Invaded the *Eastern Franckland*; and *Arnulf* the Emperour, being assisted by the *French*, *Saxons*, and *Bavarian* Horse, fought with the *Danish* Foot, and put them to flight.

Also Three *Scots* came now to King *Alfred* from *Ireland* in one Boat made of Hides, having quitted their Country, because they would live the Life of Pilgrims (*i.e.* a Wandring Life) for God's sake, not being solicitous about any place, wherefore they had brought only one Week's Provision with them, and after about Seven Days being at Sea, landing in *Cornwall*, they were presently brought to King *Alfred*; their Names were *Dubslane*, *Macbeth*, and *Malinmun*; also *Swifneh*, who was chief Preacher amongst the *Irish Scots*, deceased; The same Year after *Easter* appeared a Comet.

Anno Dom. DCCCXCIII. This Year, after Eight Years Intermission, the Kingdom became again infested worse than ever by a fresh Invasion of the *Danes*; for their Army above-mentioned, being driven by the Emperour *Arnwulf* out of *France*, marched *Westward* to *Bunnan*, (now *Boloign*) where taking Shiping in Two Hundred and Fifty Vessels, together with their Horses, they arrived in the Mouth of the River *Limene*, which then lay from the *Eastern* Part of *Kent*, as far as the *East* End of that great Wood,

Wood, which is called *Andred*; which Wood or Foreſt is in length from *Eaſt* to *Weſt* at leaſt an Hundred and Twenty Miles, and in breadth Thirty; (containing all that which we call the *Weald* of *Kent* to this Day; as alſo the Woodland part of *Suſſex*, as far as *Hampſhire*;) but up this * River *Limene* they drew their Ships, as far as the ſaid Wood or Foreſt, *viz.* Four Miles from the furtheſt part where the Sea flows up, and there they made a Fort in that Fen, which was raiſed by a few of their Ceorls, or Villains. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXCIII.

* Note, *That the Mouth of this River than ran into the Sea near* Rumney *in* Kent, *but is now turned.*

And not long after arrived *Hæſtein* the *Dane*, who, entring the Mouth of *Thames* with Eighty Veſſels, Built a Fort at *Middletune* in *Kent*, whil'ſt another part of the Army did the ſame at *Apuldre* or *Apultre* (now called *Apledore* in the ſame County) where as *Ethelward* relates, They took and deſtroyed an Old Caſtle being defended only by a few Country People; he alſo makes *Hæſtein* to have Fortified *Middleton* after *Apuldore*, and his Army to have Winter'd in both places.

* This Year alſo, *Wulfhere* Arch-Biſhop of the *Northumbers* deceaſed.] *Anno Dom.* DCCCXCIV.

But to look a little upon the Affairs of *Wales*: The ſame Yeat *Anarawd* Prince of *North-Wales*, came with a great number of *Engliſh* Men (whom he had got to join with him) and made War upon his Brother *Cadelh*, Prince of *Southwales*, and ſpoiled the Countries of *Cardigan*, and *Yſtradgwy*.

What the *Danes* did immediately after their Landing, our Annals mention not; but we may with great probability hither refer that Action, (touched upon in our Annals, which are very confuſed and obſcure in the Relation of this War) *viz.* That it is moſt likely the Kings Army beſieged *Hæſtein* either at *Middleton*, or *Beamfleot*; where not long after his Landing, he had built a ſtrong Fort on the oppoſite Shore, and being reduced by the King to great Extremities, he was forced to ſurrender himſelf with his Wife, and his Two Sons to the King's Mercy, upon Condition that they ſhould be Chriſtened; which being done, (the King, and *Æthered*, Ealdorman of *Mercia*, being their Godfather;) *Heſten* gave the King Hoſtages, and ſolemnly ſwore to depart the Kingdom; but as ſoon he got looſe, he broke all thoſe Agreements, and retiring into *Beamfleot* there fortified himſelf a freſh.

And the Spring after *Æthelward* aſſures us, That paſſing along the great *Foreſt* of *Andredeſwood*, they then waſted the adjacent Countries of *Hampſhire*, and *Berkſhire*; but the *Saxon* Annals affirm, that about a Year after the *Danes* had raiſed that Fort, (I ſuppoſe of *Middleton* above-mentioned), in the Eaſt part of the Kingdom, K. *Alfred* the better to ſecure himſelf, cauſed the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, and *Eaſt England*, to take an Oath to be true to him; and the King alſo compell'd the *Eaſt Angles* to give him Hoſtages: yet nevertheleſs they broke this Peace; for when the *Danes* in *Kent* went out of their Ships in Troops to Plunder, they alſo went with them, or elſe the *Danes* carried the Prey into their Territories; wherefore King *Alfred*, gathering together his Army, and marching forward, Encamp'd between Two Parties of theſe *Daniſh* Robbers, where by reaſon of Woods, as alſo of Water on both ſides, he had a very convenient place for that purpoſe, inſomuch that he could ſet upon either Party whenever they marched into the Country to Plunder; but they Robb'd in Troops, as well on Horſe-back as on Foot, in all Parts where the King's Army was not; yet were repulſed almoſt every Day, as well by the King's Forces, as by the Neighbouring Towns: For

Anno Dom. DCCCXCIV. the King had now divided his Forces into two Bodies, ſo that one half of them remained always at home, whileſt the other marched out, except thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to defend the Towns; but the *Danes* oftener ſallied out ~~of their Camp~~ than the King's Men; For they ~~Both~~ in one Body ſallied not out of their Camp, but twice; Once when they firſt Landed, and another time when they were about to Decamp; and then having taken a great Booty, they endeavoured to carry it over the *Thames*, into *Eſſex*, toward their Ships; But the King's Forces prevented them, and fought them near *Fernham*, and put them to flight, and reſcued the Prey; from whence they fled beyond the *Thames*, and thence by the River *Colne*, into a certain Iſland (called by Mr. *Speed*, *Breckleſey*;) where the King's Army beſieged them, as long as their own Proviſions laſted, for they had only Victuals for a ſmall time: Then the King marched thither with the Forces of that Province, whil'ſt the former returned home; but the *Danes* in the mean time remained there, becauſe they could not carry away their King (being then wounded) along with them; but thoſe *Danes* that Inhabited *Northumberland*, and *Eaſt England*, got together an Hundred Ships with which they ſailed about the *South* Parts, whil'ſt with Forty others they did the like in the *North*; with the former they beſieged a certain ſtrong place lying on the *Northern* Coaſt of *Devonſhire*, and then fetching a Compaſs towards the *South*, beſieged *Exanceſter* (now *Exceter*;) which when the King heard, he turned all his Forces toward that place; but the *Danes*, (as *Florence* relates) affrighted at the News of his approach got again to their Ships, carrying their Prey to *Ciſſeanceſter*, (now *Chicheſter* in *Suſſex*,) where they were repulſed by the Citizens, and great part of their Army killed; but in the mean time while one Party of the King's Army remained behind, the other marched on to *London*, and then proceeded Eaſtward with the Citizens of that place, and other Auxiliaries that came from the *Weſt*, as far as *Beamfleot*, (now *South Bemfleet*) in *Eſſex*; whither *Hæſtein* was come with the Forces which had been before quartered at *Middleton*; to which alſo were joined thoſe that firſt arrived at *Apuldre* in the Mouth of the River *Limene*; for *Hæſten* had built a ſtrong Fort at *Beamfleot*, and was from thence marched out to Plunder, whil'ſt great part of his Army remained at home; but when the King's Forces came thither, they ſoon put his Army to flight, and demoliſhed the Fort, taking all that was within it, together with their Goods, Wives and Children, carrying them to *London*; and as for their Ships, part of them they broke to pieces, but carried the beſt of them to *Rocheſter* and *London*, and burnt the reſt; but the Wife of *Hæſten* and his Two Sons being brought to the King, he not long after ſent them back to him at his requeſt, becauſe one of the Boys had been the King's, and the other Earl *Æthered*'s Godſon, (as hath been already ſaid).

H. Huntington places the Siege of *Exeſter* after the taking of *Bemfleet*; whereas the Annals ſuppoſe it to be done about the ſame time; but be it as it will, they all agree that whileſt the King was detained in the *Weſt* at that Siege, both Armies of the *Danes* (*viz.* as well thoſe which had been before routed at *Bemfleet*, as thoſe which were at the Iſle of *Breckleſey*) met at *Sceobyrig* (now *South-Shoebury* in *Eſſex*,) and there built a Caſtle, and then marching along the *Thames*, a great many of the *Danes* of *Eaſt England*, and *Northumberland* joined them; and ſo they marched from the *Thames* as far as the River *Severne*; then *Æthered*, *Æthelm*, and *Æthelnoth* the Ealdormen, and the King's *Thanes* who were left

left at home in the Garisons, drew all the Men together they could from every Town on the *East-side* of *Pedridan* (now *Parret* in *Somersetshire*,) and on the *West* of *Selwood* (Foreſt) as alſo from both ſides of the *Thames*, even as far as *North Wales*, who when they were all aſſembled, followed the *Pagans* to *Butdigingtune*, on the ſide of *Severne*, (now called *Budington* in *Shropſhire*,) and there beſieged them on all ſides, in a certain Fort they had caſt up; but when they had ſtaid there for divers Weeks Encamp'd on both ſides the River, (the King being then in *Devonſhire* with his Fleet) the *Pagans* preſſed with Hunger, Eat their Horſes, and many of them periſhed with Famine; yet at laſt they broke out upon thoſe who lay on the *East* ſide of the River; where (as *Æthelwerd* tells us) was a very ſharp Diſpute, thô the Chriſtians got the Victory, and kept the Field; but there *Ordhelm* the King's *Thane* was kill'd, as alſo many others of the ſame Rank; but that part of the *Daniſh* Army which remained alive, eſcaped by flight. And when they were got into their Garisons and Ships in *East Saxe*, juſt before Winter, they Muſter'd a great Army from among the *East Angles* and *Northumbers*; and committing their Wives, Ships and Goods to the keeping of the *East Angles*, marched Day and Night, till they took up their Quarters at a certain City in *Werheal*, called *Legaceſter*, (now *Cheſter*;) but the Kings Forces could not overtake them before they had got into the Caſtle, which nevertheleſs they beſieged for about Two Days, and took away all the Cattle that were in thoſe Parts, and kill'd all the Men they could find without the place; and partly burnt the Corn, and partly devoured it with their Horſes: This was done about a Twelve Month after the *Danes* arrival here. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXCIV.

Not long after this the *Pagans* went from *Werheal* into *North Wales*, but they could not ſtay there long becauſe the Cattle and Corn were all drove away and deſtroyed; ſo they were forced to march thorough the Country of the *Northumbers* and *East Angles* with ſuch ſpeed, that the King's Forces could not overtake them till they came into the *East* part of *East Seaxe*, to a certain Iſland ſeated near the Sea, called *Mereſige* (now *Mercey*) in *Eſſex*. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXCV.

Alſo the ſame Year the *Danes*, who were encamp'd in *Mereſige*, drew their Ships up the *Thames*, and thence up the River *Ligan*, (now called *Lee*) which divides *Middleſex* from *Eſſex*; and there according to *Florence* they began to raiſe a Fort; this happen'd in the ſecond Year after their arrival.

The *Pagans* having raiſed the Fortification near *Ligan* above-mentioned, about 20 Miles from *London*; this Summer a great part of the Citizens and others marched thither, and endeavoured to take and deſtroy it, but they were there forc'd to fly for it, and Four of the King's *Thanes* were kill'd on the ſpot. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXCVI

This Autumn, when the King had pitched his Camp in thoſe Parts about Harveſt time, to hinder the *Danes* from carrying away their Corn, it happen'd one day, as the King rode by the River ſide, that he found a place where the River might be ſo diverted, that the *Danes* ſhould not be able to carry back their Ships; and thô they had built two Caſtles, one of each ſide the River to defend them; yet ſo ſoon as the *Danes* ſaw that (the ſtream being now diverted into ſeveral Channels) they could not carry back their Ships, they quitted them, and marched away on Foot, till they

Anno Dom. DCCCXCVI. they came to *Quatbrige* (now ſuppoſed to be *Cambridge*, not far from the River *Severne*) where they caſt up a Fort; but the King's Forces purſued them toward the *Weſt* on Horſe-back, whileſt the Citizens of *London* ſeized and broke their Ships, and carried all that was worth any thing to the City, but the *Danes* had left their Wives with the *Eaſt Angles* before they departed from that place; ſo that that Winter they ſtaid at *Quatbridge*, being the Third Year ſince their laſt arrival.

Anno Dom. DCCCXCVII. But the next Year, according to our Annals, The *Danes* marched part of them into *Eaſt England*, and part into *Northumberland*, becauſe wanting Money, they could only there procure Ships, which having got they ſailed from thence *Southward* to the River *Seine*: Thus by God's Mercy this vaſt Army of *Pagans* did not wholly ruine the *Engliſh* Nation, altho it was very much weaken'd during theſe Three Years, as well by the Murrain of Cattle, as alſo by a great Plague upon Men; by which many of the King's nobleſt *Thanes* that were in the Kingdom dyed, of which number were, *Swithulf* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Beorthulf* Ealdorman of the *Eaſt Saxons*, *Wulfred* Ealdorman of *Hampſhire*, and *Ethelheard* Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, with many others. But I have only noted the moſt remarkable.

The ſame Year, thoſe Robbers reſiding in *Eaſt-England*, and *Northumberland*, very much infeſted *Weſt Saxony*, eſpecially the *Southern* Coaſts, by their ſtolen Booties; chiefly with their Ships which they had got ready long before for that purpoſe; then King *Alfred* (being it ſeems at laſt ſenſible how much damage the want of a Fleet had done his Country) Commanded divers Galleys to be made which were almoſt twice as long as others, ſome whereof had ſixty Rowers; they were alſo ſwifter, higher, and leſs apt to rowle than others formerly built, for they were made neither according to the model of the *Friſian* Veſſels, nor the *Daniſh*, but after ſuch a manner, as was thought might prove moſt uſeful: And ſome time after in this Year, there arrived ſix *Daniſh* Ships at the Iſle of *Wight*, and Sailing along committed great ſpoil in *Devonſhire*, and all up and down that Coaſt. Then the King commanded that they ſhould ſet Sail with the Nine Gallyes newly built, and ſhut up the Enemies Ships from going out of the Harbour where they were; upon which the Pyrats ſailed out with Three Ships againſt them, the other three being left in the entrance of the Harbour upon the dry ground, and the Sea-men gone out of them; But the King's Fleet took two of the *Daniſh* Ships that came out of the Harbour, and ſlew the Men, but the Third eſcaped, though all, except Five, were kill'd: There came alſo other Ships thither, which were ſomewhat more conveniently poſted, Three of them being placed in that part of the Sea, where the *Daniſh* Ships had before taken up their ſtation, but all the reſt in another part, ſo that they could not aſſiſt each other, for the Tide had gone back many Furlongs from the King's Ships: And ſo the *Danes* going out of their Veſſels ſet upon Three *Engliſh* Ships which lay on the dry ground, and Fighting with them, there ſlew *Lucomon* the King's Admiral, and *Wulfherd*, *Æbba*, and *Æthelerd*, being all *Frizelanders*, (who it ſeems then ſerved in the King's Fleet) ſo that of the *Friſons* and *Engliſh* there were ſlain Sixty Two, of the *Danes* One Hundred and Twenty: But the Tide returning, the *Daniſh* Ships got away before the *Engliſh* could have out theirs at Sea, thô they were ſo ſhatter'd, that they could ſcarce reach the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, for two of them were

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ran on Shore, and the Men being brought to the King at *Wincheſter*, he Commanded them all to be Hang'd: But thoſe who were in the Third Ship, being very much wounded, with great difficulty reached *Eaſt-England*.

The ſame Year there periſhed no leſs than Twenty of their Ships together with the Seamen near the *Southern* Coaſt; and then alſo *Wulfred* Maſter of the King's Horſe Deceaſed, who was a *Britiſh* or *Welſh* Gerefe or Governour.

' *Æthelm Ealderman* of *Wiltſhire* deceaſed Nine days before *Midſummer*, ' and the ſame Year alſo *Ælhſtan* Biſhop of *London* dyed.] *Anno Dom.* DCCCXCVIII.

This Year (according to the *Welſh* Chronicle) *Igmond* the *Dane*, with a great number of Soldiers Landed in the Iſle of *Man*, or *Angleſey*, where the *Welſhmen* gave him Battle at a place called *Molerain*, or *Meilon*, wherein we may ſuppoſe the *Danes* got the Victory, for their Chronicle ſays nothing to the contrary, and beſides *Merwy* Son to *Rodri* King of *Powis* was there ſlain. *Anno Dom.* DCCCC.

' Alſo now King *Alfred* Deceaſed ſix days before the Feaſt of *All* ' *Saints*. He was King over all the *Engliſh* Nation, (except what was ' under the power of the *Danes*.)

But ſince we are come to the end of this King's Life, I ſhall here give you * *Florence* of *Worceſter*'s Character of him: *viz.* That Famous and Victorious Warriour, King *Alfred*, the Defender of Widows and Orphans, the moſt skillful of all the *Saxon* Poets, who excelled in Prudence, Juſtice, Fortitude and Temperance, being as Diſcreet and Diligent in hearing of Cauſes, and giving Judgments, as he was devout in the Service of God; was alſo moſt Liberal and affable to all Men; ſo that for theſe Vertues he was highly beloved by his Subjects, now died of an Infirmity under which he had long laboured, whoſe Body lies buried in the new Monaſtery of *Wincheſter*, in a ſtately Tomb of Porphyrie. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCI. * Vid. *the MSS. in Bib. Bodlcian.*

But I ſhall from * *Aſſer*'s Hiſtory of this King's Life and Actions, give you a larger account of him from his Infancy. * *De Geſtis Alfredi.*

He was (as you have already heard) born *Anno Dom.* 849, and had been twice at *Rome*, but after his laſt Return together with his Father, He tells us, He was bred up at Court with the great Care and Affection, both of his Father and Mother, who loved him above the reſt of his Brothers, becauſe he was not only more Witty and Handſome, but alſo of a ſweeter Diſpoſition; and it had been well if he could have improved his own excellent Parts by Humane Learning; for to his great regret afterwards, by the extream fondneſs of his Parents, or by the negligence of thoſe who had the care of his Education, he remained till the Twelfth Year of his Age, without ſo much as being taught his Letters; only having an excellent Memory, he learned by heart ſeveral *Saxon* Poems, being repeated to him by others; for he had a great, and natural Inclination to Poetry, as our Authour himſelf had often obſerved; and as an inſtance of the quickneſs of his Parts, gives us this Account, That one Day when his Mother ſhewed him and the reſt of his Brothers a certain fine Book in *Saxon* Verſe, with which they were very well pleaſed, he being taken with the beauty of the Capital Letters, at the beginning of it, ſhe promiſed to give it to him that ſhould ſooneſt underſtand and get it by heart; which *Alfred* undertaking to do, he carried it to his Maſter, and not only learned to Read it, but alſo got it without Book, and ſo repeating it to his Mother, had the Book given him for his pains:

after

Anno Dom. DCCCCI. after this he alſo learned the Daily Office, and then ſome Pſalms and Prayers by heart, which being writ together in a Book, he ſtill carried in his Boſome for his daily uſe: But alas! *England*, could not then ſupply him with any fit Tutors in the Liberal Arts, which he often complained was one of the greateſt hindrances in his Life, that at the time when he had moſt leaſure to learn, he had no Maſters that could teach him; and afterwards when he grew more in Years, he was troubled with inceſſant Pains both Night and Day, the cauſes of which were unknown to the Phyſicians, but when he came to be King, he was then taken up with the cares of the Government, and how to reſiſt the Invaſions of the *Danes*, ſo that he had but little time for Study; yet notwithſtanding all theſe impediments from his very Child-hood, to the day of his Death, he never ceaſed to have an inſatiable deſire after knowledge; inſomuch that he did not only at leiſure times learn himſelf, but alſo communicated that learning to others, by tranſlating into the *Engliſh Saxon* Tongue *Oroſius*'s Roman, and *Bede*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, the latter of which Verſions is Printed, but the former is ſtill in Manuſcript, in the Library of *Corpus Chriſti* Coll. *Oxon.* as alſo in other places: he had likewiſe begun to Tranſlate the *Pſalms* of *David*, but was prevented by Death, from making an end of it.

But to how low an Ebb Learning was then reduced by the frequent Wars and devaſtations of the *Danes*, King *Alfred* himſelf tells us in his Preface to St. *Gregorie*'s *Paſtoral*, that learning was ſo decay'd in the *Engliſh* Nation, that very few Prieſts on this ſide of *Humber* could underſtand the Common Service of the Church, and he knew none *South* of *Thames*, who could turn an ordinary piece of Latine into *Engliſh*, though things were now ſomewhat better, yet that he himſelf had turn'd this Book into *Engliſh* by the help of Arch-Biſhop *Plegmond*, with *Grimbald* and *John* his Prieſts; and had ſent one of them to every Biſhops See in the Kingdom, with an *Æſtel*, (as the *Saxon* Word is, or *Stilus*, as in the Latin Verſion) upon each Book of fifty *Mancuſes* in value, charging them in God's Name, neither to take away that *Æſtel* from the Book, nor any of thoſe Books out of the Church, ſeeing it was uncertain how long there would continue ſuch Learned Biſhops, as now (God be Thanked) were in all parts of this Kingdom.

But how this can conſiſt with the ſuppoſed Relation out of *Aſſer*, concerning the flouriſhing ſtate of Learning at *Oxford*, before that King's Founding the Univerſity, I do not underſtand.

But in the Twentieth Year of his Age, as ſoon as he was Married, that Diſtemper took him which held him till about his Fortieth Year, the cauſe whereof being unknown to his Phyſicians, it was ſuppoſed by ſome, that he was bewitched, and it was ſo ſharp that he feared the Leproſie or Blindneſs, or elſe ſome worſe Diſtemper, which often makes Men unuſeful or deſpiſed; but by Praying to God in a certain Church in *Cornwal*, (where St. *Neot* lay buried) and near which the King came by chance to Hunt, he was relieved of that Pain, which tho this Authour does not tell us what it was, yet it ſeems to have been ſomewhat proceeding from the ſtoppage of the Humours in the lower Parts, and which our Authour calls the *Ficus*, or *Emerhoids*.

I ſhall now in the next place ſhew you, how this King ſpent his time, as well in his private as publick Affairs, as the ſame Authour hath related it; by which the Reader will be better enabled to frame a true Character of this moſt Pious, Learned, and Magnanimous Prince.

King

King *Alfred* (notwithſtanding his frequent hindrances, not only by the *Daniſh* Wars, but alſo his bodily Infirmities) was always mindful of the Affairs of State, thô at ſpare times he uſed Hunting (for his Recteation) and to overſee and direct his Artificers, Huntſmen and Faulkners; He built alſo his Houſes much more Magnificent than thoſe of his Predeceſſors, and at leiſure times was wont to read *Engliſh Saxon* Books, and learn Verſes in the ſame Tongue by heart, ſo that he never failed when he was alone to imploy himſelf well. And for the better performance of his Duty, he vowed to beſtow half his time (as far as his occaſions and Infirmities would permit) in God's Service. And becauſe it was impoſſible to know how the Hours of the Day and Night paſt, when often by reaſon of the Clouds the Sun could not be ſeen, (no Clocks being then invented) he began to think how he might diſtinguiſh the Hours by Night as well as by Day; and at laſt, by his own ingenious contrivance, he ordered Six Wax-Tapers to be made of equal length and bigneſs; ſo that each Taper being divided into Inches, and every Inch marked out upon the Taper; by this means thoſe Six Tapers being ſet up one after another before the Reliques of the Saints, (which he ſtill carried with him) gave a conſtant and certain Light during the whole Twenty four Hours, both by Night and by Day. But when ſometimes by reaſon of the Wind, which came in at the Windows or Doors of the Chappel, or thorough the Chinks of the Walls, or the Cloth of his Tents; the Tapers were made to burn out ſooner than they were uſed to do at other times; he firſt found out the Invention of making Lanthorns of Cow's Horns cut into thin Plates, whereby no Wind could waſt the Tapers; ſo that by this Invention none of them burnt out ſooner than another. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCI.

Afterwards he endeavoured to perform his former Vow in dedicating half his time to God, ſo that he was wont not only to hear Maſs every day, but alſo to repeat his Prayers, Pſalms, and other Nocturnal Offices, having made a Collection out of *David*'s Pſalms for his own private uſe; which being with certain Prayers written in a ſmall Book, he always carried about with him in his Boſom; he likewiſe uſed to frequent the Church in the Night time, and there alone to ſay his Prayers: He was alſo very liberal in his Alms to Strangers, as well as his own People, treating all ſorts of Men with great Gentleneſs and Affability, he would often hear the Scriptures read by his own Servants, and alſo Prayers read by Strangers, when he came to any place by chance: He loved his Biſhops and all the Clergy very well, as alſo his Earls, Noblemen, and Servants; expreſſing his affection in Educating their Sons in his own Family, and by cauſing them to be conſtantly inſtructed in Letters and good Manners, with the ſame care, as if they had been his own Children: Yet for all this, the King was not ſatisfied, but was ſorry that God had not made him more capable of true Wiſdom, as well as Liberal Arts; admiring *Solomon* for nothing more, than that deſpiſing Riches and Worldly Glory, and deſiring of God Wiſdom, he thereby obtained not only thoſe outward things, but this Requeſt too over and above.

Thus our King imitated the Bee, which riſing early, gathers Honey from all ſorts of Flowers; So whatever was rare, that he had not in his own Kingdom, he fetched from abroad: for about this time God favouring his Pious Deſires, ſent him *Werfriht*, after Biſhop of *Worceſter*, one very well skilled in the Holy Scriptures, who by this King's Command, Elegantly

Anno Dom. DCCCCI. and exactly Translated the Dialogues of Pope *Gregory*, out of *Latin*, into the *English Saxon* Tongue; and after him *Plegmond* a *Mercian*, who was afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a Venerable Man, and indued with all true Knowledge; to whom we may also add *Æthelstan*, and *Werwulf*, Priests, and the King's Chaplains.

These learned Men above-mentioned, King *Ælfred* had sent for out of *Mercia*, whose Erudition, as it daily encreased the King's Love to it, so his greedy Thirst after it could never be satisfied; for Night and Day, as often as he had leisure, he Commanded some or other to read to him, for he was never without one of them near him, whereby he obtain'd a general Knowledge of almost all sorts of Books; nor was he contented with those he found at home, but he sent Messengers into *France* to procure new Masters; fetching from thence one *Grimbald* a Priest and Monk, a worthy Man, and an excellent Chanter, and one well skilled in all Secular, as well as Ecclesiastical Learning; as also *John* another Priest and Monk, throughly versed in all manner of Litterature, by whose assistance, as the King's Mind became much inlarged, so in Requital he Honour'd and Enrich'd them.

And here I may likewise add, what some other Authors have written concerning these two last Learned Persons, by whose assistance he first Founded the University of *Oxford*, as hath been already related; for *John Rouse*, in his History of the Kings of *England*, hath wrote of these two Monks, that *Grimbald* was sent for from his Monastery in *Flanders*, then counted part of *France*, as *John* was from his of St. *Bertin*, at St. *Omers*; this is that *John* commonly call'd *Scotus* and *Erigena*, (thô from whence he borrowed this last Name, I shall not determine, since the Learned differ so much about it) 'twas he Translated *Dionisius* his *Hierarchia* out of *Greek* into *Latin*, which is now publish'd by the Learned Dr. *Gale*.

About the same time *Asser* also relates, that he was sent for by the King from the *Western*, or furthest Parts of *Britain*, (that is, from St. *David*'s in *Wales*) and being kindly received by him, he earnestly entreated him to leave whatever he had on the other side of *Severne*, and Dedicate himself wholly to his Service; but he could not promise that for above six Months in the Year, standing engaged the other six to reside at his own Monastery; for the Abbot and Monks there hoped that by his Interest with the King, they might better avoid those Troubles and Injuries from King *Hemeid*, who had often spoiled that Monastery and Diocess; by the Expulsion of its Bishops, as he had done the Archbishop *Novis*, our Author's Kinsman; for he also tells us, that both at this time and long before, all the Countries on the South part of *Britain* did then belong to King *Ælfred*'s Dominions; *Hemeid* with all the Inhabitants of *South Wales*, and *Rodri* with his six Sons having subjected themselves to his Empire; *Howel* also the Son of *Rice*, King of *Gleguising*, *Brochmail* and *Fermail* Kings of *Guent* being oppressed by the Tyranny of *Eadred* Earl of the *Mercians*, desired of the King, that he would please to take the Dominion over them, and be their Protector against their Enemies: Also *Helised* the Son of *Teudyr* King of *Brechonoc* being kept under by the power of the said Sons of *Rodri*, sought the Protection of the King, as did *Anarawd* the Son of *Rodi*, (together with his Brethren) who all at last forsaking the friendship of the *Northumbers*, by which they had received no advantage, bnt rather damage, came to the King desiring his favour, and were honourably received by him.

And

Prince *Anarawd* being enrichedwith many great gifts, ſubmitted himſelf to the King's Dominion, together with all his Subjects, promiſing to be obedient in all things to his Royal Pleaſure; neither did they deſire the King's Friendſhip in vain, for thoſe who loved to encreaſe their power obtained it, thoſe who deſired Money had it, thoſe who only ſought his Friendſhip enjoy'd it; but all of them did partake of his kindneſs and protection, as far as the King was able to defend them. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCI.

Then our Authour further adds, That after he had been with the King Eight Months, he gave him a grant of Two Monaſteries, called *Ambresbyri* in *Wiltſhire*, and *Banuwelle*, together with all that was there, adding theſe words; That he had not now given theſe ſmall things, but in order to beſtow greater on him; for ſome time after he gave him alſo *Exanceſter* (now *Exeter*) with all the Lands that belonged to it in *Weſt Saxony*, and *Cornwal*; beſides other daily preſents, too long here to recite, which he ſays, he does not relate out of vain Glory, but to ſet forth this King's Liberality. *Note*, That by *Exceſter* he means only the Abbey.

Which alſo, as well as his Piety was very great; for the King had now order'd two Monaſteries to be built, the one at *Æthelingey*, the place of his Retreat above-mentioned, putting Monks therein of divers Nations, becauſe he could then find no Gentlemen nor Freemen of his own Country, that would undertake a Monaſtic Life; the other Monaſtery he built near the *Eaſt-Gate* of *Shaftsbury*, for an Habitation for Nuns, over which he made his own Daughter, *Æthelgova* Abbeſs, placing many Noble Virgins there, to ſerve God with her in a Monaſtic Life.

All which being finiſhed, he then conſidered how he might further add to what he had already done; and therefore being ſtirred up by the Divine Grace, he Commanded his Officers to divide all his Yearly Revenues into two equal parts, the firſt of which he allotted to ſecular Affairs; diſtributing it to skillful Artificers and Architects, who came to him from all parts far and near, whom he diſcreetly rewarded giving every Man according to his Merit; And the other half he dedicated to God, which he Commanded his Officers to divide likewiſe into four parts, ſo that one part ſhould be diſcreetly beſtowed upon poor Men of all Nations, that came to him; a ſecond part was to be reſerved for the two Monaſteries which he had founded; a third for that School which he had made up of many conſiderable perſons of his own Nation, as well as Foreigners. And which is ſuppoſed to have been the Univerſity of *Oxford*. And the fourth part was to be ſent ſome Years to the Monaſteries in *Weſt Saxony* and *Mercia*, and other Years to the Churches and Monks, ſerving God in *Britain*, *France*, *Cornwall* and *Northumberland*, nay as far as into *Ireland*; to each of them by turns according to his preſent Abilities. Nor did he only thus dedicate one half of his Revenues, but alſo one half of the Labours of his Body and Mind to God's Service, as hath been already declared.

Nor was he leſs exact in all things elſe he undertook; for he was the Great Patron of the Oppreſſed, whoſe Cauſe and Defence he almoſt alone ſupported, having very little aſſiſtance from others; ſince almoſt all the Powerful and Great Men of that Kingdom rather addicted themſelves to Secular, then Divine imployments, and purſued every one his own private Intereſt, without any conſideration to the Common good: but the King in his Judgments ſtudied the advantage as well of the meaner ſort as of the

Anno Dom. DCCCCI. Noble or Great, the latter of which, did often times in the publick Aſſemblies of the Ealdormen and Sheriffs pertinaciouſly quarrel among themſelves, ſo that none of them would ſcarce allow any thing that was adjudged by the ſaid Magiſtrates in their Courts, to be Right; and by reaſon of theſe obſtinate diſſentions, divers of them were compell'd to appeal to the King, which alſo both ſides often deſired to do; for they found that he diligently enquired into all the Judiciary Sentences that were given throughout his Kingdom, and if he found any injuſtice in them, he forthwith ſent for the Judges, before whom ſuch falſe Judgments were given and either by himſelf, or elſe by ſome truſty Commiſſioners had thoſe Judges examin'd, to know the reaſon wherefore they had given ſuch unjuſt Sentences, and then enquired whether they had done this through Ignorance, or elſe for Love, Hatred, or Fear, or elſe for lucres ſake; but if the Judges proteſted, (and it was alſo found upon Examination) that they had paſſed ſuch Sentence, becauſe they were able to judge no better in the Cauſe; then would the King with great moderation reprove their Ignorance and Unskilfulneſs; telling them, He wondred much at their preſumption in taking upon them the Office of a Judge, without having firſt duly ſtudied the Laws, and therefore enjoyned them either to lay down their Imployments, or elſe immediately to apply themſelves to ſtudy them with more care: Which when they had heard, they took this reproof for ſufficient puniſhment, and betook themſelves to ſtudy with all their might; ſo that moſt of all the Ealdormen, who were illiterate from their Youth, rather deſired to learn the Laws thô with labour, then lay down their Imployments; but if any one through Age, or great incapacity could not profit in thoſe ſtudies, he made either his Son or ſome near Kinſman read to him *Engliſh Saxon* Books, when ever he had time, repenting that he had not employed his Youth in thoſe Studies, and eſteeming thoſe Young Men Fortunate, who could now be more happily inſtructed n all Liberal Arts.

So far *Aſſer* hath given us a particular Account of this King's Life and Converſation, both in publick and private: But if *Andrew Horne*, in his Book call'd, * *The Mirrour of Juſtices* (a great part of which is ſuppoſed to be collected from divers ancient *Saxon* Records that are now loſt,) may be credited, this King condemn'd no leſs than Fourty four inferior Judges, in Hundred and County Courts, to be hanged, in one Year, for their falſe Judgments, either in condemning or acquitting Men without the Verdict of the Jury; but the particular Caſes being many, and long, I refer you to the Authour himſelf, wherein you will ſee the Difference between the manner of Judicial Proceedings in thoſe Times, from what they were preſently after the *Norman* Conqueſt.

* Chap. 2.

But ſome of our Hiſtorians, as particularly *Harding* in his *Chronicle*, make this King to have collected a Body of Laws, not only out of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, but alſo from the *Greek*, *Roman*, *Britiſh*, and *Daniſh* Laws; which, if it were ever done, is not now extant.

Having thus finiſhed the Life of King *Alfred*, I cannot but take Notice of his laſt Will and Teſtament, (the only one we have left of all the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings,) wherein, at the very beginning, he ſtyles himſelf, 'By the Divine Grace, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, with the Means and

' Aſſiſtance

'Aſſiſtance of *Athelred* the Archbiſhop; as alſo with the Aſſent and Conſent of the Nobility of all *Weſt-Saxony*, whom he there ſummons as Witneſſes of this his laſt Will; and to be Truſtees and Overſeers of his Goods and Eſtate, for the good of his Soul, as well of the Inheritance *which GOD and the chief Men, together with the Ealdormen of the People, had affectionately and bountifully beſtowed upon him*, as alſo of the Inheritance which his Father *Æthelwulf* had bequeathed to him and his three Brothers, *viz.* *Æthelbald*, *Æthered* and himſelf; ſo as that the Survivor of them ſhould enjoy the entire Dominion of the whole Kingdom: And then proceeds to ſhew the particular force of that Entail, according to his ſaid Father's Will, in theſe Words, as he gives it us, ſpeaking in the firſt Perſon. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCI.

'That if it ſhould happen, That *Æthelbald*, the eldeſt Son of our Father, ſhould firſt deceaſe, then *Æthered*, together with the Nobility of all *Weſt-Saxony*, ſhould be Witneſſes for us of our Share in the ſaid Kingdom, on the Day of his Coronation; whom we ſhould with all our Might endeavour to *advance to the Throne*, after the Death of *Æthelbald* our eldeſt Brother, according to the Agreement he made with us, *viz.* That the ſaid King *Æthered* ſhould permit us to enjoy our Diſtributions, as we had them before our ſaid Brother's Coronation; And alſo the Engagement he ſtood in to us concerning the ſaid Hereditary Diſtribution, was confirmed in like manner, to wit, that the Lands and Territories, which K. *Æthered*, by our Aſſiſtance, and the Power of our Men, ſhould acquire to himſelf; as alſo the Dominions which ſhould fall to him by Hereditary Right, he ſhould, in Brotherly Love, proportionably divide with us. 'But yet, if it ſhould ſo happen, that *Æthered* ſhould ſucceed to the Kingdom, he himſelf was to promiſe the ſame thing: But he refuſing, (as this Teſtament particularly takes notice,) 'to obſerve this Agreement, only promiſed, That as for 'the Lands and Territories which he, by *Alfred*'s and his People's Aſſiſtance ſhould acquire to his Dominions, as alſo the Inheritance to which 'he was born, he would, after his deceaſe, confer upon none elſe but 'my ſelf: And being thus pacified, I thereupon remitted all further 'Complaints againſt my Brother.

Then he proceeds farther, 'That in caſe it ſhould happen, that we all 'ſhould fall by the hands of our *Daniſh* Enemies, then it was eſpecially 'provided, that every one of us ſhould ſo diſpoſe of our Eſtates to our 'Sons, that each of them ſhould ſucceſſively enjoy our Inheritance, and 'our Lands and Poſſeſſions in like manner, as the Inheritance it ſelf, 'with the Dominions, Lands and Poſſeſſions, which had been before 'conferred upon us. And then he goes on to recite what had been formerly done in a General Council of the *Weſt Saxon* Nobility at *Swinbourne*, wherein he had adjured them all to bear witneſs of the manner and intent of the former Entail; the ſum of which was, 'That ſince K. 'Æthered his Elder Brother was deceaſed, there was then none left but 'himſelf, who had any writing or Teſtimony concerning this Inheritance, 'nor any other Heir beſides himſelf; and that if any one ſhould 'offer to claim the ſaid Inheritance, he ſhould loſe his Right, unleſs 'he forthwith produced witneſſes of it; but then he heard that all 'his Kinſmen were dead, and ſo the whole Inheritance of King Æ'thelwulf his Father was devolved upon him, by a Charter made thereof 'at his General Council at *Langdene*; which Charter he had then like-

'wiſe

Anno Dom. DCCCCI.

'wiſe commanded to be read before the Witneſſes of all *Weſt Saxony*; and 'after it was read, he ordered all there preſent to declare, whether they 'had heard or knew of any Man who could juſtly claim any Right to 'his Inheritance, which had never come to his Knowledge before; be-'cauſe it was his intent to diſinherit none of his Kinſmen of any thing; 'and then all the Princes and Ealdormen of his People did firmly and 'poſitively declare, that they never heard of any who had a juſter Title 'to it than himſelf, *and then they gave him full power to make his Will, and 'bequeath his Eſtate to his Kinſmen and Friends in ſuch manner as beſt pleaſed him.*

'Next King *Alfred* proceeds in the preſence of the ſaid Witneſſes, to 'make his laſt Will, and to confer upon his Eldeſt Son *Edward* divers 'Lands and Territories there particularly mentioned; lying in divers 'Countries in *England*, (* *but without any mention of the Crown*;) he alſo 'leaves other Lands there recited to his Younger Son; the like he does 'for each of his Daughters, to whom he gives divers Lands there par-'ticularly ſet down; and then bequeaths to *Athelm* and *Æthelwald* his 'Brother's Sons, divers Towns there alſo particularly recited; then fol-'low his Legacies in Money to his Sons, Daughters and Servants, and to 'his Kinſmen above mentioned; as alſo to *Ethelred*, General of his Mi-'litia, and to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Aſſer* Biſhop of *Shireburne*, 'and ſeveral other Biſhops; all which would be too tedious here to be ſet down,

* *Vid.* The Reaſon in the Introduction.

And to let you ſee that Entails were then in force,

'He farther Wills, That thoſe to whom he had given his Free-Hold-'Lands, ſhould not alienate them beyond their own Lives, and if they 'had no Children they ſhould go to the next of Kin, eſpecially to the 'Eldeſt Son as long as any one of them remain'd alive; for ſo his Father 'had bequeathed his Inheritance; but if it ſhould any ways happen that 'his ſaid Lands ſhould come into the hands of Women, then he Wills, That 'after their Deceaſe thoſe Lands ſhould revert to his next Male Kindred 'deſcending from their bodies, *&c.*

'And then concludes with an earneſt Exhortation and deſire, that 'none of his Relations ſhould any ways diſquiet each other concerning 'thoſe things which he had already given and bequeathed to them; 'ſince the whole Nobility of the *Weſt Saxon* Nation had already agreed 'with him, that it was but Juſt and Right that he ſhould leave them as 'free as the Thought of Man could make them.

This is the ſubſtance of King *Alfred*'s Will, which I have been the more particular in reciting, becauſe it is one of the moſt Remarkable Pieces in our *Engliſh Saxon* Antiquities, and ſhews us the manner of Succeſſion, not only to private Eſtates; but to the Crown it ſelf in thoſe Days. Thô we could have wiſhed that the Original had been preſerved, being in the *Engliſh Saxon* Tongue, of which this is only a Tranſlation made by *Aſſer* at the end of this King's Life.

The *Latine* of which is indeed ſo barbarous, and obſcure, that I would rather adviſe the curious Reader to peruſe the Original it ſelf, then venture to give him an imperfect interpretation of any more of it; having here already ſet down the moſt material heads, and which I thought did principally conduce to our preſent deſign.

King *Alfred* had born to him by the Queen his Wife above-mention'd, *Æthelfiede* his Eldeſt Daughter, and after her *Eadward* his Eldeſt Son then *Æthelgeofeu*, or *Ethelgiva*, then *Ælfthryth*, and laſtly *Ethelweard*, beſides

thoſe

thoſe who died in their Infancy: *Æthelflede* when ſhe came to mature Years, was Married to *Eadred*, Earl of the *Mercians*; *Æthelgiva* vowing Chaſtity, undertook a Monaſtic Life; *Ethelward* the youngeſt Child, was by the King's prudent Order, put to School under careful Maſters, together with moſt of the Nobility's Sons of the Kingdom; in which School both *Latin* and *Saxon* Books were conſtantly read; and here they alſo learned to write: So that before they were admitted to Hunt, or handle Arms, they were well improved in the Liberal Arts, *Anno Dom.* DCCCCI.

As for this Prince *Ethelward*, **Thomas Rudburne* relates from the Annals of *Wincheſter*, that he was bred up at *Oxford*, and became learned above that Age; but being more given to Letters than Arms, we find nothing of him in our Annals more than the time of his Death, tho' he lived till he was about Forty Years of Age; but he had two Sons, *Edwin*, and *Ethelwin*, of a more Warlike Temper; who being Slain in a Fight againſt *Anlafe* King of the *Danes*, were by their Couſin King *Athelſtan*'s appointment, buried in the Church of the Abbey of *Malmsbury*, as our *William* the Monk of that place recites. * Hiſtor. Major. *Vid.* Ang. Sacra, 1 vol.

As for the Princeſs *Æthelflede*, ſhe will make ſo great a Figure in her Brother's Reign, that I ſhall ſuſpend ſaying any more of her here.

Beſides theſe Children of King *Alfred* mentioned by *Aſſer*, the Chronicle of St. *Swithune* tells us of another Son born before Prince *Edward*, called *Edmund*, who lived to be Crowned King by by his Father's appointment, in his Life-time; but dying before him, he was buried under a Marble-Stone, on the North ſide of the Altar of the Abbey Church of *Wincheſter*: So that we may hence perhaps ſupply that *Chaſme* in *Aſſer*'s Life of this Prince; where ſpeaking of thoſe Children of his, who died Young, ſays, *In quorum numero eſt* —— but no Name being found in any of the Copies extant, it poſſibly ought to be ſupplied with *Edmundus*: But ſince this Prince is not mentioned in any other Hiſtorian or Pedigree of our Kings, I leave it to the Reader's diſcretion to determine as he pleaſes concerning him.

As for the other Sons, *Edward* and *Elfrithe*, they were Educated in the King's Court, with great care of their Governors, and were taught by them to ſhew great reſpect toward Strangers, and a tender love to their own People, with a moſt Dutiful obſervance of their Father.

Immediately after this Excellent King's Death and Burial, his Eldeſt Son ſucceeded him under the Title of

King *EDWARD*, commonly called the *Elder*.

THis Prince (according to Annals) now began his Reign, being (as *Aſſer* and *Bromton* in his Chronicle relate) anointed King at *Kingſton*, by *Plegmund* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, of whom *Ethelwerd* in his Hiſtory expreſly tells us, That he ſucceeded to the Monarchy, and tho' the Eldeſt Son of King *Alfred*, yet was he Elected by all the Chief Men of the Kingdom, and Crowned on *Whitſunday*. *Will.* of *Malmsbury* obſerves, that tho' this Prince was much inferior to his Father in Learning and Knowledge; yet far exceeded him in Power and Grandeur, enjoying the benefit of thoſe Labours which his Father had undergone. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCI.

But

Anno Dom. DCCCCI. But ſo ſoon as ever he came to the Crown, as the *Saxon* Annals relate, he met with a very great diſturbance; for *Æthelwald* his Couſin German, (Son as is ſuppoſed to *Ethered* his Father's Elder Brother) pretending he had better right to the Crown than King *Edward*, Rebelled againſt him, and went over to the *Danes*: So the Prince preſently invaded the King's Territories, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Royal Towns of *Tweoneam*, (now *Tweoxbeam*) and *Winburne*, without the King's privity; whereupon he advanced his Army, and pitched his Camp at a place called *Baddanbyrig*, (a Hill near *Winburne*;) but *Æthelwald*, with thoſe Men who were joined with him, kept themſelves within the Town, and having ſhut up all the Gates, King *Edward* commanded them to Surrender; but he Swore that he would there either Conquer or Die; yet notwithſtanding all this bluſtring, he privately withdrew himſelf by Night, and marched back to the *Daniſh* Army in *Northumberland*: Upon this, the King gave Orders to his Men to purſue him; yet tho' they did ſo, they could not overtake him; ſo he got ſafe to the *Daniſh* Army, where they joyfully received him for their King.

But *Ranulh Higden* in his *Polychron* tells us, That having taken away a Nun along with him out of the Monaſtry of *Winburne*, he went over to the *Danes*, which if ſo, (as is moſt likely) the King could not then Apprehend her; but it ſeems King *Edward* followed him ſo cloſe, that he forced him to go over into *France*, (as *Mat.* of *Weſtminſter* relates) that he might there obtain more Recruits, to give the King freſh diſturbance; and therefore it is moſt probable, what *Mat. Weſtminſter*, and *Bromton*'s Chronicle tells us, That the King after *Æthelwald*'s departure, ſeized his Wife, whom (having been a Nun) he had taken againſt the Command of the Biſhop, from the Monaſtry above-named, whither ſhe was now brought back again.

In the mean time (according to *Mat. Weſtminſter*) the King improved his Dominions, by building new Towns, and repairing ſome Cities, which had been before deſtroyed.

Anno Dom. DCCCCII. 'This Year was fought a Battle at *Holme*, between the *Kentiſh* Men 'and the *Danes*.] But *Florence* of *Worceſter* with greater probability places this Action two Years after, when *Adelwald* (as he there calls him) was now returned out of *France*.

Anno Dom. DCCCCIII. 'About this time deceaſed *Athulf* the *Ealdorman*, Brother of Q. *Ealſ-* '*withe*, King *Edward*'s mother, as alſo *Virgilius* the *Scotiſh* Abbot, and '*Grimbald* the Prieſt, (one of King *Alfred*'s Inſtructors) 8 *Ides* of *July*. 'This Year alſo was conſecrated the new Monaſtery of *Wincheſter*, about 'the Feaſt of St. *Judoc*.

Here was alſo a Colledge of Secular Chanons, firſt placed by King *Edward*, according to the will of his Father King *Alfred*, and it was called the *New Minſter*, to diſtinguiſh it from the Old *Minſter* or Cathedral.

The nearneſs of theſe two Monaſteries afterwards occaſioned great differences between them, until the Monks of this new Abbey, (who were placed here in the room of the Secular Chanons, by Biſhop *Ethelwald*, *Anno Dom.* 963.) were removed without the Walls, to a place called *Hyde*, as you ſhall hear in due time; and here alſo the Bones of King *Alfred* were new Buried by King *Edward* his Son, (as *Will.* of *Malmsbury* relates) becauſe of ſome fooliſh Stories made by thoſe of the Old Monaſtery, concerning the dead King's Ghoſt walking in ſome Houſes adjacent to the Church.

This

This Year alſo, according to our Annals, the Moon was Eclipſed. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCIV.

The next Year Prince *Ethelwald* incited the *Daniſh* Forces in *Eaſt-England* to Arms; ſo that they over-ran and ſpoiled all the Country of *Mercia*, as far as *Crekelade*, (now *Crekelade* in *Wiltſhire*); and there paſſing the *Thames*, they took in *Brædene*, (now *Brædon* Foreſt in *Wiltſhire*) whatſoever they could find, and then return'd home. In the mean time King *Edward*, ſo ſoon as he could get his Army together, followed them, and deſtroyed all the Country which lies between the Ditch and the River *Ouſe*, as far as the *Northern* Fens. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCV.

By the Ditch above-mention'd, *Florence* of *Worceſter* underſtands that bound, or limit drawn between the Territories of the late King *Edmund*, and the River *Ouſe*, which at this day is known by the name of the *Devil's Ditch*, that formerly divided the *Mercian* Kingdom from that of the *Eaſt-Angles*.

And *Bromton*'s Chronicle under this Year further adds, That *Ethelwold* having thus paſſed the *Thames* at *Crekelade*, took *Brithenden*, and marched as far as *Brandenſtoke* (now *Bradenſtoke* in *Wiltſhire*) ſo that (as Mr. *Camden* well obſerves in his *Britannia*) our Modern Hiſtorians have been much miſtaken in ſuppoſing that place to be *Baſing-Stoke* in *Hampſhire*: But to return to our Hiſtory.

As ſoon as the King reſolved to quit thoſe parts, he order'd it to be proclaimed throughout the whole Army, that they ſhould all march off; but the *Kentiſhmen* ſtaying behind, contrary to his command, he ſent Meſſengers to them to come away; yet it ſeems, before they could do it, the *Danes* had ſo hemmed them in, that they were forced to fight, and there *Eadwald* the King's *Thane*, and *Cenwulf* the Abbot, with many more of the *Engliſh* Nobility were ſlain; and on the *Danes* part were kill'd *Eoric* their King, and Prince *Ethelwald*, who had ſtirred them to this Rebellion, and *Byrtſig* the Son of Prince *Beornoth*, and *Yſopa* General of the King's Army, and abundance of others; which it would be too tedious to enumerate: But it was plain that there was a great ſlaughter made on both ſides, yet nevertheleſs the *Danes* kept the Field of Battel.

Alſo this Year Queen *Ealſwithe*, (the Mother of King *Edward*) deceaſed; in which alſo a Comet appeared.

Who this *Eoric*, King of the *Danes*, was, is uncertain; I ſuppoſe him to have been the *Daniſh* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, whoſe death (according to *Will.* of *Malmesbury*'s Account) falls about this time, for he ſays thus; That this King was killed by the *Engliſh*, whom he treated tyrannically, but for all this, yet they could not recover their Liberty; certain *Daniſh* Earls ſtill oppreſſing, or elſe inciting them againſt the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings; till the Eighteenth Year of this King's Reign; when they were all by him overcome, and the Country brought under obedience.

To this time we may alſo refer that great Council, which was held by King *Edward* the *Elder*, where *Plegmond*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* preſided; though the place where is not ſpecified, yet the occaſion of it (as we find from *Will.* of *Malmesbury*, as well as the Regiſter of the Priory of *Chriſt-Church* in *Canterbury*, cited by * Sir *H. Spelman*) was thus; Pope *Formoſus* had ſent Letters into *England*, threatning Excommunication, and his Curſe to King *Edward* and all his Subjects, becauſe the Province of the *Weſt-Saxons* had been now for Seven Years without any Biſhops; whereupon the King ſummoned a great Council or Synod of Wiſe men of the *Engliſh* Nation, wherein the Archbiſhop read the Pope's Letters; then the King and the Biſhops, with all his Lay-Subjects, upon mature deliberation, found out a ſafe courſe to avoid it, by appointing Biſhops

* Council, I. Vol. p. 387.

Anno Dom. DCCCCV. over each of the *Weſtern* Counties, dividing what Two Biſhops had formerly held, into Five Dioceſſes.

The Council being ended, the Archbiſhop went to *Rome*, and reciting the King's Decree with the Advice and Approbation of the Chief Men of his Kingdom; He thereby, and with rich Preſents, ſo pacified the Pope, that *Plegmond* obtain'd his confirmation thereof; and then returning into his own Country, he ordained five Biſhops in one day, (to wit) *Frideſtan* to the Church of *Wincheſter*, *Aldeſtan* to *Cornwall*, *Werſtan* to *Shireborne*, *Athelm* to *Wells*, and *Eadwulf* to *Crediton* in *Devonſhire*.

But Archbiſhop *Parker*, in his *Antiq Britannicæ*, under this very Year thus recites this Tranſaction out of a very Ancient Manuſcript Author, whom he does not particularly name; *viz.* That *Plegmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, together with King *Edward*, called a great Council of the Biſhops, Abbots, Chief men, Subjects and People, in the Province of the *Gewiſſes*, where theſe two Biſhopricks were divided into five.

So that you ſee here was no leſs than five new Dioceſſes erected at once, by the Authority of both the King and the Great Council of the Nation, though, it ſeems, the Pope took upon him the confirmation of this Decree.

The ſame Authors likewiſe tell us, That Archbiſhop *Plegmond* ordained two more Biſhops over the Ancient Provinces (to wit) one *Bernod*, for the *South Saxons*, and *Cenwulf* for the *Mercians*, whoſe See was at *Dorcheſter* in *Oxfordſhire*.

Cardinal *Baronius* in his Annals, having given us a Copy of theſe Letters of Pope *Formoſus*, hath found a notable Error in the Date of them, for being written *Anno Dom.* 904, or 905. they could not be ſent by that Pope who was dead about 9 or 10 years before, and therefore the Cardinal would put the time of this Council back to *Anno Dom.* 894. but then as Sir *H. Spelman* in his Notes upon it well obſerves, the fault will be as great this way as the other; for King *Edward*, under whom this Council was held, was not King till above 10 years after; therefore ſome would place this Council in the latter end of King *Alfred*'s Reign, after the Kingdom came to be ſetled upon the expulſion of the *Danes*; but Sir *H. Spelman* affirms, That theſe things being written long after the time when they were tranſacted, the name of *Formoſus* might be put into the Copies of theſe Letters, inſtead of Pope *Leo* the Fifth, and then all things will fall right enough. But as to *Fritheſtan* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, this Account of *Will.* of *Malmesbury* will not hold, for our Annals tell us, That he was not made Biſhop till *Anno Dom.* 910. upon the death of Biſhop *Denulph*, and therefore that See could not be ſo long void, as this Relation would have it. The like miſtake is in making *Werſtan* to be then Biſhop of *Shireborne*.

Anno Dom. DCCCCVII. This Year *Elfred*, who was *Gerefe* of *Bathe*, died, and about the ſame time there was a Peace made between King *Edward* and thoſe of *Eaſt-England* and *Northumberland*; That is, as *Florence* interprets it, with the *Daniſh* Army inhabiting thoſe Provinces, at *Ityngaford*; but where the place was, is now unknown to us, unleſs it be *Ilford* near *Chriſt-Church* in *Hampſhire*, which is ſeated in the new Foreſt, called *Itene* in *Engliſh-Saxon*. This Year alſo *Ligceaſter*, now *Leiceſter* was repaired.

And *Florence* of *Worceſter* likewiſe relates it to have been done in the Year 908. by the care of *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, and the Lady *Elfleda* his Wife; and this Author does alſo inform us, That this Year the King ſubdued *Eaſtſeax*, *Eaſt-England*, and *Northumberland*, with many other Provinces, which the *Danes* had a long time been poſſeſſed of, but *Eaſt-England* was not reduced till ſome Years after; alſo that he conquered the borders of the *Scots*, *Cumbrians* and *Galloway* Men, with the *Weſtern Britains*,

Britains, and forced their Kings to yield themſelves to him, and then he returned home with great Glory and Honour. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCVII.

This Year alſo *Cadelh*, Prince of *South Wales*, died; he was ſecond Son to *Roderic* the Great, and Father to *Howel Dha*, (*i. e.* the Good,) who ſucceeded him in that Dominion.

Some of the *South Wales* Antiquaries have endeavoured to prove this *Cadelh* to have been the eldeſt Son of *Roderic* the Great; but Mr. *Vaughan* hath ſo Learnedly confuted this Miſtake in a ſmall Treatiſe which he publiſhed on that Subject at *Oxford* 1663, that I think no Man can have any Reaſon to be diſſatisfied with it.

This Year (according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*) the ancient City of *Caerlegion*, that is in the Engliſh *Legeceaſter*, (and now *Weſtcheſter*,) was by the Command of Earl *Ethered*, and *Ethelflede* his Wife, repaired. Which thô Mr. *Camden* in his *Britannia* will needs have to be *Leiceſter*, yet that it was not ſo, may appear from the *Britiſh* Name of *Caerlegion*, which was never given to *Leiceſter*, but only to *Weſtcheſter* by the ancient *Britiſh* Inhabitants. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCVIII.

'This Year deceaſed *Denulph*, who was Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.' This is he of whom our Hiſtorians tell us, That the King lighting on him as he lay concealed at *Athelney*, being then but a Swineheard, and finding him a Man of excellent Natural Parts, ſet him to School to learn, and he became ſo good a Proficient in Letters, that he was made firſt a Doctor, and afterwards a Biſhop. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCIX.

'This Year alſo the Body of St. *Oſwald* was tranſlated from *Bardenigge* '(that is, *Bardeney* in *Lincolnſhire*) into *Mercia*.

'*Frithſtan* now took the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, and Biſhop *Aſſer* alſo 'deceaſed ſoon after, who was Biſhop of *Shireburne*. Alſo the ſame Year 'King *Edward* ſent an Army of the *Weſt Saxons*, together with the *Mercians*, 'who very much waſted *Northumberland*, and ſtaying there five Weeks, 'deſtroyed many of the *Danes*. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCX.

Florence of *Worceſter* and *Simeon* of *Durham* give us a very good Reaſon for this Action, *viz.* That the *Danes* had now broken the League they had entred into with King *Edward*; ſo that he never left them till he had forced their Kings and Commanders again to renew the Peace; which however it ſeems they kept not long.

For the next Year our Annals tell us,

'That the *Daniſh* Army in *Northumberland* not regarding the Peace 'which King *Edward* and his Son had made with them, again waſted the 'Province of the *Mercians*; but the King being then in *Kent*, had got to-'gether about 100 Ships, which ſailed toward the South-Eaſt to meet 'them, and then the *Danes* ſuppoſing that the greateſt part of the King's 'Forces were in his Fleet, thought they might march ſafely whither they 'would without fighting; but ſo ſoon as the King underſtood they were 'gone out to plunder, he ſent an Army conſiſting of *Weſt Saxons* and '*Mercians*, who following the *Danes* in the Rear, as they returned home 'met with them (in a place called *Woodnesfield*,) and fought with them, 'routing and killing many Thouſands of them, with *Eowils* and *Healfden* 'their Kings, with ſeveral Earls and Chief Commanders of their Army; whoſe Names I forbear to give, becauſe I would tire my Reader as little as I could. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCXI.

But to theſe Kings, as the * Annals of *Winchelcomb* inform us, one *Reginald* ſucceeded. * *MS. in Bib. Cot. Tib. c. 4.*

Anno Dom. DCCCCXI. Alſo the ſame Year, as *Florence* hath it, there was a remarkable Battle between the *Engliſh* and the *Danes* in *Staffordſhire*, but the former obtained the Victory.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXII. This Year *Æthered*, the Ealdorman of the *Mercians*, deceaſed; and the King then took the Cities of *London* and *Oxenford* into his own hands, with all the Territories belonging to them.

But it ſeems the Lady *Elfiede*, now a Widow, kept all the reſt of *Mercia*; for this Year the Annals ſay, That ſhe being Lady of the *Mercians*, came on the Vigil of the Feaſt of *Holyrood* to a place called *Scargeat*, (which is now unknown,) and there built a Caſtle; and the ſame Year did the like at *Bricge*, which Mr. *Camden* ſuppoſes to be *Bridgenorth* in *Shropſhire*, that Town being called *Brigge* by the common People at this day. And *Florence* alſo adds, That about this time ſhe built the Town of *Bremesbyrig*.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXIII. 'Now about the Feaſt of St. *Martin* King *Edward* Commanded the Town 'of *Heortford* to be new built, lying between the Rivers *Memar*, *Beneſican*, 'and *Lygean*, the firſt and ſecond of which Rivers is now hard to name 'right, only it is certain they were two Rivulets that diſcharged them-'ſelves into the River *Lee*, (then called *Lygean*,) between *Hartford* and '*Ware*.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXIV. 'After this, the Summer following, between *Lent* and *Midſummer*, the 'King marched with part of his Forces into *Eaſt-Seax* as far as *Mældune*, '(now *Maldon*,) and there encamped, whilſt a Town could be built and 'fortified at *Witham*, (near adjoyning,) and then a great part of the 'People, who had before been under the *Daniſh* Dominion, became ſub-'ject to him: In the mean time, whilſt part of his Forces built the Town 'of *Heortford*, on the South ſide of *Lee*, the Lady *Æthelfleda* marched 'with all the *Mercians* to *Tamaweorthige* (now *Tamworth*) in *Staffordſhire*, 'and there built a Caſtle; and before the Feaſt of *All-Saints* did the like 'at *Stæford*; and the Year following ſhe built another at *Eadesbyrig*, (ſup-'poſed by Mr. *Camden* to be *Edesbury* in *Cheſhire*;) and alſo the ſame Year, 'about the end of *Autumn*, ſhe built another at *Weringwic*, (now *War-'wick*;) and the Year following that, another at *Cyricbyrig* (now *Cher-'bury*) in *Shropſhire*; and another at *Wearbyrig*, (ſuppoſed by Mr. *Camden* 'to be *Wedesbury* in *Staffordſhire*;) and before *Chriſtmas* another at *Run-'Cafan*; (that is, *Runckhorne* in *Cheſhire*.) But *Florence* places theſe Actions more rightly three Years after.

All which Caſtles (being built in the ſpace of the two following Years) muſt be ſuppoſed to have been done not caſually, but as the exigence of Affairs required, to ſecure the *Mercian* Frontiers againſt the *Daniſh*, as well as the *Welſh* Incurſions.

But it is now time to caſt our Eyes a little on the Affairs of that part of *England*, called *Wales*; where we find in the Chronicle of *Caradoc*, That this Year *Anarawd* chief King of *Wales* died, leaving behind him two Sons, *Edwal Ugel*, (*i. e.* the *Bald*,) who Reigned after him, and *Eliſe*; and (as ſome ſay) a third Son named *Meyric*. This *Edwal* is he, whom our Hiſtorians ſtile *Idwal Rex omnium Wallenſium*; *i. e.* Supreme King of all *Wales*.

And I ſhall here likewiſe ſubjoyn what Mr. *Vaughan*, in his Notes upon this Chronicle, hath alſo added concerning the *Welſh* Affairs during the Reign of this Prince, thô happening ſomewhat before this time, *viz.*

'That

'That after the Death of *Roderic* the Great, the Northern *Britains* of *Strætclwyd* and *Cumberland* were (as *Hector Boetius* and *Buchanan* relate) much infeſted and weakened with the daily Incurſions of the *Danes*, *Saxons*, and *Scots*; which made many of them (that is, all that would not ſubmit their Necks to that Yoke) to quit their Country, and ſeek out more quiet Habitations; ſo that under the Conduct of one *Hobert* they came to *Gwyneth* (i. e. *North Wales*) in the beginning of *Anarawd*'s Reign, who commiſerating their diſtreſſed Condition, gave them the Country from *Cheſter* to the River *Conwey* to inhabit, if they could beat out the *Saxons*, who had lately poſſeſſed themſelves thereof. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCXIV.

'Theſe *Britains* having returned Thanks to Prince *Anarawd*, (as was meet,) fell upon the *Saxons*, and Neceſſity giving edge to their Valour, they ſoon drove them out thence, being yet ſcarce warm in their Seats; and *Edred*, or *Ethered*, Earl of *Mercia*, made great Preparations for the regaining of the ſaid Country: But the Northern *Britains*, who had ſettled themſelves there, having Intelligence thereof, for the better ſecuring of their Cattle and Goods, removed them over the River *Conwey*. In the mean time *Anarawd* was not idle, but gathering together all the Strength he could make, his Army encamped near the Town of *Conwey*, at a place called *Cymryt*, where his Men, making a gallant Reſiſtance againſt the Aſſaults of the *Saxon* Forces, at length after a bloody Fight obtained a compleat Victory over them. This Battle was called *Gwaeth Cymryt Conwey*, becauſe it was fought in the Townſhip of *Cymryt*, hard by *Conwey*; but *Anarawd* called it *Dial Rodri*, becauſe he had there revenged the Death of his Father *Rodri*. In this Battle *Tudwal*, the Son of *Rodri Mawr*, received a Hurt in the Knee, which made him be called *Tudwall Gloff*, or *The Lame*, ever after.

'His Brethren, to reward his Valour and Service, gave him the Lands of *Unchellogeed Gwynned*; and then the *Britains* purſuing their Victory, chaſed the *Saxons* quite out of *Wales* into *Mercia*, where having burnt and deſtroyed the Borders, they returned home laden with rich Spoils. And *Anarawd*, to expreſs his Thankfulneſs to GOD for this great Victory, gave Lands and Poſſeſſions to the Church of *Bangor*, as the Records of that See do teſtifie, and likewiſe to the Collegiate Church of *Clynnoc* in *Arvon*, as we read in the Extent of *North Wales*. 'After this the Northern *Britains* came back from beyond the River *Conwey*, and poſſeſſed again the Lands aſſigned to them between *Conwey* and *Cheſter*, which for a long time after they peaceably enjoyed. Some 'Engliſh Writers, as *Mat. Weſtminſter*, *&c.* not conſidering that the *Britains* had Lands in *Loegria* and *Albania*, after King *Cadwalader*'s time, miſtake thoſe of *Cumberland* and *Strætclwyd* for the *Britains* of *Wales*; but '*Aſſer Menev.* who lived about the Year 875, ſaith, That *Halden* the *Dane* marched into *Northumberland*, which he ſubdued, having before conquered the *Picts* and *Britains* of *Strætclwyd* in *Northumberland*.

I have given you this Relation at length, becauſe it is not found in any of our Hiſtorians, and it lets us ſee, that the *Engliſh*, as well as the *Welſh*, have been very ſparing to record their own Defeats. But to return again to our Hiſtory.

About this time, (according to the *Copy of a Charter of King *Edward*, extant in an old Manuſcript belonging to *Clare Hall* in *Cambridge*,) He by the Command of Pope *John* and Arch-Biſhop *Plegmund*, and by the Advice of all the Biſhops and Chief Men of his Kingdom, confirmed *Anno Dom.* DCCCCXV.

**Vi.* Fuller's *Church Hiſtory.*

to

Anno Dom. DCCCCXV. to the Doctors and Scholars of *Cambridge*, as also to their Servants, all Priviledges which had been granted by himself or his Predeceſſours for ever to endure by a perpetual Right. This Charter bears Date at *Granteceſter* (i. e. *Cambridge*) in the Year 915, and is directed to *Fritheſtan*, then Chancellor and Doctor.

But if Sir *John Spelman* thought he had Reaſon to ſuſpect the Truth of that Paſſage we have cited out of *Aſſer*'s Hiſtory of the Life of King *Alfred*, concerning the *Studium* or School at *Oxford* before King *Alfred*'s time, our Antiquaries may have as much (if not more) Reaſon to queſtion the Truth of this Charter; ſince the Original of it is not to be found, but only this Tranſcript in the Book above cited; for they ſay it looks very improbable, that *Cambridge* ſhould have continued an Univerſity during all the time of the *Daniſh* Wars, and under the Poſſeſſion of thoſe three *Daniſh* Kings, the laſt of whom enjoyed it till the latter end of this King's Reign, as appears by our preſent Hiſtory: And beſides all this, the barbarous and pedantic Latine at the Concluſion of this Charter, where the King is made to confirm it in theſe Words: *Stabili jure grata & rata decerno durare, quamdiu vertigo Poli circa terras atque Æquora, Æthera Syderum juſto moderamine volvet:* Which ſeems to betray the ignorant Monk's Pen that counterfeited it; but *John Rouſe*, in his Manuſcript Hiſtory *De Regibus Angliæ*, cited by *Bale*, relates from an ancient Table and Chronicle of the Abbey of *Hyde* near *Wincheſter*, (which himſelf by the Favour of the Abbot had peruſed) the Reſtoration of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* by King *Edward*, as follows.

Cent. 8. Num. 53.

'Therefore for the Augmenration of *Clerk-like* Learning, as his Father 'had done to *Oxford*, ſo he again raiſed up *Cambridge* to her firſt Glory, 'which for a long time, with other general Schools, had lain deſolate 'and deſtroyed; as alſo, like a moſt loving Nouriſher of Scholars, he 'commanded that Halls for Students, Chairs and Seats of Doctors and 'Maſters, ſhould there be erected, and built at his own proper Charges, 'for he ſent from *Oxford* Univerſity, (which his Noble Father the King 'had founded,) Maſters of thoſe Arts which we call Liberal, together 'with Doctors in Divinity, and invited them there formally to Read 'and Teach.

But ſince the Author here cited is but of modern Times, in compariſon to this famous Univerſity, and alſo that Paſſage he hath cited out of the Annals of *Hyde*, is not now to be found in the Copies we have of them: I ſhall give the Reader a much more ancient Teſtimony out of *Tho. Rudborn*'s larger Hiſtory of the Church of *Wincheſter*, where he cites an Epiſtle of one *Bonagratia de Villa Dei*, to the Black Monks of *England*, wherein there is this Paſſage, which I ſhall here Tranſlate, *viz.* That whilſt he was baniſhed from his Country into *England*, and ſojourned with the moſt Holy and Religious Monks in the City of *Wincheſter*, *Helmeſtan* Abbot of the ſaid Cathedral Church, and the Venerable *Swithune*, *Præpoſitus*, (*i. e.* Biſhop of the ſame,) who had been before *in Profeſſione ſacræ Theologiæ in Studio Canterbriggienſi Cathedratus*, (*i. e.* Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*,) had often relieved him during the many Hardſhips he ſuffered in his Baniſhment, which ſpecial Favour he deſired always ſhould be acknowledged.

Lib. 3. *c.* 2.

If we were aſſured that this Epiſtle was Genuine, it would advance the Antiquity of this Univerſity far higher than the time we are now treating

treating of, and would make it Ancienter than the time of King *Alfred*, in the latter end of whoſe Reign St. *Swithune* ſate Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: But ſince we have not the Originals, but only Citations from theſe ancient Pieces, I ſhall not take upon me to determine of their Validity, but leave that, as alſo this Author's Credit, to the Reader's Judgment. But to return to our Annals. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCXV.

'This Year *Egbriht*, the innocent Abbot, was ſlain on the 16th *Kal.* of '*July*, a little before the Summer Solſtice; and about three Days after '*Æthelfleda* ſent an Army againſt the *Welſh*, which took *Brecenanmere*, '(ſuppoſed to be either *Brecknock* Caſtle, or elſe ſome place near it,) and 'there ſhe took the King's Wife, and about thirty four Priſoners. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCXVI.

'The *Danes* marching now on Horſeback after *Eaſter* from *Hamtune* (i. e. *Northampton*) and *Lygraceaſter*, (now *Leiceſter*) ſlew many Men at '*Hocneratune*, (now *Hoocnorton* in *Oxfordſhire*) and the places adjoyning; 'and as ſoon as they had returned home again, they ſent out another 'Company of Robbers, which marched towards *Ligtune*, (moſt likely 'to be *Leighton* in *Bedfordſhire*;) but the People of that Country being 'forewarned of their coming, fought with them, and not only put 'them to flight, but alſo recovered whatſoever they had taken a-'way, ſo that they left a great many of their Horſes and Arms behind 'them. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCXVII.

'Now a great Fleet ſailed from the Southern Parts of *Armorica*, under '*Anno Dom.* the Command of two Earls, *Ohtor* and *Rhoald*, and ſailing about to-'ward the *Eaſt*, entred the Mouth of the River *Severne*, and there ſpoiled 'all the Coaſts of *North Wales* toward the Sea, as far as they could; and 'they alſo took *Cumeleac* the *Welſh* Biſhop in *Trcingafield* (now *Archen-'field*) in *Herefordſhire*, and carried him Priſoner to their Ships; but King '*Edward* within ſome time Ranſomed him for Forty Pounds; but after 'this, the *Danes* quitting their Ships, marched again towards *Trcinga-'feild*, where the Men of *Hereford* and *Gleawceſter*, and the neighbouring 'Towns, fought them, and put them to flight, and there ſlew *Rhoald*, 'and a Brother of Earl *Ohtor*'s, with a great part of their Army, and drove 'them into a certain Wood, where they beſieged them, till they made them 'give Hoſtages to depart out of King *Edward*'s Kingdom: But at laſt it 'ſeemed adviſable for the King to place a good Guard from the South 'part of the Mouth of *Severne*, and from the Weſt of *Wales* toward the 'Eaſt as far as the River *Avon*, that ſo the *Danes* might not Land any 'more on that ſide; nevertheleſs leaving their Ships, they ſtole away 'privately by Night in two Companies to plunder, the one to *Weced* '(now *Watchet* in *Somerſetſhire*,) and the other to *Portlocan* (now *Port-'lochbay*) in the ſame County, but they were routed in both places; inſo-'much, that few of them eſcaped alive, unleſs it were thoſe who ſwam off 'to their Ships: Then they beſieged an Iſland at *Bradanrelic*, (*Florence* 'calls it *Reoric*,) which is ſuppoſed to be a little Iſland (now called '*Shepholm*) in the Mouth of *Severne*, where they were in ſuch great want 'of Victuals, that many died with Hunger, becauſe they could get no 'Proviſions there. After this they went to *Deomed*, (ſuppoſed to be '*South Wales*) from whence they paſſed into *Ireland*.

All this happened in *Autumn*: And the ſame Year, a little before *Martinmaſs*, King *Edward* marched with his Army to *Buckingaham*, and there ſtayed a Month, building two Forts on each ſide the River *Ouſe*; before he parted thence, *Thurkytel* the *Daniſh* Earl owned him for his Lord, as alſo all

Anno Dom. DCCCCXVIII. all their chief Commanders, and almoſt all their Noblemen, who were at *Bedanford* (now *Bedford*) with many of them that belonged to *Hamptune*.

This Year alſo *Ethelfleda*, Lady of the *Mercians*, before *Whitſontide* took the Town of *Deorby*, where within the Gates were killed four Thanes, who were very dear to her.

* Veſp. A. 5. Alſo we read, in the Collections of that Learned Antiquary Mr. *Lambert*, (and by him given to the * *Cottonian* Library,) that it is found in an Ancient Chronicle, once belonging to the Monaſtry of *Rocheſter*, and collected by one *Edmund de Hadenham*, That this Year the Lady *Elfleda*, by the Aſſiſtance of the King her Brother, beſieged the City of *Canterbury*, and taking it, ſlew a great many *Danes* that were therein.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXIX. 'King *Edward* marching with his Army to *Bedanford* about *Martin-maſs*, had the Town ſurrendred to him, and then all the Inhabitants 'who were his Subjects returned thither, and there he ſtayed a Month; 'and before he departed, he commanded a Caſtle to be built there on 'the South-ſide of the River.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXX. 'After this King *Edward* went to *Mældune* (now *Maldon*,) and rebuilt 'the Town, and ſaw it fortified whilſt he was there. Alſo Earl *Thurkytel* 'paſſed over into *France* by K. *Edward*'s Leave and Convoy, with all thoſe '*Danes* that would follow him; as likewiſe *Æthelfleda* brought under her 'Dominion the Town of *Legraceſter* (now *Leiceſter*,) and a great many 'of the *Danes*, belonging to that place, became ſubject to her, as alſo 'thoſe who were at *York*; nay, ſome of them confirmed it both with an 'Oath, and by giving of Hoſtages, that they would continue ſo; but as ſoon 'as this was done, ſhe departed this Life twelve days before *Midſummer* 'at *Tammeworth*, it being the Eighth Year of her Government over the '*Mercians* (after her Husband's Death,) with great Moderation and Juſtice: 'Her Body lies buried at *Gleaweceſter* in the Eaſt Iſle of St. *Peter*'s 'Church.

This Lady's Death is placed in our printed Annals, under the Year 918, and that more rightly, for the *Cottonian* Copy of theſe Annals is certainly miſtaken, in putting the Death of this Princeſs two Years later than this, *viz.* 920. though they all agree in Subſtance, *viz.* that ſhe died at *Tamworth* about a Fortnight before *Midſummer*; and that thereupon King *Edward* going thither, the whole Nation of the *Mercians* ſubmitted to him. But whenever this Princeſs died, ſhe was certainly a Woman of great Virtue, Prudence, and Courage; and truly reſembled her worthy Father King *Alfred*, as far as the Difference of Sex would permit.

But to return again to our Annals,

The ſame Year the Daughter and Heir of *Ethered*, Lord of the *Mercians*, called *Ælfwinna*, whom her Mother had left her Heir, was deprived by the King of that Dominion; and ſhe was, about three weeks before *Chriſtmas*, brought into *Weſt-Seax*.

John Bevour, (who calls himſelf *Caſtoreus*,) in his Manuſcript Hiſtory of the Kings of *England*, gives us a very good Reaſon, if true, why the King dealt thus ſeverely with this young Princeſs his Niece, which was this; That *Ælfwinna*, not making the King her Uncle, (whom her Mother had appointed her Guardian,) privy to her Deſigns, had contracted a Mariage with *Reginald*, King of the *Danes*: Whereupon King *Edward*, to prevent his Enemy, entred the Country of *Mercia*, and took it into his own Hands, and alſo carried the ſaid Lady away with him. The

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ſame Author likewiſe reporteth, That about this time *Leofred* a *Dane*, and *Griffyth ap Madoc*, Brother-in-Law to the Prince of *Weſt-Wales*, came from *Ireland* with a great Army to *Snowdon* in *Caernarvonſhire*; and deſigning to bring *all Wales* and the Marches thereof to their ſubjection, over-ran and ſubdued all the Countrey as far as *Cheſter*, before ever King *Edward* had Intelligence of their Arrival; whereat he was very much offended; but being loath to trouble his Subjects in that behalf, he made a Vow, That he and his Sons with their own people, would be revenged on *Leofred* and *Griffyth*; and thereupon he came to *Cheſter*, and took the *City* from them: After this he made two Diviſions of his Army, whereof he and his Son *Athelſtan* led the firſt, and *Edmund* and *Edred* the ſecond; and followed them with ſuch Celerity, that he overtook them at the Foreſt of *Walewode* (now *Sherwood*), where *Leofred* and *Griffyth* ſet upon him ſo fiercely, that the King at the beginning was in ſome diſtreſs, until Prince *Athelſtan* ſtepped in between his Father and *Leofred*, and gave the *Dane* ſuch a Wound in the Arm, that it diſabled him from holding his Spear, whereupon he was ſoon taken, and committed to the Cuſtody of *Athelſtan*. In the mean time Prince *Edmund* and *Edred* encountering with *Griffyth*, ſlew him, and brought his Head to their Father: Upon that *Athelſtan* cauſed *Leofred* to be beheaded likewiſe, and ſo both their Heads were ſet up together on the top of the Tower of *Cheſter*; and *Edward* and his Sons returned home with great Triumph. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCXX.

But it appears by the Age of Prince *Edmund* when he came to the Crown, that this Relation concerning himſelf and his Brother *Edred*'s commanding part of their Father's Army, cannot be true; for he was not above Four years old when King *Edward* his Father died, and not above Eighteen when he began to reign.

'This year (according to our Annals) King *Edward* commanded 'his men to go to the Town of *Toſeceaſter* (now *Toceſter* in *Northampton-*'*ſhire*) and to rebuild it; after which, the ſame year about *Lent*, he 'commanded the Town of *Wigingamere* (now *Wigmore* in *Hereford-*'*ſhire*) to be rebuilt: But the ſame Summer, between *Whitſuntide* and '*Midſummer*, the *Danes* of *Hamptune* (i. e. *Northampton*, as was ſaid 'before) and *Ligeraceſter*, and thoſe that lay *Northward*, broke the 'Peace, and marched to *Toſeceaſter*, and aſſaulting the Town a whole 'day hoped to take it, but thoſe that were within defending it until ſuch 'time as more men could come to their aſſiſtance, the *Danes* were for-'ced to leave the Town, and march'd off: After this they often went 'out by night to plunder, and falling upon thoſe that were unprovided, 'took a great many men and much Cattle, between *Barnewoode* and '*Eglesbyrig* (the former of which was *Barnwood* Foreſt near *Bury-hill*, 'and the latter *Alisbury*, both in *Buckinghamſhire*). About the ſame 'time the *Danes* of *Huntandune* (i.e. *Huntington*) and the *Eaſt-Angles*, 'marched out and built a Caſtle at *Temsford*, where they ſettled them-'ſelves, for they had left that at *Huntandune*, ſuppoſing that from thence 'they might recover a greater ſhare of the Countrey; and ſo they 'march'd till they came to *Bedanford*, but the men who were within it 'going out to meet them, killed great numbers of them, putting the 'reſt to flight: After this a great Army of *Danes* being got together, 'advanced to the Town of *Wiggingamere*, and ſtormed it for moſt part 'of the day; but thoſe who were within defending it very well, they *Anno Dom.* DCCCCXXI.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXXI.

'were forced to leave the Town, and retreat, carrying away with them 'all the Cattel they found thereabouts: After this alſo, the ſame Sum- 'mer, there were great Forces aſſembled of King *Edward*'s Subjects 'from the Towns round about *Temesford*, whither they went, and laying 'cloſe Siege to the Town, they at length took it, and kill'd a *Daniſh* 'King, and *Tagloſſe* an Earl, and *Mannan* his Son, together with his 'Brother, and all thoſe who defended the Town.] From which time (according to *Florence*) the *Daniſh* Power did by little and little de- creaſe, and that of the *Engliſh* increaſe. But this Author places all theſe actions of this year under *Anno* 917.

'The ſame year a great many men aſſembled together in Autumn, as 'well from *Kent*, *Surry*, and *Eſſex*, as from the neighbouring Towns, 'and marching to *Colneceaſter* (i.e. *Colcheſter*) aſſaulted that City till 'they took it, and all the Plunder they found in it, and killed all the 'men, except thoſe that eſcaped over the Wall: After which alſo the 'ſame Autumn a great Army of *Danes* were got together with the '*Eaſt-Angles*, both Land-Soldiers and Pyrates, whom they had invited 'to their aſſiſtance, hoping thereby to revenge the Defeat they had 'lately received; wherefore they went directly to *Meldune*, and be- 'ſieged that Town, till ſuch time that more men coming to its aſſiſtance, 'the *Danes* were forced to quit it, and retreat; but the men who 'were within it, together with thoſe that came to their aſſiſtance, 'overtaking the *Danes*, killed many hundreds of the Land-men as well 'as Pyrates; not long after which, King *Edward* marched with an Ar- 'my of *South-Saxons* to *Paſſenham* (i.e. *Paſham* in *Northamptonſhire*) 'and there continued till the Town of *Toſeceaſter* could be encompaſſed 'with a Stone-Wall, where Earl *Thurferth* and the chief Commander 'of the *Daniſh* Forces that belonged to *Hamtune*, with all towards the '*North* as far as *Weolade* (that is, the River *Weland*) accepted King '*Edward* for their Lord and Protector; but about the time that the King's 'Army was to return home, he ſent out freſh Forces to the Town of '*Huntandune*, who repaired and rebuilt it in thoſe places that were de- 'ſtroyed, according to the King's Command; ſo that all the people of 'that Countrey that remained alive, ſurrendred themſelves to King *Ed*- '*ward*, and ſought his Peace and Protection. Likewiſe this very year 'before *Martinmaſs* the King marched with an Army of *Weſt-Saxons* to '*Colneceaſter*, and rebuilt the Wall, and repaired all places which were 'ruinous. Then many as well of the *Eaſt-Angles*, as alſo of the *Eaſt*- '*Saxons*, who were before under the *Daniſh* Dominion (and had been 'ſo for above thirty years), now delivered themſelves up to the 'King, and alſo all the *Daniſh* Army in *Eaſt-England* ſwore Allegiance 'to him, promiſing to do whatever he thought good, and to defend his 'Subjects as well by Sea as by Land; but the Army that belonged to '*Grantanbyrig* (i.e. *Cambridge*) did by themſelves chuſe the King for 'their Lord and Patron, confirming it by their Oaths as he had appoint- 'ed him. This year alſo *Sytric* (the *Daniſh* King) ſlew *Neil* his 'Brother.

And under this year I ſuppoſe we may juſtly place the total ſubduing of the *Danes*, and ſubjection of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and conſequently their being freed from the *Daniſh* Yoak, under which they had groaned for above fifty years; though what Government they had from the Death of the laſt *Daniſh* King *Eoric*, is hard to determine; *William* of *Malmeſ-*

bury,

bury, the only Ancient Author that hath mentioned theſe Affairs, telling us in general, That after the Death of this *Eoric*, the *Daniſh* Earls or Governors either oppreſſed them, or elſe excited them againſt the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, until this King *Edward* by driving out the *Danes* reſtored the *Engliſh* to their Liberties, and added this Kingdom to his own Dominions fifty years after the death of King *Edmund*, which falls out much about this time. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCXXI.

But *Polidore Virgil* (I know not from what Author) hath a long Story how King *Eoric* above-mentioned made War againſt King *Edward*, and being routed by him in a great Battel, and returning home, fell ſo far into the Hatred and Contempt of his Subjects, that they roſe up againſt him, and murthered him; and being then divided into Factions, were forced to ſubmit themſelves to King *Edward*. This (if it were true) would give a great light into this dark part of the Hiſtory of the *Eaſt-Angles*, of which we have but a very imperfect Account: But ſince this Relation is found in no other Author except *Polydore*; and beſides, expreſly contradicting the Teſtimony of *William* of *Malmeſbury*, a much more Authentick Writer, by whoſe Account (as well as by the *Saxon* Annals) it appears that this *Eoric* was dead long before: I think we may juſtly look upon *Polydore*'s Relation as a mere Fiction, either invented by himſelf, or elſe taken from ſome Modern Author of no great Credit: Therefore I muſt now warn the Reader concerning this Hiſtorian, That though he had the Peruſal of a great many Rare Manuſcripts, yet ſince he very ſeldom cites any Authors, and that we find he ſometimes differs from our moſt Ancient Writers, and is plainly miſtaken in divers Relations, we have great reaſon to refuſe his Teſtimony, where it is not agreeable with more Authentick Authorities.

I have nothing elſe to add under this year, but that as *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, the Body of King *Edmund* the Martyr having lain for above Fifty Years obſcurely buried at a place called *Haleſdon* in *Suffolk*, was now by ſome devout people removed to a Town adjoining, called *Badriceſworth* (now St. *Edmundsbury*), where there was quickly a Church built over him, and unto which King *Edmund*, Brother to King *Athelſtan*, was a great Benefactor; though this place was not much taken notice of, until King *Cnute*, to gain the Favour of this Saint whom his Countreymen had murthered, here afterwards built a Noble Monaſtery. *De Geſt. Pontif. lib. 2.*

This year alſo (according to *Florence* of *Worceſter* and *Mat. Weſtminſter*) the King of *Scots*, *Reginald* the *Daniſh* King of *Northumberland*, with the Duke or Earl of the *Gallawy Welſhmen* or *Britains*, came to King *Edward*, and ſubmitting themſelves to him, made a firm League with him. This is the firſt time we find any Submiſſion of the King of *Scots*; which whether it amounted to a downright Homage, and to hold that Kingdom of the Crown of *England*, may be much queſtioned, and is abſolutely denied by the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians.

'Between *Lent* and *Midſummer* King *Edward* march'd with his Army 'to *Stanford*, and there commanded a Caſtle to be built on the *South*-'ſide of the River *Weland*; ſo that all the people who dwelt in the Town 'on the *North*-ſide of that River ſubmitted themſelves, and beſought 'him to be their Lord. *Anno Dom.* Dcccexxii.

'Alſo (according to the *Cottonian* Copy of theſe Annals) *Howel*, 'and *Cledauc*, and *Jeothwell*, (Princes of *Wales*) with all the Nation

Anno Dom. Dcccxxii. ‘ of the *Northern Britains*, desired to take the King for their Lord. ’ But in this the *Welsh* Chronicles are wholly silent, as commonly they are of any action that tends to the lessening of their Countrey.

‘ Out of *Wales* the King marched to *Snottingaham*, and took the Town, ‘ and commanded it to be repaired, and Garison’d with *Danes* as well as ‘ *English*; and then all the people in the Province of *Mercia*, of both ‘ those Nations came over to him.

This year also (according to *Florence*) *Athelward*, Brother to King *Edward* died, and was buried at *Winchester*: This is that Learned Prince, Son to King *Alfred*, whose Character we have already given.

Anno Dom. Dcccxxiii. ‘ This year King *Edward* carried his Army about the end of Autumn, ‘ to *Thælwæle*, (that is, *Thælwalle* in *Cheshire*, and which is supposed to ‘ have been so called from its being encompassed at first with a Wall ‘ made of Bodies of Trees, called in the *Saxon* Tongue *Thæl*), where ‘ he ordered that Town to be repaired; and he commanded another ‘ part of his Forces, whilst he stayed there, to march out of *Mercia* to ‘ *Manigeceaster*, (now *Manchester* in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*) ‘ and order’d it to be rebuilt, and strengthened with a Garison: This ‘ year also *Plegmond* Archbishop of *Canterbury* deceased, and *Reginold* ‘ (the *Danish* King) took *Eoferwick* (that is, *York*.)

Anno Dom. Dcccxxiv. ‘ Before *Midsummer* King *Edward* marched with his Army to *Snot-* ‘ *tingaham*, and ordered a new Town to be built on the *South*-side of the ‘ River *Trent*, over-against that on the other side, and made a Bridge ‘ over the River between the two Towns; from thence the King went ‘ into *Peakland* (that is, the *Peak* in that Shire) to *Bedecanwell* (which ‘ is supposed may be *Bakewell* in *Derbyshire*), and commanded a Town ‘ to be built near to it, and to be fortified with a Garison. Then ‘ also the King of *Scots*, with all the *Scotish* Nation, and *Reginald* ‘ the Son of *Eardulph* (the *Danish* King of *Northumberland*) with all ‘ the Inhabitants of that Kingdom, whether *English* or *Danes*, together ‘ with the King of the *Stræcled Welshmen*, and all his Subjects, did chuse ‘ King *Edward* for their Patron and Lord.

But this year’s actions are placed by *Florence* of *Worcester* and *Mat. Westminster* three years sooner; which shews the Copies they had of these Annals differ’d from those we have, though which of them is the truest, I shall not now take upon me to affirm; but it sufficiently shews, that both these Copies were not written at one and the same time.

Anno Dom. Dcccxxv. ‘ And now King *Edward* deceased at *Fearndune* in the Province of the ‘ *Mercians* (now called *Farrington* in *Berkshire*); and *Ælfweard* his ‘ Son also deceased not long after him at *Oxnaford*; (i. e. *Oxford*).

But the *Canterbury* Copy of these Annals, as also *Florence* of *Worcester*, place the Death of these two Princes under the foregoing year; and indeed they seem to have been in the right. But this is most certain, that this Prince, who is called *Æthelward* by *William* of *Malmesbury*, was his Eldest Son by Queen *Ælfleda* his Wife, the Daughter of Earl *Æthelune*, and being very well instructed in Learning, did much resemble King *Ælfred* his Grandfather as well in Face as Disposition: yet though he survived his Father, he never took upon him the Title of King, because he outlived him so little a time, that he could not be solemnly *Elected* and Crowned King according to the Law and Custom of Succession in those times.

I have

I have nothing more to add to this Reign of King *Edward* the Elder, but only the Laws he made, which ſince it is not ſpecified in what year of his Reign, nor in what Common-Council of the Kingdom they were enacted, I thought beſt to refer to this place. *Anno Dom.* Dccccxxv.

"In the Preface to his Laws he ſtrictly charges and commands his "Officers, that as much as in them lies they do Juſtice according as it "ſtands in the *Judicial* Book (ſuppoſed to be ſome Book of Preſidents "or Judgments); and without all fear boldly diſpenſe common Right "to all men; and that they ſet and appoint certain days for determina-"tion of the ſeveral Cauſes depending before them.

"The firſt Law is concerning Traffick, and in way of confirmation "of the fourth Article of the League made betwixt his Father and the "*Daniſh* King *Guthrun*, ordains, that if a man will ſell any thing, he "ſhall have one to vouch and make good the ſale; and that no man buy "any thing without the Town, unleſs he have the Portreeve for wit-"neſs, or ſome other men worthy of Credit; otherwiſe he ſhall un-"dergo the Penalty of Contumacy againſt the King: This Vouching "or Warranty ſhall alſo proceed from one to another, till it end with "him who firſt ſold it: The reſt of this Law, containing in what caſes the Buyer, and likewiſe the Demandant, ſhall find ſufficient Teſtimo-mony or Oaths of the true buying of the Goods ſo bought, being long, I refer the Reader to the Law it ſelf.

"The ſecond of King *Edward*'s Laws ordains, That whoſoever denies "another man his Right either in *Bocland* or *Folcland*, demanding it be-"fore the King's Sheriff, when as he hath no Right in either, ſhall pay "to the King for the firſt Offence Thirty Shillings, and as much more "for the ſecond; and if he offend the third time, then to pay an Hun-"dred and twenty ſhillings for his Contumacy againſt the King.

"The third adjudges that for one who had forſworn himſelf, or born "falſe witneſs, no credit ſhould be given to him for the time to come, "but that he be put to *Ordeal*, in all caſes where his Oath is required.

"The fourth declares, That King *Edward* lying at *Exeter*, and con-"ſulting with his *Wiſe Men* by what means he might beſt provide for "the Publick Peace and Tranquility, it then ſeemed to them that what he "had commanded was too remiſsly executed; therefore he now required "all that will amend and reform theſe things, and would with him en-"joy common ſociety, that they would proſecute with their utmoſt ha-"tred the ſame perſons as he did both by Sea and Land; and that they "would take care not to do wrong or injury to any man. He that doth "contrary, let him (as was formerly ordained) pay thirty ſhillings to "the King; and if he offend the ſecond time, as much more; if the "third, an hundred and twenty ſhillings.

"The fifth commands, that that *Reeve* or Judge who doth not Ju-"ſtice according to the teſtimony of ſuch as are ſummon'd, pay an hun-"dred and twenty ſhillings for his Contumacy againſt the King.

"The ſixth wills, That if a Servant be accuſed of Theft, he that re-"commended him to his Maſter, or other of his Friends (if he have "any), be Sureties for him that he diſcharge himſelf of what is depo-"ſed againſt him; and if he have none to interpoſe on his behalf, thoſe "that are concerned may ſeize his Goods; but if he have neither "Goods nor Friends, let him be taken into cuſtody.

"The

Anno Dom. DCCCCXXV.

"The eighth Law enjoins that no man knowingly and voluntarily "have peace with, or harbour one that is condemned for any Crime; "he that acts contrary, and thereby breaks his Oath, and the Faith gi- "ven by him and all the people, let him undergo the Mulct prescribed "in the *Judiciary* Book; which if he refuse to pay, he is to be deprived "of the King's Favour, and all other mens Friendship, and farther for- "feit all his Estate; and if any afterwards relieve him, let him also incur "the Penalty expressed in the said Book; and farther, whosoever shall "relieve a Fugitive either in this Countrey, or in the *Eastern* or *Northern* "parts of the Kingdom, (*i. e.* in *East-England* and *Northumberland*) "let him be punished as by the Articles of Peace is ordained.

"The ninth provides, that if one deprived of his liberty for stealing, "steal again, so that all his Kindred forsake him, and none will engage "for him, he is to be set to servile and hard labour, as opportunity shall "offer, and his Kindred shall lose the valuation of his head.

"The tenth Law forbids any man to receive another man's Servant "without his leave, and that he hath fully satisfied his Master; he "that doth otherwise, shall be punished as contumacious against the "King.

"The eleventh and last commands, That about every fourth Week "every Sheriff or Judge hold the *Gemot* or Assembly, and administer "Justice to every man, and determine all Causes at the days appointed; "if he do otherwise, he is to be punished as was before said.

From all which Laws we may observe, First, That the Law concerning redeeming of all Crimes by Pecuniary Fines was not yet abolished, nor in some Ages after; but the strict Laws for vouching of Goods sold, as also against Fugitives and Runaway Servants, were but necessary in such licentious and turbulent times, when it was so very easy for Offenders to pass out of the *English* Territories into those of the *Danes*. You may also here observe the Antiquity and Power of the *County-Court*, which was then held (as now) every Month, but had much more Power anciently than at this day.

As for the Laws that follow, and which are entituled in Mr. *Lambard*'s Copy, The Ecclesiastical Laws of *Edward* the Elder, King of *England*, and *Gutherne* King of the *Danes* in *East-England*, which were first made by the Kings *Alfred* and *Gutherne*, and were now said to be again confirmed by King *Edward* Son to *Alfred*, and the same King *Gutherne*, there must certainly be an Error in the Name of the *Danish* King here mentioned, since it appears by our Annals that *Gutherne* died ten years before King *Alfred*; therefore since we do not find any other *Danish* King of this Name, we may rather suppose that these Laws were made by King *Edward* and *Eoric* the *Danish* King who succeeded *Gutherne* in that Kingdom; but be it as it will, I shall not trouble the Reader with their Recital, since they relate chiefly to Ecclesiastical Affairs, and are in most points but a Repetition of those things which had been before agreed upon by King *Alfred* and King *Gutherne* some years before.

King *Edward* dying, after four and twenty years Reign, was buried in the Monastery at *Wincheſter*, which his Father had founded, leaving by his Testament *Athelstan* his Eldest Son to succeed him; who (as *Florence* of *Worcester*, and *William* of *Malmesbury*, and most other Writers relate) was not born of the Queen, but of one *Egwinna* a Lady, the

the Daughter of a Nobleman; whoſe Name, though *William* of *Malmesbury* does not tell us, becauſe he ſays he had not found it in writing, yet the Chronicle aſcribed to Abbot *Bromton* tells us a long and improbable Story of the getting and Birth of this Prince; which being no where elſe to be found, as I know of, I ſhall here give you: That in the Reign of King *Ælfred*, when his Son *Edward* was young, there was in a Village of the *Weſt-Saxons*, the Daughter of a certain Shephard, called *Egwinna*, who falling aſleep, dreamed that the Moon ſhone out of her Womb ſo bright, that all *England* was enlighten'd by its Splendor: This Dream ſhe told to a Grave Matron, that had been Nurſe to ſeveral of the King's Children: Upon this ſhe takes her into her houſe, and educates her as carefully as if ſhe had been her own Daughter, inſtructing her ſo to demean her ſelf, as might become a Perſon both of Birth and Breeding. In proceſs of time it happen'd, that Prince *Edward*, the King's Eldeſt Son, paſſing upon ſome occaſion through this Town, thought himſelf obliged in Honour and Good Nature to viſit his Nurſe; by which means he got ſight of this Maid, and ſhe being exceeding beautiful, fell paſſionately in love with her, and by his violent Importunity he got her Conſent to lye with him, and by one Night's Lodging ſhe proved with Child, and being afterwards delivered of a Son, in reſpect to the Mother's Dream the Father gave him the Name of *Athelſtan*, which ſignifies, *The moſt Noble*. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCXXV.

If this Story be true, that he married this Woman without the Conſent of his Father, and kept the Marriage private, the Authors abovecited had good cauſe to ſuppoſe her to have been rather his Concubine than his Queen; though there be alſo other Hiſtorians, who make her to have been his Lawful Wife: But thus much is more certain, That King *Edward* had Prince *Ethelward* above-mentioned, by his Wife *Ælfleda* the Daughter of Earl *Æthelem*, as alſo another Son, called *Edwin*, of the manner of whoſe Death *William* of *Malmesbury* ſays he cannot certainly tell us; but gives us an exact account of what became of all the reſt of his Children: He had alſo by her ſix Daughters, *viz. Edelfleda*, *Edgiva*, *Ethelhilda*, *Ethilda*, *Edgitha*, and *Elgiva*; of whom, the firſt and third vowed their Virginity to God, and both of them lye buried by their Mother in the Monaſtery of *Wincheſter*; as for *Edgiva*, her Father beſtowed her upon *Charles* King of *France*; and for *Ethilda*, her Brother King *Athelſtan* beſtowed her in Marriage upon *Hugo*, a King or Prince of the *French*; and *Edgitha* and *Elgiva* their Brother ſent to *Henry* the *German* Emperor, the Second of which he married to *Otho* his Son, and the Elder to a certain Duke near the *Alpes*. King *Edward* alſo begot of his Third Wife *Edgiva*, *Edmund* and *Edred*, who both reigned ſucceſſively after their Brother King *Athelſtan*, as alſo two other Daughters, *Eadburga* and *Edgiva*; the former became a Nun, but the latter being a great Beauty, was beſtowed in Marriage by her Brother *Athelſtan* on *Lewis* Prince or Duke of *Aquitain*: But King *Edward* had ſo well bred all his ſaid Daughters from their Infancy, that they were wont all of them to beſtow their leiſure time upon good Letters, and after that were wont to exerciſe both their Diſtaff and the Needle; and in this manner they paſſed the firſt years of their Virginity: Likewiſe his Sons were ſo inured to Learning, that not being rude and ignorant in Knowledge, they became (like *Plato*'s Philoſophers) fit to Govern the Commonwealth; as our Author handſomly expreſſes it.

This

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This King ſeems by his Hiſtory to have been a Prince of great Mildneſs and Humility, as well as Courage; which appears by this Story; but tho it be not found in any of our Hiſtorians, is yet related by *Walter Mape* in his *Nugis Curialium* in Manuſcript, as follows; That when K. *Edward* the Elder came to *Auſtelin*, (I ſuppoſe, that which we now call *Auſt*, where is a Ferry to paſs out of *Somerſetſhire* into *Wales*) *Lewelyn* Prince of *North-Wales* came to *Bethefley* about a Treaty of Peace, he refuſed firſt to croſs the *Severne*; but when King *Edward* heard it, he took Boat and rowed towards him; but the Prince (being then by the Water-ſide) when he ſaw him, and knew who he was, he caſt off the Rich Robe he then had on (which he had provided for that meeting), and entring the River breaſt-high, taking hold of the end of the Boat, ſubmiſſively ſaid, *Moſt Sage King, thy Humility hath overcome my Inſolence, and thy Wiſdom triumph'd over my Folly: Come, pray Sir, get upon this Neck, which I (like a Fool as I am) have lifted up againſt thee; and thus enter that Land which thy benign Clemency hath made this day thine own:* So taking the King upon his Shoulders, and ſetting him on ſhore, he made him to ſit down upon his own Royal Robe, and putting his own hands between the King's, there did him Homage.

But this Circumſtance only ſerves to bring all the reſt of this Story into queſtion; for it is certain this Ceremony of doing Homage was not in uſe till after the coming in of the *Normans*.

Beſides, the *Welſh* Chronicles mention no ſuch thing, nor can I find any Prince either of *North* or *South Wales*, called *Lewelyn* at that time, till *Anno* 1015, in the Reign of King *Cnute*, above a hundred year after the death of King *Edward* the Elder; but perhaps the Story may be true, being told by Tradition, though the Name of the Prince may be miſtaken; and *Lewelyn* put inſtead of *Howel*, who was now King of *South-Wales*, and in whoſe Territories this Action muſt have happen'd.

But whether this Relation be true or falſe, we may from it draw this Obſervation, That it is not always Wiſdom in Princes to inſiſt too nicely upon Circumſtances, eſpecially in Ceremony, but that ſometimes to recede from them, may tend to the greater Advantage of that Prince that doth it.

King ATHELSTAN.

THE ſame year, not long after King *Edward*'s deceaſe, the *Saxon* Annals tell us, 'That *Æthelſtan* was elected King by 'the *Mercians*, and afterwards Crowned at *Kingſtune* upon 'Thames (being then a Royal Town). Note, He was crowned in the midſt of the Town upon a Scaffold built on purpoſe, whereon the Ceremony of the Coronation was performed in the open view of all men, by *Athelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with great Acclamations of the People. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCXXV.

'Alſo St. *Dunſtan* was born, and *Wulfhelme* was conſecrated Arch-'biſhop of *Canterbury*, upon the Death of *Athelm*.

From whence you may obſerve, the *Mercians* had not yet loſt their Ancient Right of chuſing their own King; and no doubt but the *Weſt-Saxons* did ſo likewiſe, though it be not particularly expreſs'd in the Annals: For an Ancient Manuſcript Chronicle in the * *Cottonian* Library, ſays only, *Electus eſt in Regem.*

And you may alſo hence obſerve, That the King's *Conſecration* or *Coronation* is placed as a different action from his *Election*; as it is alſo in the Author laſt cited, and in *H. Huntington*, who therein follow our Annals, and ſay expreſly, That he was *Elected*. But it ſeems before his Election, one *Alfred*, with ſome factious men of his Party, endeavour'd to hinder King *Athelſtan*'s coming to the Crown, becauſe he was begot on a Coucubine; which, ſays *William* of *Malmesbury*, if it were true (as he ſeems there to doubt), yet had he nothing elſe ignoble in him, for he ſurpaſſed all his Predeceſſors as well in his Devotion as his Victories: So much better is it (as he well obſerves) to excel in good Qualities, than in his Anceſtors, the former only being truly a man's own.

Hither we may alſo refer what the ſame Author tells us concerning this *Alfred* above-mentioned, out of the Preface to King *Athelſtan*'s Charter, whereby he confers the Lands once belonging to this *Alfred* upon the Church of *Malmesbury*, for the Souls of his Couſins, *Ethelred*, *Edwin*, and *Ethelwin*, there buried: And to teſtify to the world, that he gave what was his own, he there at large relates the whole Conſpiracy which *Alfred* had laid, together with his Complices, to ſeize him in the City of *Wincheſter*, and to put out his Eyes; but the Plot being happily diſcovered, and *Alfred* denying it, he was ſent to *Rome* there to purge himſelf before Pope *John*; where coming to take his Oath at the Altar of St. *Peter*, he fell down, and being carried by his Servants into the *Engliſh* School, there died the third night after: but, it ſeems, the *Pope* would not diſpoſe of his Body, till he had ſent to ask King *Athelſtan*'s Judgment what ſhould be done with it; when by the Advice and at the Requeſt of the Chief Men, the King aſſented that it ſhould (though unworthy of that Honour) be laid among the Bodies of other Chriſtians; but his whole Eſtate was adjudged confiſcated for ſo black a Treaſon.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXXV. But one of the firſt things this King performed after his coming to the Crown (as we find in *Florence* of *Worceſter*) was his beſtowing his Siſter *Edgitha* in Marriage to *Sihtric* the *Daniſh* King of *Northumberland*, who deſired the Alliance of King *Athelſtan*: And, as *Matthew Weſtminſter* relates, this Prince profeſſing himſelf a Chriſtian, was a little before his Marriage baptized; but did not long continue ſo, for he relapſed again to his former Paganiſm. And the next year,

Anno Dom. DCCCCXXVI. According to *Florence*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*, he deceaſed; after whoſe death the Lady above-mentioned retiring to her Brother King *Athelſtan*, became a Nun at *Polleſworth*.

Nor can I here omit the Falſhood of the *Scotiſh* Hiſtorians, who out of ſpight to King *Athelſtan*'s Memory, make *Sihtric* to have been poyſon'd by this Lady, whom they call *Beatrix*, and that at the Inſtigation of her Brother King *Athelſtan*; whereas her Name was not *Beatrix*, but *Edgitha*, or *Orgiva*; and was a Woman of as great Reputation for her Sanctity, as the King her Brother was for his Valour and other Noble Virtues, which render'd him above the putting his Siſter upon ſo baſe an Action.

But before I diſmiſs this Relation, I cannot omit what *John* of *Wallingford* adds concerning this King *Sihtric*, whom he calls *Sictric*; viz. That upon this Marriage with King *Athelſtan*'s Siſter, he advanced him to the Title of King, that his Siſter might not ſtoop ſo low as to that of Counteſs; and that *Sictric* then had for his Kingdom all the Countrey from the River *Theys*, as far as *Edinburgh*, from which time the *Danes* began to ſettle in thoſe parts, who before rambled about over all *England*; to which Settlement, as alſo to a freſh acceſſion of more, the *Northerly* Situation of that Countrey, lying over-againſt *Denmark*, contributed very much, as this Author well obſerves.

This year (according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*) *Sihtric* King of the *Northumbers* departed this life; ſo that it ſeems that this King ſurvived his Marriage but a ſmall time.

Alſo the ſame year (according to *Florence*) *Hugh*, the Son of *Robert* King of the *French*, married King *Athelſtan*'s Siſter; and after the death of King *Sihtric*, *Guthfrith* his Son ſucceeded him, though but for a little while; for the year following our Annals tell us,

Anno Dom. DCCCCXXVII. 'That King *Æthelſtan* expelled the ſaid *Guthfryth* King of *Northum-*'*berland*, and added his Dominions to his own: And the ſame year '*Wulfhelm* the Archbiſhop went to *Rome*.

From which Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Northumberland* we may obſerve, That as King *Edward* had before conquered the *Danes* of *Eaſt-England*, and had alſo added *Mercia* to his own Kingdom; ſo King *Athelſtan*, by the Expulſion of King *Guthfrith* (who was alſo of the *Daniſh* Race) became the firſt King that ruled all *England*, without any King under him.

Of this Prince alſo *John* of *Wallingford* relates, That being a Young Man he was ſtirred up to this Rebellion by the ſuggeſtion of the *Northumbers*, who told him that their Countrey had always enjoyed a King of their own, without being Tributary to the *Southern Engliſh*: And indeed, from the firſt arrival of the *Engliſh Saxons*, they had been never ſubject to any of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, except King *Athelſtan*: Therefore this *Guithfrith*, or *Gutred*, moved by theſe inſtigations, took upon him the Name of King, without King *Athelſtan*'s conſent, and caſting

ing out the Garisons, seized all the Forts and Castles of that Country, and flatly denied to pay the Tribute imposed upon his Father; with which K. *Athelstan* being much provoked, he not only raised great Forces of his own Subjects, but also sent for Aid to his Friends in Neighbouring Kingdoms; and so in few days gathering together a great Army, totally expell'd him his Kingdom. *Anno Dom.* Dcccexxvii.

And therefore *Alfred* of *Beverly*, an Ancient Author still in Manuscript, very well observes of this Prince, That by subduing the *Scots*, *Welsh*, and all the Kings of *Britain*, he justly deserved the Title of the first Monarch; though his Modesty was so great, that he never gave himself that Title, but left it to his Brother *Edred* to take, as shall be shewn in his Reign.

'This year *William* (Son to *Rollo*) succeeded to the Dukedom of '*Normandy*, and held it fifteen years. *Anno Dom.* Dcccexxviii.

'*Byrnstan* was consecrated Bishop of *Winchester*, and held that Bi- 'shoprick two years and an half.] The year following, *Anno Dom.* Dcccexxxii.

'*Frithelstan* the Bishop deceased.] *Florence* of *Worcester*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*, as also the Chronicle of *Mailrosse*, do all agree, that this Bishop *Frithelstan* did before his death ordain Bishop *Byrnstan* in his room; and if so, he resigned the Bishoprick of *Winchester* to him, and lived only one year after it. *Anno Dom.* Dcccexxxiii.

'Also the same year (according to our Annals) *Edwin Ætheling* 'was drowned.

This *Edwin* here mentioned in our Annals, was Brother to King *Athelstan*, whose Death being the greatest Blot of this King's Reign, divers Authors have concealed it; but notwithstanding, it is thus given us by *William* of *Malmesbury*, and the Chronicle called Abbot *Bromton*'s; *Alfred* above-mentioned having conspired against King *Athelstan*, (as you have already heard) had several Complices in that Treason; and there were not wanting some Court-Sycophants to accuse Prince *Edwin* of being in that Plot, for he was the eldest Legitimate Son then living of King *Edward* by his Lawful Wife; since therefore the apprehension of a Rival usually overpowers all Obligations both of Friendship and Nature, though *Edwin* both by Word of Mouth, and by Oaths and Imprecations, protested his Innocence; yet all this would not prevail against these Court-Whisperers, who affirmed that if he were only banished, he would be commiserated by Foreign Princes, and still more endanger the King's safety; whereupon such a way was found out, that under the Notion of Banishment he might with the least appearance of Cruelty be dispatch'd: In short, an old rotten Vessel was provided, and only the Prince and his Esquire were put into it, without any Pilot or other body to steer or manage it; and thus for some time they weather'd it at Sea; but the Young Prince being brought up tenderly, and not used to hardship, despairing of his Life, cast himself headlong out of the Vessel, and so perished in the Ocean; whilst his Servant being more couragious, was resolved to save himself if he could; and meeting with better fortune, was driven on shore at a place called *Whitsand*, on the Coast of *Picardy*, not far from *Dover*.

The Fact was not long done, before *Athelstan* sorely repented of it; which he is said by a Seven Years Penance to have testified to the world, as also by the Punishment of him who was the principal Instrument in this *Fratricide*, and had whispered this Jealousy into his Breast,

Anno Dom. DCCCCXXXIII. who being his Cup-bearer, as he was going to preſent a Cup of Drink to him, one of his Feet ſlipped; but by the Nimbleneſs of the other recovering himſelf, he ſaid, *Thus one Brother helps another*; which the King hearing, and ſadly calling to mind how little he himſelf had aſſiſted his Brother, oppreſſed by the Calumnies of this Paraſite, cauſed him to be put to death.

This is the Tale told by *William* of *Malmesbury*, and the other Author; the latter of whom delivers it as a certain Truth, whilſt the former tells it only as an old Story, ſung in certain Ballads, and of which he himſelf doubted the Truth. But *Buchanan* the *Scotch* Hiſtorian (I ſuppoſe out of malice to this King's Memory for routing his Countreymen) makes King *Athelſtan* not only to have procured the Death of his Brother *Edwin*, but alſo of his Father King *Edward*, whom he therefore fancies to have been called *Edward* the *Martyr*; and not content with this neither, he adds, that he put his Brother *Edred* to death alſo: Yet certainly there can ſcarce be more Miſtakes committed in ſo few Lines than he has been guilty of in theſe; for in the firſt place it is agreed by all our Hiſtorians, that King *Edward* died a Natural Death; and as for him whom he calls the *Martyr*, he was the Son of King *Edgar*; nor did he begin to reign till above an hundred and fifty years after, as ſhall be ſhewn when we come to his Reign.

But as for what *Buchanan* objects againſt ſome of our later Hiſtorians, for making *Athelſtan* to be King of all *Britain*, and to have reſtored *Conſtantine* King of *Scots* to his Kingdom, and to have forced him to do him Homage for it; we muſt confeſs, that *Buchanan* is ſo far in the right, that neither our *Saxon Annals*, nor *Marianus Scotus*, nor *Florence* of *Worceſter*, mention any thing of it, though they all do relate the great Victory which King *Athelſtan* obtain'd over the *Scots*, but yet are wholly ſilent either about his driving of the King of *Scotland* out of his Kingdom, or of cauſing him to do him Homage for reſtoring him to it. This is to ſhew, that I would not be partial to the Hiſtorians of our own Countrey, as if they could not alſo be ſometimes guilty of great Errors; and therefore I thought good to take notice of it here.

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But as for the Cauſes of this War made by King *Athelſtan* againſt *Scotland*, ſince not only our Annals but many of our other Authors are ſilent in it, we muſt ſupply that defect from *William* of *Malmesbury*, and *Roger Hoveden*, and the Chronicles of *Mailroſſe*, who relate, that *Anlaf* the Son of *Sihtric* King of *Northumberland*, having fled into *Ireland*, and the late King *Godefrid*, his Brother, into *Scotland*, King *Athelſtan* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantine* King of *Scots*, demanding the Fugitive to be given up to him, or elſe upon his Refuſal denouncing a ſpeedy War againſt him, which War indeed he made; for marching into *Scotland* with a great Army both by Sea and Land, he drove his Enemies before him as far as *Dunfeodor* and *Wertermore*, and by Sea as far as *Cathneſs*; but *Malmesbury* affirms, that they not daring in any thing to diſpleaſe him, went to a place called *Dacor* (or *Dacre*) in *Cumberland*, where each ſurrender'd up himſelf and all his into the hands of the *Engliſh* King, who was Godfather to the Son of *Conſtantine*, and now ordered

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tion, which to tranſlate *verbatim* would be ridiculous; but the Subſtance of it is thus; 'That this year King *Athelſtan* and his Brother *Eadmund* 'Ætheling overcame the *Scots* in Battel about *Brunanburh* (now *Brom-* 'rige in the County of *Northumberland*, as *Cambden* ſuppoſes) breaking 'through their Works, and killing many of their Noblemen; ſo that 'both Armies fighting from Sun-riſing to Sun-ſet, there periſhed a 'great multitude of *Scots*, *Iriſh*, and *Danes*.] For it ſeems by *Florence* of *Worceſter*, that another *Anlaf*, Son to the King of *Dublin*, being excited by his Father-in-Law, King *Conſtantine*, had ſail'd up the River *Humber* with a great Fleet, and landing, King *Athelſtan* and his Brother *Edmund* met them with a powerful Army at the place above-mentioned; and if ſo, it could not be in *Northumberland*, as Mr. *Cambden* ſuppoſes, but rather in *Yorkſhire* or *Lincolnſhire*.

But to proceed with our Annals; the Succeſs of this Fight was, 'That the *Engliſh-Saxons* towards the latter end of the day utterly rout-'ed and put to flight the Enemies Forces, and purſued them as long as 'day-light laſted; ſo that in that place there fell no leſs than five Kings, 'beſides ſeven other Commanders on *Anlaf*'s ſide, (not reckoning thoſe 'of the Naval Forces, and the *Scots* Fleet, who were kill'd without 'number); ſo that *Anlaf* was forced to ſave his Life by going on board 'his Ships with a ſmall Company; as alſo one *Froda* by flight returned 'into his own Countrey.] This *Froda* was (it ſeems) ſome *Norman* or *Daniſh* Commander, who came to aſſiſt *Anlaf*.

'Neither could King *Conſtantine* brag much of the ſucceſs of this 'Fight among his Relations, for they moſt of them fell that day in Bat-'tel, the King leaving his Son dead upon the Spot behind him, having 'received many Wounds. Nor could King *Anlaf* himſelf boaſt of 'much better good fortune, for they had all reaſon enough to repent 'their having tried the Valour of theſe *Engliſh* Princes. And not only 'the *Scotch* but *Iriſh* King with great difficulty got home to *Diſiline* '(now *Dublin*) in *Ireland*. But King *Athelſtan* and the Prince his Bro-'ther return'd home with Honour and Glory into their own Countrey, 'leaving their Enemies Carcaſſes to be devoured by the Fowls of the 'Air, and Beaſts of the Field; inſomuch that there never was a greater 'Slaughter in this Iſland mentioned by Hiſtorians, ſince the time that 'the *Engliſh-Saxons* conquered this part of *Britain*.

So far you have from the *Peterburgh* Copy of theſe Annals; but that in the *Cottonian* Library ſays no more, than that 'This year King *Athel-'ſtan* and King *Eadmund* his Brother led their Army to *Brunanburgh*, and 'there fighting with *Anlaf*, by the help of Chriſt obtained the Victory.

But having given you a ſhort Relation of this Battel from the *Saxon Annals*, who only relate the Succeſs of this Fight, without giving us any Cauſes or other Circumſtances of it; I ſhall both from *Ingulph*, as alſo from *William* of *Malmesbury*, give you a more perfect Account of it; which is thus:

Conſtantine King of the *Scots* being exaſperated by the late Invaſion made in his Kingdom, joined with *Anlaf* the Son of *Sihtric* (whom *Florence* more probably ſuppoſes to have been not this *Sihtric*, but ſome other of his name, who was King of *Ireland* and the Iſles adjacent, and had married the Daughter of King *Conſtantine*) who alſo drew in *Eugenius* Prince of *Cumberland*, with great Forces which he had raiſed out of ſeveral Countries, to their Aſſiſtance; and after near four years prepa-

preparation, they invaded *England* by the River *Humber*, and paſſed through the Countrey to a place called *Brunanburgh*, or *Bruneford*; *Athelſtan* all this time feigning a Retreat, on purpoſe that he might obtain ſome better advantage againſt them, as ſome write; or, as others, that they being fearful to grapple with him; *Anlaf* perceiving with whom he had to do, puts off his Royal Habit, and becomes a Spy upon him in the Diſguiſe of a Muſician, attending with an Harp in his Hand at *Athelſtan*'s Tent; by which means he was eaſily admitted into the King's Preſence, diverting them by his Muſick, till ſuch time as they having eaten and drank ſufficiently, they began to debate ſeriouſly about the Work they had in hand; and he all the while made what Obſervation he could; at laſt, when he had received his Reward, and was commanded out of the Tent, he ſcorning to carry the Money away with him, hid it in the Earth, which a certain Soldier who had formerly ſerved him, taking notice of, thereby came to know him, and after he was gone, acquainted the King who he was; but being blamed for not giving him more timely notice, the Soldier excuſed it, as having formerly taken a Military Oath in *Anlaf*'s Service; affirming, that had he betrayed *Anlaf*, he himſelf to whom now he was in the ſame Relation, might have expected no better Fidelity; but however, he adviſed King *Athelſtan* to remove his Tent into another place: This Advice was looked upon as good and wholſome, and indeed, how ſeaſonable it proved, very ſhortly appeared; for a certain Biſhop coming to the Camp that night, pitched his Tent in the ſame place; when *Anlaf*, with a deſign to deſtroy the King, aſſaulted that part of the Camp, being ignorant of what had paſſed, and eaſily killed the Biſhop with all his Followers. *Anno Dom.* DCCCXXXVIII.

Ingulph (who ſeems more exact than any other Hiſtorian in this matter) writes, That *Anlaf*, tho he had brought with him an infinite multitude of *Danes*, *Norwegians*, *Scots*, and *Picts*, yet either out of Diffidence, or Craft familiar to his Nation, choſe rather by night to ſurprize his Enemy, than fairly to give him Battel in the open field, and by daylight; ſo he fell ſuddenly upon the *Engliſh*, and kill'd a Biſhop who was come but the Evening before to the Camp, which cauſing a great Clamour and Tumult, the King, tho a Mile off, took the Alarm with his whole Army, who putting themſelves into ſuch order as the Surprize would permit, by break of day came up to the Enemy, where finding them tir'd and diſorder'd by their late March for want of ſleep, King *Athelſtan* in Perſon leading on the *Weſt-Saxons*, fell upon *Anlaf* himſelf, whilſt *Turketul* his Kinſman and Chancellor, (who had the Conduct of the *Londoners*) and the *Mercians*, aſſaulted *Conſtantine* the *Scotiſh* King; their Miſſil Weapons being quickly ſpent, they came to handblows, and to fight it out with Sword and Buckler, where many of them loſt their Lives, and the Carkaſſes of mean perſons lay confuſedly together with the ſlain Bodies of Princes, Death making no diſtinction. The Diſpute continuing very long and violent by reaſon the multitude of Enemies was ſo great, *Turketul* took with him ſome of the *Londoners* whom he knew to be moſt valiant, and a Captain of the *Worceſterſhire*-men, called *Singin*, one of approved Courage, who being taller than the reſt, and of well compacted Limbs, and the ſtouteſt of all thoſe *London* Heroes that accompanied him; then *Turketul* ruſhing into the very midſt of his Enemies, and laying vigorouſly about

Anno Dom. DCCCCXXXVIII. about him, hewed down whole ranks of men on both sides of him, insomuch that he passed through whole Troops of *Orcadians* and *Picts*, bearing a Wood of Arrows on his Breast-plate, and making his way through whole Companies of *Cumbrians* and *Scots*, he at length reached *Constantine* himself, whom he dismounted, and would have taken alive; but the *Scots* were so concerned for their King, that they had a very smart Conflict about him, and many of them pressing upon the few *English* that followed him, and all of them aiming chiefly at *Turketul*, he began to repent of his Rashness, seeing no means either of escaping himself, or getting off his Prisoner; when on the sudden Captain *Singin* coming in afresh to his Rescue, killed King *Constantine:* And now their King being slain, the *Scots* were so discouraged, that they soon retired; and the Report of their Discomfiture flying about the Army, *Anlaf* and all his Followers ran away, after an incredible Slaughter of *Danes* and *Scots* upon the place.

So much *Ingulph* relates, for the greater Honour of this *Turketul*, the Chancellor, who was afterwards Abbot of the Abby of *Croyland*, and his Predecessor in the Government of that Monastery, where he left a large Memorial of his Secular Employments. And the same Author farther adds, that besides *Constantine*, five other Kings were there slain, twelve Earls, and an infinite number of Common Soldiers.

But though *Ingulph* and *William* of *Malmesbury* do thus confidently relate *Constantine* King of *Scots* to have been slain in this Battel, yet all the *Scotch* Historians, as well as our own Annals asserting the contrary, it is not to be insisted on as true, and therefore I shall pass it by; yet granting he was not kill'd in that Battel, *John Fordon* and *Buchanan* do both agree, that he became not long after dead to the world; for being quite tired out with his late ill success, he professed himself a Monk amongst the *Culdees* of St. *Andrews*, (an Order of Monks so called) of whom this King became Abbot. But the *Scotch* Historians do all confess the greatness of the Victory on the *English*, and the great Loss on their own side; acknowledging the Fall of *Eugenius* King of *Deira*, (whom our Historians call King of *Cumberland*), but will not own King *Constantine* to have been so much as present at this fight, but only *Malcolme* his Cousin, who upon his retiring into a Monastery, was declared King in his room: Yet *Hector Boethius*, and *Buchanan*, to lessen this Victory as much as they can, do suppose, (though I do not know from what Authority, since *Fordon* mentions no such thing) "That the "*English* under King *Athelstan* being much weaker in Forces, he was "fain to supply that by Cunning and Artifice; and having strengthen'd "his Army by fresh Supplies, he commanded them at the first Onset to "make as if they fled, and when they found the Enemy had broken their "Ranks, to turn again on their Pursuers; which being punctually ob-"served by King *Athelstan*'s Army, the *Danes* and *Scots* supposing "themselves to be *Victors*, immediately fell to spoiling the Enemies "Camp; and thereupon a Sign being given by King *Athelstan*, they fell "upon the Enemy, now laden with Prey, and destroyed them like so "many Sheep, insomuch that in this Fight most of the *Scotch* Nobi-"lity were slain, whilst they rather chose to dye than to survive the Ig-"nominy of having deserted their Companions.

But this sounds very Romantick, as does also his Relation of the Battel, which neither agrees with the plain downright way of fighting used

uſed in that age, nor with the Stout and Martial Genius of this King: But let the Manner of gaining the Victory be as it will, they all agree upon the Effect of it; That King *Athelſtan* (his Enemies being aſtoniſh'd with ſo great a loſs) took *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland* from the *Scots*, and recovered *Northumberland* from the *Danes*. *Anno Dom.* Dcccexxviii.

But ſince the *Monks* will ſcarce let ſo great a Victory paſs without a Miracle, I cannot forbear relating what *Fordun*, and the Chronicle aſcribed to Abbot *Bromton*, have related from a certain Legend of St. *John* of *Beverly*; *viz.* That King *Athelſtan* going to make War againſt the *Scots*, and by the way paying a Viſit to the Tomb of that Saint, there pawn'd his Knife at the Altar, promiſing to redeem it at his return; but when they had thus fought againſt the *Scots*, he begged of God a Sign, whereby it might appear to future Ages, that they were juſtly vanquiſhed by the *Engliſh*; and thereupon the King ſtriking a certain Rock with his Sword near the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, he made a Gap in it an Ell deep; this Miracle is ſo groſs, that even *John Fordon* himſelf ridicules it. But it ſeems King *Athelſtan* made good his Promiſe, and upon his return with Victory, enrich'd the Church of St. *John* with great Poſſeſſions; and ſo, I ſuppoſe, got his Knife again.

As for the other Miracle related alſo by the Monks, of King *Athelſtan*'s Sword being loſt out of the Scabbard juſt when he was ready to fight, and another was by Miracle put in the place, at the Prayers of Archbiſhop *Odo*; which Sword they pretend was kept in the King's Treaſury; it is no leſs a Wonder than the former; and one ſuch as theſe is enough at one time.

This year (according to *Florence*) King *Athelſtan* founded the Abby of *Middleton* in *Dorſetſhire*, to expiate the Death of his Brother Prince *Edwin*, whom through falſe ſuggeſtions he had deſtroy'd, (as you have already heard). *Anno Dom.* Dccccxl.

About this time alſo (according to the *Welſh* Chronicle) *Howel Dha*, Prince of *South-Wales* and *Powis*, after the death of *Edwal Voel*, his Couſin, Prince of *North-Wales*, took upon him the Government of all *Wales*, the Sons of *Edwal* being then in Minority. This *Howel* made that Excellent Body of Laws that go under his Name, and which you may find in Sir *H. Spelman*'s firſt Volume of Councils: This Prince, for his Diſcreet and Juſt Government, not only made himſelf highly beloved, but alſo rendred his Memory very glorious to After-Ages.

But it ſeems King *Athelſtan* did not long ſurvive this Victory; for (as our Annals relate) 'he deceaſed this year on the 6th *Kal. Novemb.* juſt 'Forty years after the death of King *Alfred* his Grandfather, having 'reigned Fourteen Years and Ten Months:] But there is certainly an Error in this Account; for either this King muſt have reigned a year leſs, or elſe the King his Father muſt have died a year ſooner than our Annals allow him; and perhaps with greater Certainty; for *Florence* of *Worceſter* places his Death in *Anno Dom.* 924. *Anno Dom.* Dccccxli.

Nor can we before we finiſh this King's Life, omit taking notice, That *Bromton*'s Chronicle and other Modern Writers do place the long Story of the *Danes* invading *England* in this King's Reign; and that one *Guy* Earl of *Warwick* returning home by chance from the *Holy Land* in the Habit of a Pilgrim, juſt when King *Athelſtan* was in great diſtreſs for a Champion to fight with one *Colebrand* a monſtrous *Daniſh*

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Gyant, whom the King of the *Danes* had ſet up to fight with any Champion the *Engliſh* King ſhould bring into the field; that Earl *Guy* accepted this Challenge, and without being known to any man but the King, fought the Gyant near *Wincheſter*, and killing him, the *Danes* yielded the Victory; whilſt Earl *Guy* privately retired to a Hermitage near *Warwick*, and there living a Hermit's life, ended his days.

But though *John Rouſe* in his Manuſcript Treatiſe *de Regibus Anglorum*, places this Action under *Anno* 926, as ſoon as ever King *Athelſtan* came to the Crown; and that *Tho. Rudburne* in his Hiſtory of *Wincheſter* ſays, That this Gyant's Sword being kept in the Treaſury of the Abby of *Wincheſter*, was ſhewn in his time; yet ſince neither the *Saxon* Annals, nor any other Ancient Hiſtorian, mention any Invaſion of the *Danes* in this King's Reign, nor any thing of ſuch a Combat, it ought to be looked upon as a *Monkiſh* Tale, only fit for Ballads and Children.

But ſince the Monks are very profuſe in the Praiſes of this Prince, I will give you *William* of *Malmesbury*'s Character of him; That as for his Perſon, he did not exceed the ordinary Stature, being of a ſlender Body; his Hair (as he had ſeen by his Reliques) was Yellow; that as for his Natural Temper and Diſpoſition, he was always kind to *God's Servants* (*i. e.* the Monks), for there was ſcarce a Monaſtery in *England*, but what had been adorned by him with Buildings, Books, or Reliques. And though he was grave and ſerious amongſt his Nobles, yet was he affable to the Inferior ſort, often laying aſide the Majeſty of a King, to converſe the more freely with ordinary men. This made him as much admired by his Subjects for his Humility, as he was fear'd by his Enemies and Rebels for his Invincible Courage and Conſtancy.

An Eminent Inſtance of this was, in that he compell'd the Kings of *North-Wales* (for ſome time ſtanding out) to meet him at *Hereford*, and ſubmit themſelves to him: I wiſh our Author had told us the Year when it was done, ſince our Annals have wholly omitted it; for tho *Ran. Higden* in his *Polychronicon* has put it under *Anno* 937; and alſo relates from *Alfred* of *Beverly*, that this King reſtored both *Conſtantine* King of *Scots*, and *Hoel* King of the *Britains*, to their Kingdoms; ſaying, *It was more glorious to make a King, than to be one*; yet I do not ſee any Authority for it: But this is agreed upon by all, That *Athelſtan* did about that time enter *Wales* with a powerful Army, and effected what no King had ever preſumed to think of before; for he impoſed a Yearly Tribute upon thoſe Kings, of Twenty Pounds in Gold, and Three hundred Pounds in Silver, and Twenty five thouſand Head of Cattel. Yet the Laws of *Howel Dha* appointed the King of *Aberfraw* to pay yearly to the King of *London*, no more than Sixty ſix Pounds for a Tribute, beſides Hawks and Hounds.

John of *Wallingford* makes this King the firſt who reduced all *England* into one Monarchy, by his Conqueſt of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Wales*; yet that he was in his own nature a Lover of Peace; and whatever he had heard from his Grandfather, or obſerved in his Father, he put in practice, being Juſt in his Judgments, and by a happy conjunction of many Virtues, ſo beloved by all men, that to this day Fame, which is wont to be too ſevere to the Faults of Great Men, can relate nothing to his prejudice.

William of *Malmesbury* alſo gives us a ſhort Account of his Life and Actions from his very Childhood; wherein he tells us, That this Prince when

when he was but a Youth, was highly beloved by his Grandfather King *Alfred*, inſomuch that he made him a Knight, girding him with a Belt ſet with Precious Stones, and whereat hung a Golden-hilted Sword in a Rich Scabbard; after which, he was ſent to be bred under his Uncle *Ethelred* Earl of *Mercia*, to learn all thoſe Warlike Exerciſes that were befitting a Young Prince. *Anno Dom.* Dcccxli.

Nor does he only relate him to have been Valiant, but alſo competently Learned, as he had been informed from a certain old Author he had ſeen, who compared him to *Tully* for Eloquence; though (as he rightly obſerves) the Cuſtom of that Age might very well diſpenſe with that Talent; and perhaps a too great Affection to King *Athelſtan*, then living, might excuſe this Author's over-large Commendations.

But this muſt be acknowledged, that all *Europe* then ſpoke highly in his Praiſe, and extoll'd his Valour to the Skies; Neighbouring Kings thinking themſelves happy if they could purchaſe his Friendſhip either by his Alliance, or their Preſents. *Harold* King of *Norway* ſent him a Ship whoſe Stern was Gilded, and its Sails Purple; and the Ambaſſadors by whom he ſent it, being Royally received in the City of *York*, were rewarded with Noble Preſents. *Hugh* King of the *French*, ſent *Anwulf*, Son of *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, (Grandſon to King *Edward* by *Æthelſwine* his Daughter) as his Ambaſſador, to demand his Siſter in Marriage; who when in a Great Aſſembly of the Nobility at *Abingdon* he had declared the Deſires of this Royal Woer, beſides Noble Preſents of Spices, and Precious Stones, eſpecially Emeralds, ſuch as had never been ſeen in *England* before, and alſo brave Horſes richly equipped, he ſent the King a certain Veſſel made of an Onyx, curiouſly engraven with Vines, and the Figures of Men; he likewiſe preſented him with the Sword of *Conſtantine* the Great; in the Hilt of which (being all overlaid with Plates of Gold) was ſet one of the Nails of Chriſt's Croſs; alſo with the Lance of *Charles* the Great, and the Banner of the *Martyr* St. *Maurice*, both which the ſaid King had made uſe of in a Battel againſt the *Saracens*; and a Gold Crown or Diadem ſet with Precious Stones: But that which was more Valuable than all the reſt, was a little Piece of Chriſt's Croſs, and a Bit of his Crown of Thorns, both ſet in Chryſtal, and which the King afterwards beſtowed upon the Abby of *Malmesbury*, with very large Endowments, (as appears by his Charters above-cited) and in whoſe Church he had ordered the Bodies of his Couſins *Ælwin* and *Æthelwin*, the Sons of his Uncle *Æthelward*, to be interr'd, whom he loſt in the Battel againſt King *Anlaf*: And though this King died at *Glouceſter*, yet was his Body carried to *Malmesbury*, and there interr'd with great Pomp.

There is yet to be ſeen in the ſaid Church (of which only the Nave is now left) an Image made for him in Stone, though of no Antiquity, as any one may eaſily diſcover, that obſerves it.

But ſince this King alſo made many good Laws, ſome of them which are the moſt remarkable, I ſhall here ſet down from Mr. *Lambard*'s *Saxon* Copy.

Theſe Laws were made at *Gratanleage*, in a Great Council there held by King *Athelſtan*; but the Year not being expreſs'd, it is ſuppoſed to be about *Anno* 928.

After a Religious Preface, "The firſt Law is againſt Thieves, re-"quiring that if a Thief be taken in the Fact, no man ſhall ſpare him,

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"if he be above twenty years old, and had ſtole any thing above the value "of eight pence: If any one do contrarily thereunto, he ſhall pay the "value of the Thief's Head, or make amends for the fault, and yet the "Thief himſelf ſhall not be ſpared; who if he contumaciouſly make "Reſiſtance, or fly for it, ſhall find no favour. A Thief caſt into "Priſon, ſhall there ſtay forty days, and then after the payment of an "120 ſhillings be diſcharged; but his Kindred muſt give Security for "his future good behaviour; after which, if he ſteal again, they muſt "either pay the value of his Head, or bring him back to Priſon; and in "caſe any one reſiſt, he ſhall pay to the King, or to any other whom it "concerns, the value of his own Head; and if any ſtand by him (*i. e.* "defend him) he ſhall pay to the King an 120 ſhillings.

"The ſixth Law is againſt Witchcrafts, Enchantments, and ſuch "like deeds that procure Death; that if any one by them be made "away, and the thing cannot be denied, ſuch Practiſers ſhall be put to "death; but if they endeavour to purge themſelves, and be caſt by the "threefold *Ordeal*, they ſhall lye in Priſon an hundred and twenty days; "which ended, then their Kindred may redeem them by the Payment of "an 120 ſhillings to the King; and farther pay to the Kindred of the "ſlain the full valuation of the Party's Head; and then the Criminals "ſhall alſo procure Sureties for their good behaviour for the time to "come.

"The ſame Puniſhment ſhall be inflicted on Incendiaries, and ſuch "as reſcue Thieves; nay, ſuch as endeavour to reſcue them, though no "man be wounded in the attempt, ſhall pay an 120 ſhillings to the "King.

As for Enchantments, mentioned in this Law, the *Saxon* word is *Liblacum*, which ſignifies the Art of Conjuration or Witchcraft, yet not all in general, but that ſort of it properly called *Faſcination*, or Enchantment uſed by certain *Ligatures*, *Faſciæ*, or Bands.

"The ſeventh ordains concerning ſimple *Ordeal*, That if one accuſed "ſeveral times of Theft, be caſt by it, and have no body to be Surety "for him, he ſhall be ſent to Priſon, and thence freed by his Kindred, "as was before ſaid.

"The tenth forbids any Commutation of Goods, unleſs in the pre-"ſence of the King's Reeve, the Prieſt of the Town, or the Lord of the "Soil, or ſome other credible perſon, under the penalty of thirty ſhil-"lings, and the forfeiture of the thing changed to the Lord of the Soil; "and if any ſhall bear falſe witneſs, he ſhall be infamous, and no credit "given to him ever after, and alſo ſhall forfeit 30 ſhillings.

"The twelfth confirms the firſt part of the Law of King *Edward* "the Elder, decreeing no man's buying any thing out of a Town which "exceeds the value of twenty-pence; and within the Town, unleſs in "the preſence of the Portreeve, or ſome other credible perſon; or elſe "in the preſence of the King's Sheriff or Juſtice in *Folcmote*.

"The fourteenth appoints through all the King's Dominions that one "and the ſame Money be currant, and that it ſhall not be coined out of "ſome Town; and if any Minter or Coiner ſhall embaſe the Coin, he ſhall "loſe his hand; which being cut off, ſhall be affixed to the Workhouſe: "If any be accuſed of adulterating Money, and will purge himſelf, he "ſhall by the *Ordeal* of hot Iron cleanſe his hands of ſuch wickedneſs; "but if by *Ordeal* he be caſt, then he ſhall be puniſhed as now was ſaid.

"Then

"Then follow the places appointed for Publick Mints; *viz.* at *Canter-* *Anno Dom.*
"*bury* there ſhall be ſeven Minters or Coiners, whereof four for the DCCCCXLI.
"King, two for the Biſhop, and one for the Abbot. At *Rocheſter* there
"ſhall be three, whereof two for the King, and the third for the Biſhop.
"At *London* eight. At *Wincheſter* ſix. At *Lewes* two. At *Haſtings* one.
"At *Chicheſter* one. At *Hampton* two. At *Werham* two. At *Exceſter* two.
"At *Salisbury* as many, and in every other great Town one.

"That which follows, commands, That for every Plow a man ſhall
"keep two well-furniſhed Horſemen.

Which ſhews, that this Law for the Militia's being laid according to the Rate of Eſtates, is one of the ancienteſt of this kind in *England*, as alſo the moſt general Tax, being laid upon Corn, then the moſt ſtaple Commodity of the Kingdom.

"The eighteenth forbids Horſes to be tranſported, except ſuch as are
"ſent abroad as Free Gifts or Preſents.

"The twentieth Law enacts, That if any one abſent himſelf from
"*Folcmote* thrice, he ſhall be puniſhed as contumacious againſt the
"King, if ſo be that the holding of the Aſſembly was declared a ſeven-
"night before; in ſuch caſe if he refuſe to do Right, and pays not his
"Mulct to the King, the ancient men of the Countrey are to go and
"ſeize upon all that he hath, and take Security for his appearance.

"The twenty ſecond, in confirmation of a former Law, requires,
"that no perſon receive another man's *Man* (as this Law words it)
"into his Family, without leave firſt obtained of his Maſter; he that
"doth otherwiſe, ſhall reſtore the man, and pay the Mulct of Contu-
"macy againſt the King; and no man is to put away his men accuſed
"of any Crime, till they have firſt made ſatisfaction.

By this it appears how ancient in this Nation the Cuſtom is of calling a Servant by the word uſed for the whole *Species* of Mankind, a Phraſe in uſe as well with the *Romans* and others more ancient, as with modern people.

"The twenty fourth is concerning Traffick; and in confirmation of
"former Laws ordains, That if a man buy any thing with witneſs,
"which another man challenges for his own, the Seller ſhall make it
"good, and ſecure the bargain, whether he be Bond or Free: But on
"the Lord's day no Market ſhall be held, under penalty or forfeiture
"of the Wares, and a Mulct of 30 ſhillings beſides.

The next thing that follows at the end of theſe Laws, relating to the Civil State, is the Valuation of mens Heads, which we have often heard mentioned by theſe Laws, but never yet to what it particularly amounted: Firſt then, ſaith the Text, "The valuation of the King's Head,
"according to the *Engliſh* Common Laws, is thirty thouſand *Thrymſes*,
"whereof fifteen thouſand are properly the value of his Head, the reſt
"being due to the Kingdom; ſo that the latter fifteen belonged to the
"Nation, the former to his Kindred. An Archbiſhop's and Earl's
"*Weregild* (as the *Saxons* called the valuation of his Head) is fifteen
"thouſand *Thrymſes:* A Biſhop's and *Ealdorman*'s eight thouſand. A
"General's of an Army, or an High Marſhal's four thouſand *Thrymſes.*
"The valuation of a Spiritual *Thane* or Prieſt, as alſo of a Temporal
"*Thane*, was two thouſand *Thrymſes.* That of a Countreyman (or
"*Ceorl*) by the *Daniſh* Law was 267 *Thrymſes.* But if a *Welſhman* grow
"ſo rich as to maintain a Family, have Land, and pay a yearly Rent to

"the

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"the King, he ſhall be valued at 120 ſhillings; if he poſſeſs half a "Hide of Land, at 80 ſhillings: If he have no Land, yet if he be a "Freeman, the value of his Head ſhall be ſeventy ſhillings. If a *Ceorl* "or Countreyman be ſo wealthy as to poſſeſs five Hides of Land, in "caſe he be killed, the price or value of his Life ſhall be two thouſand "*Thrymſes*; but if he come to have a Corſlet, an Helmet, and a Gilt "Sword, tho he have no Land, he ſhall be accounted a *Sithcundmon*; "and if his Children or Grandchildren ſhall grow ſo rich as to poſſeſs "five Hides of Land, all their Poſterity ſhall be reckoned as ſo many "*Sithcundmen*, and be valued at two thouſand *Thrymſes*. The *Mer-* "*cians* value a Countreyman at two hundred ſhillings, a *Thane* at twelve "hundred. They are wont to equal the ſingle value of the King's "Head with ſix thouſand Thanes, that is, thirty thouſand *Sceats*, for ſo "much is the value of the King's Head, and as much more muſt be "paid as a recompence for his death; the value of his Head belongs to "his Kindred, and the compenſation of his Death to the people. He "that is valued at 1200 ſhillings, his Oath ſhall be of the ſame eſteem "as thoſe of ſix Countreymen; for where ſuch an one is ſlain, ſix Coun- "treymen would ſatisfy over and above for the value; therefore the "value of him and all them ſhall be the ſame. By the *Engliſh* Law the "Oaths of a Prieſt and a Thane are of the like eſteem.

By theſe valuations of Heads from the higheſt to the loweſt Rank, we may perceive that in thoſe Ancient Times Puniſhments conſiſted rather in Mulcts than in Blood; contrary to our preſent Cuſtom, whereby ſmall Offences in compariſon (eſpecially if reiterated) are become Capital; which whence it hath proceeded, whether from this conſideration, that Crimes in latter Ages do more abound, or from other reaſons, is not evident. As for the *Sithcundmon* mentioned in this Law, Mr. *Somner* derives this word from *Syth* or *Gethyſa*, an Equal or Companion, and *cund* kind, and *Mon* man; ſo that he ſeems to have been one equal to a Thane.

Vid. Somn. *Gloſſ.*

King

King EDMUND.

NOT long after King *Athelſtan*'s Deceaſe, Prince *Edmund* his Brother ſucceeded him at the Age of Eighteen Years, and reigned Six Years and an half.

'This year (according to the Annals) King *Edmund*, 'Lord of the *Engliſh*, and the Protector of his Subjects, invaded *Mercia* 'on that ſide where the River *Humber* and the * Way of the *White* '*Fountain* divide the Countrey; he there took in five Cities (*viz.*) *Li*-'*goraceſter* (now *Leiceſter*), *Lindcolne* (now *Lincoln*), and *Snotinga*-'*ham*, *Stanford*, and *Deorby*, which were all before under the power of 'the *Danes*, being forced to ſubmit to them, having been long under 'their Tyrannical Yoke. *Anno Dom.* Dcccxlii.

* *This way we know not.*

This ſeems very ſtrange, for moſt of thoſe places are mentioned to have been before recovered from the *Danes* by King *Edward* his Father; and how they could be conquered again in the time of ſo great a Warrier as King *Athelſtan* was, I could not underſtand, were it not explained by other Authors.

'The ſame year King *Æadmund* received King *Anlaf* to Baptiſm, and 'ſome time after he likewiſe received King *Reginald* at his Confirmation. 'This year alſo King *Anlaf* deceaſed, and *Richard* the Elder took upon 'him the Dukedom (of *Normandy*) and governed it 52 years.

But *R. Hoveden* and *Mat. Weſtminſter* (from what Authority I know not) relate, That this *Anlaf* the *Dane*, above-mentioned, and *Norwegian* by Extract, who had been in the time of King *Athelſtan* expell'd the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, about this time landed in *Yorkſhire* with a great Fleet, reſolving to ſubdue the whole Kingdom of *England*; and marching *Southward* beſieged *Northampton*; but not ſucceeding there, he marched back to *Tamworth*, where having waſted the Countrey round about, came at laſt to *Legaceſter* (now *Weſtcheſter*); which when King *Edmund* heard of, he march'd with a powerful Army, and met him at that City, and having fought with him moſt part of the day, the two Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, ſeeing the great Danger and Hazard the Kingdom was then in, made an Agreement betwixt the two Kings, That *Anlaf* ſhould poſſeſs that part of *England* lying *North* of *Watlingſtreet*, and King *Edmund* that part which lay *South* of it, and that the Survivor of them ſhould quietly enjoy the whole Kingdom; and thereupon *Anlaf* married *Aldith a* the Daughter of Earl *Orme*, by whoſe Counſel and Aſſiſtance he obtained the late Victory. But *William* of *Malmesbury* tells this Story ſomewhat different; *viz.* That about this time the *Northumbers* rebelling, recalled this *Anlaf* out of *Ireland*, whom they made their King, but whom nevertheleſs King *Edmund* conquered, and at laſt expell'd the Kingdom, and ſo once again added *Northumberland* to his own Dominions; which ſhews the great uncertainty of the Hiſtory of theſe times.

But

Anno Dom. Dcccxlii. But *R. Hoveden* and *Mat. Weſtminſter* do further add, That when this *Anlaf* had not long after his Marriage ſpoiled and burned the Church of St. *Balther*, and had burnt *Tiningaham*; by the juſt Judgment of God, he miſerably ended his Life, but without telling us by what means.

And they both further relate, That *Anlaf* the Son of *Sihtric* after this reigned again over the *Northumbers*, and was this year expelled that Kingdom by King *Edmund*. But it ſeems *R. Hoveden* and *Mat. Weſtminſter* make this latter *Anlaf* a quite different perſon from the former, who is ſuppoſed to have reigned in *Ireland*; whereas this was the Son of *Sihtric* late King of *Northumberland*, and whom we ſhall meet with again more than once in the following Hiſtory. But *John* of *Walingford*'s Chronicle, makes this King, whom he calls *Olaf*, a *Norwegian*, whom the *Northumbers* had called in, and beſtowed upon him the Title of King, and under him rebelled againſt K. *Edmund*. As for this *Reginald* here mentioned in our Annals, I ſuppoſe he is the ſame whom *H. Huntington* calls King of *York*, becauſe he had conquered that Countrey: But tho the Hiſtory of theſe Tranſactions are very ſhort and obſcure, yet that which has been already related from theſe Authors, will ſerve to explain what would have been otherwiſe in the dark; *viz.* how the Cities and Towns above-mentioned now came to be recovered from the *Danes*, as having been taken by their King *Anlaf* aforeſaid.

Anno Dom. Dcccxliii. This year Queen *Ælgiva* was brought to Bed of Prince *Edgar* (afterwards King) as *Florence* relates: Yet ſhe lived not long after, but died the year following, according to *Ethelward*'s Chronicle.

Anno Dom. Dcccxliv. 'King *Edmund* reduced all the Countrey of *Northumberland* under 'his own Dominion, expelling thence the two Kings, *Anlaf* the Son of '*Sihtric*, and *Reginald* the Son of *Guthferth*.

But *Ethelwerd* relates this action to have been done by this King's Lieutenants; *viz.* Biſhop *Wulſtan*, and the Ealdorman of *Mercia*, whoſe Name he does not give us, only that theſe two expelled certain Deſerters, *viz.* *Reginald* and *Anlaf* out of the City of *York*, and reduced it wholly under this King's Power.

John of *Wallingford* alſo makes this *Anlaf* to be the King's Nephew, and different from *Anlaf* the *Norwegian*.

Anno Dom. Dcccxlv. 'King *Eadmund* ſubdued the whole Countrey of *Cumberland*, and 'gave it to *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, upon condition that he ſhould aſſiſt 'him in his Wars both by Sea and Land.

For the Reader is to obſerve, that hitherto the *Britains*, though much diſturbed by their Neighbours (the *Picts*, *Scots*, and *Engliſh*), had ever ſince the coming in of the *Saxons* ſtill there continued a diſtinct Principality, and after ſeveral of them had been wearied out, they retired into *North Wales*, and there erected the Colony of *Stratcluyd*, as we formerly ſaid; though the Hiſtory and Succeſſion of theſe Kings are wholly loſt, unleſs it be ſuch ſcattered Remains as we have given you in the former Book. But *Mat. Weſtminſter* (though under the next year) adds that which is very unlikely to be true, that King *Edmund* conquered this Countrey by the Aſſiſtance of *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, and put out the Eyes of the two Sons of *Dunmaile* King of that Province; though what he adds further, appears ſomewhat more probable, That he granted it to the King of *Scots* upon this condition, *viz.* To defend the *North*-parts of *England* from the Invaſion of Enemies both by Sea and Land.

Land. To which *Bromton*'s Chronicle adds likewiſe, That he was alſo to attend the King of *England* at ſeveral Great Feaſts in the year, when he held his Common Council; and that the King of *Scots* had for that end ſeveral Houſes aſſigned him to lye at by the way. *Anno Dom.* Dcccxlvi.

Alſo this year *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates, that King *Edmund* gave one of his Royal Towns, then called *Beadricesworth*, with divers other Lands, to build a Church and Monaſtery, in Memory of St. *Edmund* the Martyr, whoſe Body was there enſhrin'd.

This year likewiſe (as *Florence* relates) King *Edmund* ſent Ambaſſadors to Prince *Hugh* of *France*, for the Reſtitution of King *Lewis*; whereupon the ſaid Prince held a Solemn Council with all the Chief Men of the Kingdom concerning it: But not long after,

King *Edmund* deceaſed at the Feaſt of St. *Auguſtin*; having held the Kingdom Six Years and an half.

But the *Laudean* or *Peterburgh* Copy of theſe Annals, as alſo *Ethelwerd*'s Chronicle, place the Death of this King *Anno Dom.* 948; which without doubt is the trueſt Account.

So that he died in the very Flower of his Age, being not yet Five and twenty years old: But we ſhall give you the manner of his Death, from *William* of *Malmesbury*, as well as from other Authors, ſince he met with ſuch an End, the like to which I have not read of any other Prince, taking all the Circumſtances together: And thus we find it: He having made a Great Entertainment at a place called *Pucklekirk*, upon the Holiday of St. *Auguſtin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for all his Nobility and Chief Men, and there ſpying towards the end of Dinner a certain Notorious Thief called *Leof*, ſitting at the Table, whom he had before baniſhed, commanded *Leon* his Sewer to lay hold on him: But the Thief not only reſiſted him, but was alſo like to have killed the Sewer: Whereupon the King (leaping from the Table, and) going to reſcue him out of the Villain's hands, and having now laid hold on him, and thrown him on the ground, he twiſted his hands in his hair; upon which the Thief pulling out a Dagger, ſtabbed the King (who lay upon him) into the Breaſt, ſo that he immediately expired; but the King's Servants preſently coming in, ſoon cut the Villain to pieces; though ſome of them were firſt wounded by him. The King's Body was thereupon carried to *Glaſtenbury*, and there buried; and the Town wherein he was killed was beſtowed on the ſame Monaſtery to ſing Maſſes for his Soul. To this Place the Prince (as well as his Brother) was a great Benefactor; as appears by his recited Charter in *William* of *Malmesbury*, whereby he confers divers large Privileges upon that Abby, of which St. *Dunſtan* was then the Abbot: And it is alſo to be obſerved, that He there ſtiles himſelf in the beginning of his Charter, "*Edmund*, King of "the *Engliſh*, and Governor and Ruler of the other Nations round "about; and ſays, That with the Advice, and by the Conſent of his "Chief Men, and for the Remiſſion of his Sins, He made that Grant "to the Church of St. *Mary* at *Glaſtenbury*. This Charter bore date *Anno* 944. in Letters of Gold, and was written at the end of a Book of Goſpels which he had given to the ſame Church, moſt curiouſly bound. So that it is no wonder if he had the good words of the Monks; though he might alſo very well deſerve them; yet this laſt Action ſpeaks him to have been extremely tranſported with Paſſion, thus to debaſe the Majeſty of a King, in going about to ſeize a common Malefactor with his

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own hands; and indeed he paid too dear for thus acting below his Character.

This King made divers good Laws; which ſince the Title does not recite in what year they were made, I have referred to this place; ſome of which I ſhall here give you, tranſlated from the *Latin* Copies in Abbot *Bromton*'s Chronicle, as well as from Mr. *Lambard*'s Collection.

In the Preface of which we are told, "That at the ſolemn Feaſt of "*Eaſter* the King had held a Great Council at *London*, as well of Ec- "cleſiaſticks as Laicks, where were preſent *Odo* and *Wulſtan*, Archbi- "ſhops, with many other Biſhops, to conſult for the good of their own "Souls, and of thoſe that were committed to their Care and Govern- "ment.

At which Synod or Council were enacted ſeveral Laws; *viz.* but they being ſix in number, of mere Eccleſiaſtical Concernment, as for paying *Tithes*, and againſt Fornication with *Nuns*, and *Perjury*, I omit them.

Then follow, in *Bromton*'s Copy, ſeven other Conſtitutions of Civil Concernment, ſaid to have been made by the King, his Biſhops, and *Wiſe Men*, at *Cullington*, not extant in the *Saxon* Edition.

"The firſt of theſe requires an Oath of Fidelity to be taken by all to "King *Edmund*, in like manner as a man ought to bear Faith to his "Lord, without any Controverſy or Sedition, both in publick and pri- "vate; to love whom the King ſhould love, and to hate whom he "ſhould hate; and before the Oath be given, that no man ſhould con- "ceal a Crime in his Brother or Neighbour, more than in a Stranger.

"The ſecond, concerning the apprehenſion of Thieves, enjoins, that "if it be known for certain where a Thief is, the *Twelfhind* and *Twi*- "*hind men* (*i.e.* the former worth Twelve hundred, and the latter "Two hundred Shillings of Eſtate) ſhould combine together, and "take him either alive or dead; but in caſe any man take up a mortal "Feud againſt another for ſo doing, he is to be eſteemed as the Enemy "of the King, and all his Friends: And if any refuſe to aſſiſt in his "apprehenſion, he ſhall forfeit to the King an 120 ſhillings, and to the "Hundred 30 ſhillings.

"The fourth enjoins, That if ſeveral Thieves do ſteal, the eldeſt of "them ſhall be hanged, and each of the reſt be whipp'd thrice, and for "an Example have his little finger cut off.

This I take notice of, becauſe it is the firſt Law whereby Thieves are expreſly ordered to be hanged, without being admitted to pay their *Weregild*, or Price of their Heads.

The fifth and ſixth being againſt buying and receiving Strangers Cattel, I paſs by.

"The ſeventh enjoins, that every Perſon make his Servants, and all "that live within his Peace (*i.e.* his Diſtrict), and on his Lands, to "give Security; and alſo that all others of Ill Fame who lye under Ac- "cuſations, ſhould have Security given for them; and what Officer, "Thane, Faldorman, or Countreyman ſoever he be, that refuſeth to "do according thereunto, ſhall forfeit 120 ſhillings, and further be "deemed worthy of ſuch Puniſhments as have been before mentioned.

After theſe follow ſeven other of King *Edmund*'s Laws, found both in *Bromton* and *Lambard*'s Copies; before which alſo we find a Preface, "Wherein the King ſignifies to all his Subjects both old and young, that "he had moſt ſtudiouſly enquired in a Solemn Aſſembly of Eccleſiaſticks "and

" and Laicks, by what means the Chriſtian Life might beſt be main- *Anno Dom.*
" tained; and that it ſeemed moſt convenient to them all, that he ſhould Dccccxlvi.
" cheriſh and procure Love and mutual Friendſhip through all his Do-
" minions; for they were much troubled at the unjuſt Diviſions and
" Contentions among them; therefore the King and they did now or-
" dain,

" Firſt, That if hereafter one man kill another, he alone ſhould " bear the *Deadly Feud* or Enmity of the Kindred of the Party ſlain, " unleſs within Twelve Months by the aſſiſtance of his own Kindred, " he ſhould pay the *Weregild*, or value of the ſlain man's head, of what " condition ſoever he was; and then they ſhould not be taken for Ene- " mies; in the mean time they ſhall not relieve him, nor have peace " with him, and if they do or have, they ſhall forfeit all their Eſtate " to the King; and he that ſhall kill any man, ſhall be taken as an Ene- " my by all the Kindred of the ſlain, and they may maintain Deadly " Feud againſt him; and if any ſhall revenge himſelf upon, or pro- " ſecute any other of his Kindred beſides the Manſlayer himſelf, he ſhall " forfeit all he hath, and be taken as an Enemy both by the King and all " that love him.

Which Law was made, becauſe before this, if one man killed another, the Kindred of the ſlain had a Mortal Feud, and revenged his Death upon any of the Relations of the Murderer; as they do among the *Indians* even to this day.

" The ſecond denounces, That if a man fly to a Church, or to the " King's Town, and there any one ſet upon him, or do him harm, he " ſhall be puniſhed in the ſame manner.

" By the third, the King expreſly forbids, that any *Fyhtwite*, or *Man-* " *bote* (that is, any Fine for fighting or killing) be remitted.

" By the fourth, the King openly declares, that his Houſe ſhall afford " no ſhelter to him that hath ſhed blood, except he have firſt made ſa- " tisfaction to God, and the Kindred of the Party ſlain, and done what- " ſoever was enjoined him by the Biſhop in whoſe Dioceſs the Fact was " committed.

" The ſixth enjoins, That he that breaks the Peace, and ſets upon a " man in his own houſe, ſhall forfeit all he hath, and his Life to be at " the King's Mercy.

" The ſeventh and laſt of theſe Laws is alſo concerning Enmities or " Deadly Feuds; declaring that it is the Duty of all Wiſe Men to ſup- " preſs them, and preſcribing the way and means of doing it. As

" Firſt, That an Indifferent Friend be ſent before to the Kindred of " him that is ſlain, to ſignify to them, that he that killed him will make " all due ſatisfaction; upon which the Manſlayer ſhall be delivered into " his hands, that he may ſafely appear, and give Caution for the Pay- " ment of the value of the dead man's head; which as ſoon as he hath " done, the King's Peace is next to be made betwixt them: Then after " the end of one and twenty days, he ſhall pay *Halsfage* (according to " *Bromton*'s Copy, or as the *Saxon* Text has it, *Healfange*) that is (as " Mr. *Lambard* interprets it) that which was paid in Commutation for " the Puniſhment of hanging by the Neck, to the King or Lord. The reſt, as being tedious, I omit; for I think this ſufficient to let the Reader underſtand the nature of theſe Deadly Feuds, or Family Quarrels, among the *Engliſh* who were derived from the Ancient *Saxons*, *Ger-*

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mans, and other barbarous *Northern* Nations, that commonly maintained private Quarrels by their whole Kindred, thereby rendring their Feuds as it were Hereditary. So *Tacitus* writes concerning the *Germans*, that they were forced to take up the Quarrels and Friendſhips of their Fathers and Kinſmen.

Beſides theſe Laws before-mentioned, there is ſome other Conſtitutions aſcribed to the ſame King *Edmund*, concerning the Manner and Rites of Marriage; and though found by Sir *H. Spelman* in *Saxon* (in an Ancient Book belonging to *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Cambridge*) tacked to the Laws of King *Alfred*; yet **Bromton* reckons them amongſt the Laws of King *Edmund*, and I think they ought rather to be ſuppoſed his: They are to this effect; "That where a man reſolves to marry a "Woman with her Friends Conſent, the Bridegroom ſhall give Caution "or Security by his Friends, not only to marry her, but alſo to fulfil the "Covenants made between them, and ſhall alſo engage to maintain "her. After that, the Bridegroom is to declare what he will give his "Bride, beſides that which ſhe formerly made choice of with his good "liking, if ſhe ſurvive him. In caſe they ſo agree, it provides, that "after his Deceaſe ſhe ſhall have the one half of all his Eſtate; and if "they have a Child betwixt them, the whole, till ſuch time as ſhe mar-"ry again. Then when they have agreed on all things, the Kindred of "the Bride ſhall contract her to him, and engage for her Honeſty; and "at the ſame time they ſhall give Caution for the Celebration of the "Marriage. The reſt being not very material, I omit; and have only ſet down theſe, to let the Reader ſee the Antiquity of Covenants before Marriage, and of Bonds for the performance of them; as alſo of Jointures, the Thirds of the Eſtate not being then ſettled by Law, as *Dower*, by what I can find.

* *Col.* 861.

Having now finiſhed the Reign of King *Edmund*, I have no more to obſerve, but that though he left two Sons by the Queen his Wife, (*viz. Edwi* and *Edgar*), yet notwithſtanding his Brother *Edred* ſucceeded to him as Next Heir, (for ſo *Ethelwerd*, as well as *Florence* of *Worceſter*, ſtiles him.

King EDRED.

'THIS year (according to our Annals) *Eadred Ætheling* 'after his Brother's Deceaſe was made King, and preſently 'reduced all *Northumberland* under his Obedience: Upon 'which the *Scots* alſo ſwore to perform whatever he would 'require of them. *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxvi.

But the Manuſcript Life of St *Dunſtan*, written by a Monk of thoſe times, and which is now in the *Cottonian* Library, is much more particular concerning this King's Succeſſion; ſaying, That King *Edmund* being ſlain, *Eadred* took the Kingdom, ſucceeding to his Brother as his Heir. Which is alſo confirmed by *Florence* of *Worceſter*, who ſays, That *Edred* being Next Heir to his Brother, ſucceeded him: And *Ethelwerd* gives us the reaſon of it more fully, That he ſucceeded him *quippe ejus Hæres*, becauſe he was Next Heir. And *Simeon* of *Durham* further adds, That this King was Crowned at *Kingſton*, by *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Cleop.* D. 7.

H. Huntington and *Mat. Weſtminſter* give us the Particulars of this War againſt the *Northumbers* and *Scots* more at large; *viz.* That he ſubdued the *Northumbrians* with a powerful Army, they refuſing to ſubmit to his Dominion; and that the *Scots* thereupon being afraid, ſubmitted themſelves to him without any War at all; and that the King of the *Scots* ſwore *Fidelity to him*.

It ſeems here by *Ingulph*, that this Submiſſion of the *Northumbers* was wrought by the means of *Turketule*, Chancellor to King *Edred*, and afterwards Abbot of *Croyland*, who was now ſent Ambaſſador to the *Northumbers*, to reduce them to their Duty; which he upon his Arrival at *York* performed with that Prudence and Diligence, that he brought back the Archbiſhop and all the People of that City to their former Allegiance.

But *R. Hoveden* places the Oath taken by the *Northumbrians*, under this year; and that *Wulſtan* Archbiſhop of *York*, and all the *Northumbrian* Lords, ſwore Fealty to King *Edred*, in a Town called *Tadencliff*, though they did not long obſerve it. *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxvii.

Under this year moſt of the *Welſh* Chronicles place the death of that Worthy Prince *Howel Dha*; and ſay, That he left his four Sons, *Owen*, *Run*, *Roderic*, and *Edwin*, his Heirs of all his Territories in *South-Wales*: But as for *North Wales*, it returned to the two Sons of *Edwal Voel*, called *Jevaf* and *Jago*, (becauſe *Meyric* their Elder Brother was not thought fit to govern): Theſe, as being of the Elder Houſe, would have had the Supreme Government of all *Wales*, which, being denied them by the Sons of *Howel*, cauſed great and long Wars between them. *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxviii.

Yet notwithſtanding, other of the *Welſh* Chronicles place the death of *Howel Dha* much later, for they make him Contemporary with our King *Edgar*, as ſhall be ſhewn when we come to the Hiſtory of his Reign in the next Book.

Alſo

Anno Dom. Dccccxlvi.

mans, and other barbarous *Northern* Nations, that commonly maintained private Quarrels by their whole Kindred, thereby rendring their Feuds as it were Hereditary. So *Tacitus* writes concerning the *Germans*, that they were forced to take up the Quarrels and Friendſhips of their Fathers and Kinſmen.

Beſides theſe Laws before-mentioned, there is ſome other Conſtitutions aſcribed to the ſame King *Edmund*, concerning the Manner and Rites of Marriage; and though found by Sir *H. Spelman* in *Saxon* (in an Ancient Book belonging to *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Cambridge*) tacked to the Laws of King *Alfred*; yet **Bromton* reckons them amongſt the Laws of King *Edmund*, and I think they ought rather to be ſuppoſed his: They are to this effect; "That where a man reſolves to marry a "Woman with her Friends Conſent, the Bridegroom ſhall give Caution "or Security by his Friends, not only to marry her, but alſo to fulfil the "Covenants made between them, and ſhall alſo engage to maintain "her. After that, the Bridegroom is to declare what he will give his "Bride, beſides that which ſhe formerly made choice of with his good "liking, if ſhe ſurvive him. In caſe they ſo agree, it provides, that "after his Deceaſe ſhe ſhall have the one half of all his Eſtate; and if "they have a Child betwixt them, the whole, till ſuch time as ſhe mar-"ry again. Then when they have agreed on all things, the Kindred of "the Bride ſhall contract her to him, and engage for her Honeſty; and "at the ſame time they ſhall give Caution for the Celebration of the "Marriage. The reſt being not very material, I omit; and have only ſet down theſe, to let the Reader ſee the Antiquity of Covenants before Marriage, and of Bonds for the performance of them; as alſo of Jointures, the Thirds of the Eſtate not being then ſettled by Law, as *Dower*, by what I can find.

* *Col.* 861.

Having now finiſhed the Reign of King *Edmund*, I have no more to obſerve, but that though he left two Sons by the Queen his Wife, (*viz. Edwi* and *Edgar*), yet notwithſtanding his Brother *Edred* ſucceeded to him as Next Heir, (for ſo *Ethelwerd*, as well as *Florence* of *Worceſter*, ſtiles him.

King EDRED.

'THIS year (according to our Annals) *Eadred Ætheling* 'after his Brother's Deceaſe was made King, and preſently 'reduced all *Northumberland* under his Obedience: Upon 'which the *Scots* alſo ſwore to perform whatever he would 'require of them. *Anno Dom.* Dcccxlvi.

But the Manuſcript Life of St *Dunſtan*, written by a Monk of thoſe times, and which is now in the *Cottonian* Library, is much more particular concerning this King's Succeſſion; ſaying, That King *Edmund* being ſlain, *Eadred* took the Kingdom, ſucceeding to his Brother as his Heir. Which is alſo confirmed by *Florence* of *Worceſter*, who ſays, That *Edred* being Next Heir to his Brother, ſucceeded him: And *Ethelwerd* gives us the reaſon of it more fully, That he ſucceeded him *quippe ejus Hæres*, becauſe he was Next Heir. And *Simeon* of *Durham* further adds, That this King was Crowned at *Kingſton*, by *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Cleop.* D. 7.

H. Huntington and *Mat. Weſtminſter* give us the Particulars of this War againſt the *Northumbers* and *Scots* more at large; *viz.* That he ſubdued the *Northumbrians* with a powerful Army, they refuſing to ſubmit to his Dominion; and that the *Scots* thereupon being afraid, ſubmitted themſelves to him without any War at all; and that the King of the *Scots* ſwore *Fidelity to him*.

It ſeems here by *Ingulph*, that this Submiſſion of the *Northumbers* was wrought by the means of *Turketule*, Chancellor to King *Edred*, and afterwards Abbot of *Croyland*, who was now ſent Ambaſſador to the *Northumbers*, to reduce them to their Duty; which he upon his Arrival at *York* performed with that Prudence and Diligence, that he brought back the Archbiſhop and all the People of that City to their former Allegiance.

But *R. Hoveden* places the Oath taken by the *Northumbrians*, under this year; and that *Wulſtan* Archbiſhop of *York*, and all the *Northumbrian* Lords, ſwore Fealty to King *Edred*, in a Town called *Tadencliff*, though they did not long obſerve it. *Anno Dom.* Dcccxlvii.

Under this year moſt of the *Welſh* Chronicles place the death of that Worthy Prince *Howel Dha*; and ſay, That he left his four Sons, *Owen*, *Run*, *Roderic*, and *Edwin*, his Heirs of all his Territories in *South-Wales*: But as for *North Wales*, it returned to the two Sons of *Edwal Voel*, called *Jevaf* and *Jago*, (becauſe *Meyric* their Elder Brother was not thought fit to govern): Theſe, as being of the Elder Houſe, would have had the Supreme Government of all *Wales*, which, being denied them by the Sons of *Howel*, cauſed great and long Wars between them. *Anno Dom.* Dcccxlviii.

Yet notwithſtanding, other of the *Welſh* Chronicles place the death of *Howel Dha* much later, for they make him Contemporary with our King *Edgar*, as ſhall be ſhewn when we come to the Hiſtory of his Reign in the next Book.

Alſo

Anno Dom. DCCCCXLVIII. Also the same year (according to *R. Hoveden*) King *Edred* being much provoked by the Treachery of the *Northumbers*, laid all *Northumberland* waste; in which devastation the Monastery of *Ripun* which had been built by Bishop *Wilfrid*, was burnt: But our Annals defer this Rebellion of the *Northumbers* to the year following; 'When *Anlaf* 'again returned into the Countrey of the *Northumbers*.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXLIX. This is also confirmed by *Florence* of *Worcester*, and *H. Huntington*; *viz.* That King *Edred* being returned into the *Southern* parts of the Kingdom, *Anlaf* who had been formerly expell'd the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, returned thither with a great Navy, and being received with joy by the people, was again restored to his Kingdom.

Anno Dom. DCCCC. About this time, *Jago* and *Jevaf*, Princes of *North-Wales*, entred *South-Wales* with a great and powerful Army, against whom came over the Eldest Son of *Howel* with his Brethren, and fought a Battel at the Hills of *Carne*, where *Jevaf* and *Jago* obtained the Victory. And the year following, the same Princes twice invaded *South-Wales*, and spoiled *Dyvet*, and slew *Dunvallon*, Lord thereof. And, to place these *Welsh* Wars together, in the year 952. the said Sons of *Howel Dha* gathered their Forces together against *Jevaf* and *Jago*, and entred their Countrey as far as the River *Conwy*; where they fought a cruel bloody Battel, at a place called *Gwrhustu*, or *Llanrwst*, Multitudes being slain on both sides, as *Edwin* the Son of *Howel Dha*, with other *Welsh* Princes; and the Sons of *Howel* being vanquish'd, *Jevaf* and *Jago* pursued them as far as *Cardigan*, destroying their Countrey with Fire and Sword.

Anno Dom. DCCCCLI. 'This year (according to the Annals) *Ælfeag* Bishop of *Winche-* 'ster deceased at the Feast of St. *Gregory*.

Anno Dom. DCCCCLII. 'The *Northumbers* again expelled King *Anlaf*, and set up *Eric* the 'Son of *Harold* for their King.

This is the same with *Eric* mentioned by *Hoveden*, who yet did not immediately enter upon the Throne (as that Author supposes) till *Anlaf* had been expell'd; but *Florence* of *Worcester* and the Chronicle of *Mailrosse*, place the expulsion of *Anlaf*, and the setting up of *Eric*, two years sooner, and perhaps with better reason: For the same year, according to *Hoveden*, King *Edred* made *Wulstan* Archbishop of *York*, close Prisoner at *Witharbirig*, because he had been often accused to him upon divers accounts; Yet *Will. Malmesbury* tells us expressly, it was for favouring or conniving at his Countreymen in their late Rebellion. But after he had kept him a long time in Prison, he thought fit to pardon him, out of reverence to his Function: And the year following, the Chronicle of *Mailrosse* relates, that Archbishop *Wulstan* being set free, was restored to his Episcopal Function at *Doncaceſter*. But this is certain, King *Edred* could not have done this till after *Eric* had been driven out (as this Author more truly reckons), tho our Annals do it the next year; saying, That

Anno Dom. DCCCCLIV. 'The *Northumbers* drove out King *Eric*, and King *Eadred* again pos- 'sessed himself of that Kingdom.] With which also *H. Huntington* agrees, tho he places it a year sooner, relating, That then the *Northumbers* being weary of the Government of this *Eric*, did as easily cast him off, as they had before lightly received him; and calling in *Edred*, they again placed him on the Throne; though this does not accord with *William* of *Malmesbury* his Account, that King *Edred* expell'd *Eric* by force,

force, and wasted all that Kingdom with fire and sword. After which the *Northumbrians* being wholly subdued, were no more governed by Kings but Earls; a Catalogue of which *Roger Hoveden* hath there given us, as far as the Conquest.

King *Edred* having been (as *Malmesbury* informs us) long tormented with frequent Convulsions in several parts of his Body, being admonished by Archbishop *Dunstan* of his approaching death, did not only bear that affliction with Patience, but spending his time in acts of Devotion, made his Palace a School of all Vertues, and being at length consumed by a tedious long sickness, he (according to the Annals) departed this life at the Feast of St. *Clement*, in the very flower of his Age, to the great grief of all his Subjects, after having Reigned Nine Years and an half. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLV.

But the Manuscript life of St. *Dunstan* (already cited) is much more particular as to the Disease he died of, *viz.* that not being able to swallow his Meat, he could only eat Broth, so that being wasted away, he died.

This Relation of King *Edred*'s not being able to swallow his Meat, gave occasion to *John* of *Wallingford* absurdly to tell us in his Chronicle (not long since Printed) that King *Edred* having his Teeth fallen out by reason of Old Age, could not Chew his Meat, and the Broths they made for him were not sufficient to keep him alive, and so he died of Hunger. Edit. Oxon. 1691.

But this is altogether as true as the story that follows, not only in this Author, but in most other Monkish Writers of the History of those times (from the Relation of the above-cited Author of St. *Dunstan*'s Life) that St. *Dunstan* hearing how dangerously Ill the King was, and making haste to Visit him before he died, as he rode on the way thither, there came a Voice from Heaven, which cried aloud to him, *King* Edred *is now dead*; at which all present being astonished, the poor Horse, upon which St. *Dunstan* was then Mounted, immediately fell down dead. But *William* of *Malmesbury*, though he mentions this story of the Voice, yet is so wise as to pass by the death of the Horse, being sensible it was a Pill too large to be easily swallowed.

As for the Character of this King, the Monkish Writers of those times, give him that of a most Vertuous and Pious Prince; and as to his Valour, *William* of *Malmesbury* saith, he was not inferior in Magnanimity to either of his Brothers; he was also the first King of *England* who (as I can find) stiled himself *Rex Magnæ Britanniæ*, King of *Great Britain*, in a Charter to the Abbey of *Croyland* recited by *Ingulphus*; as also in another Charter to the Abbey of *Reculver*; in *Monast. Anglic.* he stiles himself *Totius Albionis Monarchus*, i. e. Monarch of all *England*; In which Stile he was also followed by his Nephew King *Edgar*; from whence we may observe, That King *James* was not the first who took upon him the Title of King of *Great Britain*, though as being also King of *Scotland*, he did much better deserve it than the former. Vol. I.

But as for King *Edred*, he could not fail of the good will of the Monks, since the same Manuscript Author of St. *Dunstan*'s Life relates, That he put such great confidence in that Holy Abbot, that he committed the chief Muniments and Treasures of his Kingdom to his Care, to be kept at his Abby of *Glastenbury*; and that as the King lay on his Death-

Anno Dom. DCCCCLV.

Death-bed, St. *Dunſtan* was then carrying them back to him to be diſpoſed of as he ſhould think fit, but he juſt before received the News of his death, as you have already heard.

Nor did this King die without Iſſue (as many believe) for Mr. *Speed* proves the contrary from certain ancient Charters Cited by him at the end of this King's Life; wherein you will find that his Two Sons *Elfrid* and *Bertfrid* were Witneſſes to them, tho they did not Succeed their Father, but *Edmi* Son to his Elder Brother *Edmund*.

King

King EDWI.

'IMmediately after King *Edmund's* deceaſe, our Annals tell us, '*Edwig*, Son to the late King *Edmund* and *Elgiva*, began his 'Reign; and he baniſht St. *Dunſtan* out of *England*.] This King, as all our Hiſtorians agree, was crowned at *Kingſton* by *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; but *William* of *Malmesbury* gives us the cauſe of this Diſgrace of St. *Dunſtan*, to this effect: That this King being a Youth of great Beauty, and amorous above his years, was mightily in love with a young Lady, his near Kinſwoman, whom he fain would have married, but the Biſhops and Nobles of his Kingdom were utterly averſe to it, not only becauſe of the nearneſs of their Relation, but becauſe ſhe had none of the beſt Reputation, as to her Chaſtity. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCLV.

But though *William* of *Malmesbury* gives us all the reſt of this Story, yet I ſhall rather chuſe to take it from the * Manuſcript Life of St. *Dunſtan*, who lived about the ſame time, and out of which that Author borrowed it; and it is thus: That on the very day, that by the *common Election* of all the chief Men of *England*, *Edwig* was anointed King; after the Coronation-Dinner was over, he and the chief Biſhops and Nobility being retired into a private Room, there treating of the Great Affairs of the Kingdom, the King (perhaps at that Critical Juncture being weary of their company) ſtole into the Apartment of this Beautiful Lady, to enjoy ſome pleaſurable moments with her; which the Nobility hearing of, they highly reſented it, but none would adventure to bring him back; only Abbot *Dunſtan*, and a Biſhop whoſe Name was *Cyneſius*, the King's Couſin, went boldly into the Chamber, where they found him with his Crown off his head, lying between the Mother of this Lady, and her Daughter, upon which they not only reproved him, but putting on his Crown again, and taking him by the hand, they pulled him away from them, and carried him back by force into the Room where his Nobles were; but *Athelgiva* (for it ſeems ſo was this Lady ſometimes called) being highly provoked at this Affront, did not fail to exaſperate the King againſt *Dunſtan*; ſo that in revenge he baniſhed him the Kingdom; who thereupon (as *R. Hoveden* relates) retired to a Monaſtery in *Flanders*. * *In Bib. Cotton. Cleop. B.* 13.

Nor did the King's Reſentments ſtop here, but out of hatred to *Dunſtan*, he not only turned the Monks out of *Glaſtenbury*, but out of divers of the greateſt Monaſteries in *England*; where alſo, as *William* of *Malmesbury* words it, *his own Abbey was turned into a Stable for Clerks*; that is, Secular Chanons were put in their places, not only there, but in all other Abbeys where the Monks were expelled. *De Geſt. Pont. Lib.* 1.

But tho the King's violence to Abbot *Dunſtan*, and the Monks, is by no means to be juſtified, yet this rudeneſs to the King, and preſſing upon his privacy, and carrying him by force out of the Room from his Miſtreſs, or Wife, (for ſome Hiſtorians tell us that he had been privately married to her) can as little be excuſed: So that no wonder if a young

Anno Dom. DCCCCLV. King, and an enraged Woman, did all they could to revenge so great an Affront.

Yet it seems by the same Author of St. *Dunstan*'s Life, that Archbishop *Odo* was severely revenged on this Lady; for he not only sent Armed men, to take her out of the Court by force, but also branded her with a hot Iron on the Cheeks, to take off the King's Affections from her, and then caused her to be sent into *Ireland*; but whether this was done by the Great Council of the Kingdom, or by his own Authority, I do not find: But it seems, upon her return thence again, being on her way to the King, the said Archbishop's Officers met her, and cut her Hamstrings; so that not being able to stir, she is supposed to have died not long after, of this cruel Treatment. But however, this did not happen immediately, but some time after; for this Year all the People North of *Humber*, together with the *Mercians*, as far as the River *Thames*, rose against King *Edwi*, with an intention to expel him the Kingdom, for his violence done to the Monks; so that, as * *Osberne* in the Life of *Dunstan* relates, he was forced to fly with his Adulteress to the City of *Glocester*: But *Florence* of *Worcester*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*, are more particular in this Relation, saying, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* hating and despising King *Edwi* for his Evil Government, deserted him, and having deposed him, they *elected* his Brother Prince *Edgar* King over them; which it seems was also *confirmed by the Common Council of the Kingdom*; for the above-cited Author of the Life of St. *Dunstan*, saith it was *done by the Common Consent of all the Wise men of the Kingdom*. So that *Edwi* having no more left him than the Kingdom of the *West Saxons* for his share, the River *Thames* was made the Boundary between their two Kingdoms.

* *Vid. Ang. Sacra. Vol.* 1.

Henry de Knighton, out of some Ancient Chronicles then preserved in the Abbey of *Leycester*, here farther relates, That after the Expulsion of King *Edwi* for his Evil Life, and the Enormous Deeds which he committed against the Church, the Throne was vacant for above a year, and many Murthers and Robberies, and other Mischiefs were committed in the Kingdom, for want of Government, till some Good men of the Clergy and Laity, seeking God by frequent Prayers, heard at last a Voice from Heaven, commanding them to Crown Prince *Edgar* (being yet a Youth) their King, which they immediately obeyed.

But this sounds like a Monkish Legend, only to enhance the Excellency of King *Edgar*'s Reign, which with them must owe its Original to no less an Author than Heaven it self; but no other Historians mention any such thing, but agree that King *Edwi* was never deprived of more than the Kingdoms of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, and there was no Vacancy of the Throne, that Division being made presently upon the aforesaid Defection of the People of these Kingdoms, and immediately confirmed by an Act of the *Witena Gemote*, as hath been already related.

But however it happened, King *Edwi* was forced to rest contented with this unequal division, since not having the good-will of his Subjects, it was well he could keep what he had. From whence we may observe, how dangerous a thing it was, for Princes to provoke the Ruling Part of the Priests and People of those times, who could so easily turn the hearts of their Subjects against them.

Our

Our Annals, though they are very ſhort in this Relation, yet confirm the depoſing of King *Edwi*; *viz.* That this Year *Edgar Atheling* took upon him the Kingdom of the *Mercians*; and alſo adds, That not long before, *Wulſtan*, Archbiſhop of *York*, deceaſed.

Although the printed Copy of the *Saxon* Annals place the Death of King *Edwi* under the year 957, yet it appears by the *Manuſcript Laudean* Copy of theſe Annals, as alſo by *Florence* of *Worceſter*, that he died not till this very year; for we cannot otherwiſe make up the ſpace of near four years, which all our Hiſtorians allow to this King's Reign: Of whom they give us this Character, That though he was extraordinary Handſome, yet he abuſed that Comelineſs of his Perſon by his exceſſive Luſt; and yet we do not hear of above one Miſtreſs he kept, and that too whom he was either married to, or elſe lived withal like a Wife. But it is no wonder if he have a very bad Character of them, when the Monks, his Enemies, are the only perſons that have given it to us: But *H. Huntington*, who was a Secular Prieſt, and no Monk, is more moderate, by telling us that this King did not uncommendably hold the Scepter. But when in the beginning of his Reign his Kingdom began to flouriſh, an Untimely Death put a ſtop to thoſe happy Expectations from him. His Body was buried at *Wincheſter*, with his Uncle's. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLIX.

And with this King's Reign I ſhall alſo put a Period to this Book, leſt it ſhould ſwell beyond a due proportion.

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE

THE General History OF BRITAIN, ~~NOW CALLED~~ ENGLAND:

As well Eccleſiaſtical, as Civil.

BOOK VI.

Containing the General Hiſtory of England *from the Reign of King* EDGAR, *to the Death of King* HAROLD; *being One hundred and ſeventeen Years.*

King EDGAR.

I Have begun this Period with this Prince's Reign; for though it does not exactly divide the Space of Time between King *Egbert* and the coming in of King *William*, ſirnamed the *Conqueror*, into two equal parts, yet will it much better ſuit with the Proportion of the Books into which we have divided this Period: Beſides, King *Edgar* by again reuniting the Kingdom, and enjoying by his Valour as well as his good Fortune, a happy and peaceable Reign, though he was not the firſt Prince who took upon him the Title of Monarch of all *Albion* or *England*, as hath been already ſhewn, yet ſince all the Kings of this Iſland did willingly ſubmit themſelves to his Dominion, he ſeems to have beſt deſerved that Title, of any I can find.

King *Edwy* being now dead, as our Annals have related, King *Edgar* his Brother began to reign, not only over the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, but alſo over all the *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom; that is, (as the Manuſcript Author of St. *Dunſtan*'s Life relates) he ſucceeded in his Brother's Kingdom as Heir, and was elected by the Clergy as well as Laity, over both Kingdoms: Which is alſo confirmed by *Florence* of *Worceſter*,

and *R. Hoveden*, who expreſly tells us he was elected King by the whole *Engliſh* Nation, in the Sixteenth Year of his Age: So that (as the Annals obſerve) "In his days all things ſucceeded proſperouſly, God "giving him Peace as long as he lived, becauſe he loved his Law, and "conſulted the Good and Peace of his People, beyond all the Princes "that had been in the memory of man before him; and therefore that "he had greater Honour in all Nations round him, as well as in his "own; and he was by a peculiar Bleſſing from above ſo aſſiſted, that "Kings and Princes every where ſubmitted themſelves to him; inſo-"much that he diſpoſed of all things as he pleaſed, without fighting.

But one of the firſt things (that we find in the ſaid Author of St. *Dunſtan*'s Life) he did, was, That a great Council being held at a place called *Bradanford* (now *Bradford* in *Wiltſhire*) Abbot *Dunſtan* was by the general conſent of all there preſent, choſen Biſhop of *Worceſter*, for his great Piety and Prudence. And alſo King *Edgar* being now well inſtructed by the ſaid Biſhop and other Wiſe Men of the Kingdom, in the Arts of Government, began to diſcountenance the Wicked and Vicious, and to favour and advance the Good; as alſo to repair the decay'd and ruined Monaſteries, and then to repleniſh them with God's Servants, (*i. e.* the Monks); and in ſhort, to undo whatſoever his Brother had done before.

Anno Dom. DCCCCLXI. This year, according to our Annals, *Odo*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, dying, *Dunſtan*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, ſucceeded in the Archbiſhoprick: But in this the Author of theſe Annals is miſtaken; for *William* of *Malmesbury*, as well as other Authors, aſſure us, That it was not *Dunſtan*, but *Elfin*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who by the means of ſome Courtiers whom he had gained over to him by the prevailing Power of his Preſents, procured King *Edgar*'s Precept to make him Archbiſhop. From whence we may obſerve, That notwithſtanding the former Decrees of Synods and Councils in *England*, yet thoſe Elections which were called Canonical, were neither then nor a long time after this obſerved.

But as for Biſhop *Elfin*, he is ſaid by our Authors to have trampled upon the Tombſtone of that Pious Archbiſhop, *Odo*, his Predeceſſor, and to have uttered opprobrious Language againſt his Memory; which his Ghoſt (it ſeems) ſo far reſented, that appearing to the new Archbiſhop in a Viſion, it threatned him with a ſpeedy deſtruction; but he looking upon it only as a Dream, made what haſte he could to *Rome*, to get the Pope's Confirmation, by receiving of his Pall; but in his Journey over the *Alpes* he was frozen to death, being found with his Feet in his Horſe's belly, which had been killed and opened, to reſtore heat to them.

But no ſooner did the News arrive of *Elfin*'s death, when (according to *Florence*) *Brythelm*, Biſhop of *Wells*, was made Archbiſhop; But becauſe neither of theſe laſt Archbiſhops ever received their Palls from *Rome*, which was then counted eſſential to that Dignity, I ſuppoſe theſe two laſt were omitted in our Annals: But this *Brythelm* being not found ſufficiently qualified for ſo great a Charge, he was (as *Osbern* relates) commanded by the King and the whole *Nation* to retire; whereupon he quietly ſubmitted, and returning again to his former Church, *Dunſtan*, now Biſhop of *London*, (who alſo held the See of *Worceſter in Commendam*) was by the general Conſent of the King and all his Wiſe Men in the great Council of the Kingdom, elected Archbiſhop

of

of *Canterbury*, for his ſuppoſed great Sanctity: Of which the Monks of that Age relate ſo many Miracles, that it is tedious to read, much more to repeat ſuch ſtuff; inſomuch, that one would admire, (were it not for the extreme Ignorance of that Age) how men could ever hope they ſhould be believed in ſo ſhort a time after they were ſuppoſed to be done. *Anno Dom.* DCCCCLXI.

Such are thoſe of this Biſhop's Harp being hung againſt the Wall, and playing a whole Pſalm without any hands touching it; nay, the Monks can tell us, not only the Tune, but the very Words too. Then the ſtopping of King *Edmund*'s Horſe, when he was juſt ready to run down a Precipice, at that King's only pronouncing of St. *Dunſtan*'s Name to himſelf. Next, his often driving away the Devil with a Staff, troubling him at Prayers ſometimes in the ſhape of a Fox, ſometimes of a Wolf or a Bear. But above all, his taking the Devil by the Noſe with a Pair of red hot Tongs; who (being, it ſeems, an excellent Smith) was once at work in his Forge, when the Devil appeared in the ſhape of a Handſome Woman, but met with very rough entertainment; for going about to tempt his Chaſtity, he took his Devilſhip by the Noſe with a Pair of red hot Tongs, till he made him roar. Now if ſuch Grave Authors as *William* of *Malmesbury* are guilty of relating ſuch Fictions, what can we expect from thoſe of leſs Judgment and Honeſty?

But this muſt be acknowledged, that this Archbiſhop was a great Propagator of Monkery; many Monaſteries being either new built or new founded in his time; and the Clerks or Secular Canons of divers Churches being now to be turned out, were put to their choice, either to quit their Habits or their Places; moſt of whom rather choſe the former, and ſo gave place to thoſe who being of *William* of *Malmesbury*'s own Order, our Author calls their *Betters*.

Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* alſo exerciſed Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, without reſpect of perſons, impoſing upon King *Edgar* himſelf a Seven Years Pennance, part of which was, to forbear wearing his Crown during all that time; and this was for taking a Nun out of a Cloyſter at *Wilton*, and then debauching her. From all which we may obſerve, how neceſſary it was in thoſe days for a Prince's Quiet as well as Reputation, to be blindly obedient to that which was then called the Church-Diſcipline; ſince King *Edwin* having to do but with one Woman whom they did not like, is branded as one exceſſively given to Women; whilſt King *Edgar*, who gave many more Inſtances of his Failings in this kind, is reckon'd for a Saint. But as for this Nun, whom they call *Wilfrede*, *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, that tho ſhe were bred in that Monaſtery, yet was ſhe not then profeſſed, but took upon her the Veil, only to avoid the King's Luſt, which yet, it ſeems, could not ſecure her from it; for he begot on her that beautiful Lady *Editha*, who became alſo a Nun in the ſame Monaſtery of *Wilton*, where her Mother had been profeſſed before; and of which this Young and Virtuous Lady being made Abbeſs, died in the flower of her Age, as *William* of *Malmesbury* informs us.

The ſame Year alſo, according to the *Welſh* Chronicle, *North Wales* was ſorely haraſs'd by the Forces of King *Edgar*: The Cauſe of which War, was the Non-Payment of the Tribute due from the King of *Aberfraw* to the King of *London*: But in the end, as *John Beaver* informs

Anno Dom. DCCCCLXI.

us, a Peace was concluded on this condition, That King *Edgar* hearing the great Miſchief which both *England* and *Wales* then received by the vaſt multitude of Wolves which then abounded, eſpecially in *Wales*, releaſed the Tribute in Money, which the King of *North-Wales* was hitherto obliged to pay, and inſtead thereof engaged the Prince of *Wales* to ſend him a Yearly Tribute of ſo many Wolves Heads, in lieu of ~~that Tribute~~; which the ſaid Prince performed, till within ſome Years, there being no more Wolves to be found either in *England* or *Wales*, that Tribute ceaſed.

But to proceed with our Annals: 'This Year deceaſed *Ælfgar*, Couſin 'to the King, (and Earl alſo of *Devonſhire*) whoſe Body lies buried at '*Wilton*. *Sigeferth* likewiſe (here called a King, though he was indeed 'no more than Vice-King, or Earl of ſome Province) now made him-'ſelf away, and was buried at *Winborne*. The ſame Year was a great 'Mortality of Men, and a very Malignant Feaver raged at *London*: 'Alſo the Church of St. *Pauls* (at *London*) was this Year burnt, 'and ſoon after rebuilt; and *Athelmod* the Prieſt went to *Rome*, and 'there died.

I have nothing elſe to add that is remarkable, under this Year, but the Foundation of the Abby of *Taviſtock*, by *Ordgar* Earl of *Devonſhire*, afterwards Father-in-law to King *Edgar*; though it was within leſs than fifty years after its foundation burnt down by the *Danes* in the Reign of King *Ethelred*; but was afterwards rebuilt more ſtately than before.

Anno Dom. Dcccclxiii.

'This Year *Wolfſtan* the Deacon deceaſed, and afterwards *Gyrie* the 'Prieſt. Theſe, I ſuppoſe, were ſome men of remarkable Sanctity, in that Monaſtery, to which this Copy of theſe Annals did once belong.

'The ſame Year alſo, Abbot *Athelwald* received the Biſhoprick of '*Wincheſter*, and was conſecrated on a *Sunday*, being the *Vigil* of St. *An-'drew*: The ſecond year after his Conſecration, he repaired divers Mo-'naſteries, and drove the Clerks (*i. e.* Canons) from that Biſhoprick, 'becauſe they would obſerve no Rule, and placed Monks in their ſtead. 'He alſo founded two Abbies, the one of Monks, and the other of 'Nuns; and afterwards going to King *Edgar*, he deſired him to be-'ſtow upon him all the Monaſteries the *Danes* had before deſtroyed, be-'cauſe he intended to rebuild them; which the King willingly granted: 'Then the Biſhop went to *Elig*, where St. *Etheldrith* lieth buried, 'and cauſed that Monaſtery to be rebuilt, and then gave it to the care of 'one of his Monks, named *Brightnoth*, and afterwards made him Abbot 'of the Monks of that Monaſtery, where there had been Nuns before: 'Then Biſhop *Athelwald* went to the Monaſtery which is called *Mede-'ſhamſtead*, which had alſo been deſtroyed by the *Danes*; where he 'found nothing but old Walls, with Trees and Buſhes growing among 'them; but at laſt he ſpied hidden in one of theſe Walls, that Charter 'which Abbot *Headda* had formerly wrote; in which it appeared, that 'King *Wulfher*, and *Ethelred* his Brother, had founded this Monaſtery; 'and that the King with the Biſhop had freed it from all ſecular ſervi-'tude; and Pope *Agatho* had confirmed it by his Bull, as alſo the Arch-'biſhop *Deus Dedit*.

Which Charter, I ſuppoſe, is that, the Subſtance of which is already recited in the Fourth Book, *Anno* 656. and which I have there proved to be forged; for the Monks had then a very fair opportunity to forge

forge that Charter, and afterwards to pretend they found it in an old Wall: But letting that paſs, thus much is certain from the *Peterburgh* Copy of theſe Annals, 'That the ſaid Biſhop then cauſed this Mo-'naſtery to be rebuilt, placing a new Set of Monks therein; over whom 'he appointed an Abbot called *Aldulf*: Then went the Biſhop to the 'King, and ſhewed him the Charter he had lately found; whereby he 'not only obtained a new Charter of Confirmation of all the Lands and 'Privileges formerly granted by the *Mercian* Kings, but alſo many other 'Townſhips and Lands there recited; as particularly *Undale*, with the Hundred adjoining, in *Northamptonſhire*, which had formerly been a Monaſtery of it ſelf, as may be obſerved in the account we have already given of the Life of the Archbiſhop *Wilfrid*. *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxiii.

'The King likewiſe granted, That the Lands belonging to that Mo-'naſtery, ſhould be a diſtinct Shire, having *Sac* and *Soc*, *Tol* and *Team*, 'and *Infangentheof*, (* which terms I ſhall explain in another place); 'the King there alſo grants them a Market, with the Toll thereof; and 'that there ſhould be no other Market between *Stamford* and *Hunting-'ton*; and to the former of theſe the King alſo granted the Abbot a Mint. But as for the Names of the Lands given, together with the Limits and the Tolls of the Market there mentioned, I refer the Reader to the Charter it ſelf. Then follows the Subſcription of the King with the Sign of the Croſs, and next the Confirmation of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with a dreadful Curſe on thoſe that ſhould violate it; as alſo the Confirmation of *Oſwald* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Athelwald* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with ſeveral other Biſhops, Abbots, *Ealdormen*, and *Wiſemen*, who all confirmed it, and ſigned it with the Croſs: This was done *Anno Dom.* 972. of our Lord's Nativity, and in the ſixteenth year of the King's Reign; which ſhews this Coppy of the Annals to be written divers years after theſe things were done; as does alſo more particularly that ſhort Hiſtory concerning the Affairs of this Abby, and the Succeſſion of its Abbots for many years after this time. As how 'Abbot *Adulf* bought many more Lands, wherewith he highly en-'riched that Monaſtery, where he continued Abbot, till *Oſwald* Arch-'biſhop of *York* deceaſed, and he ſucceeded him in the Archbiſhoprick; 'and then there was another choſen Abbot of the ſaid Monaſtery, named '*Kenulph*, who was afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; he firſt built a 'Wall round the Monaſtery, and gave it the name of *Burgh*, which 'was before called *Medeſhameſted*; but he being ſometime after made Bi-'ſhop of *Wincheſter*, another Abbot was choſen from the ſame Abby, 'called *Ælfi*, who continued Abbot fifty years: He removed the Bodies 'of St. *Kyneburge*, and St. *Cyneſuith*, which lay buried at *Caſtra*; and 'St. *Tibba*, which lay entomb'd at *Rehala*, (*i. e. Ryal* in *Rutlandſhire*) 'and brought them to *Burgh*, and dedicated them to St. *Peter*, keeping 'them there as long as he continued Abbot. I have been the more particular in the Account of this ſo Ancient and Famous Monaſtery, as having been the Epiſcopal See of the Biſhops of *Peterburgh* almoſt ever ſince the Diſſolution of that Abby in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth.

* *Vid.* the Introduction.

This Year alſo (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) King *Edgar* married *Ethelfreda*, the Daughter of *Ordgar* Earl of *Devonſhire*, after the Death of her Husband *Ethelwald*, Earl of the *Eaſt-Angles*: Of her he begot two Sons, *Edwald* and *Ethelred*, the former of whom died in his Infancy,

Anno Dom. DCCCLXIII. Infancy, but the latter lived to be King of *England*. But before he married this Lady, it is certain he had an Elder Son by *Elfleda*, firnamed *The Fair* Daughter of Earl *Eodmar*; of whom he begot King *Edward*, called the *Martyr*: But whether King *Edgar* was ever lawfully married to her, may also be doubted; since *Osbern*, in his Life of St. *Dunstan*, says, That this Saint baptized the Child begotten on *Ethelfleda* the King's Concubine; with whom also agrees *Nicholas Trevet*, in his Chronicle; though, I confess, the Major part of our Historians do make her to have been his Lawful Wife. And it was upon this Pretence of Illegitimacy, that Queen *Elfleda*, and those of her Party, would have afterwards put by Prince *Edward* her Son, from being chosen King; as shall be further related in its proper place. But *Florence* of *Worcester*, and *R. Hoveden*, place King *Edgar*'s Marriage with this Lady, under the next year.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXIV. This Year King *Edgar* expelled the Priests (or Chanons) both from the old and new Monastery of *Winchester*; as also from *Ceortesige*, (or *Chertsy*) and *Middletune*, and put Monks in their rooms; he also ordained *Æthelgar* Abbot of the new Monastery, and *Ordbryght* Abbot of *Ceortesige*, and *Cyneweard* of *Middletune*. But as soon as *Dunstan* was made Archbishop, he went to *Rome*, and there obtained his Pall of the Pope.

This Year also, the *Irishmen* (according to the *Welsh* Chronicles) landed in *Anglesey*, and destroyed *Aberfraw*, and also slew *Rodoric*, one of the Sons of *Edwal Voel*, late Prince of *Wales*.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXVII. King *Edgar* (according to *R. Hoveden*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*) placed Nuns in the Monastery of *Rumsey* in *Hampshire*, which his Grandfather King *Edward* had founded, and made his Daughter *Merwina* Abbess over them.

About this time (as *Caradoc*'s Chronicle relates) there arose a great Quarrel between the two Brothers, Princes of *North-Wales*, *Jevaf* and *Jago*, who had governed jointly ever since the death of *Howel Dha*, till then; when *Jago* seizing upon his Brother *Jevaf* by force, kept him cruelly in Prison for near six years; about which time also *Eneon* the Son of *Owen*, Prince of *South Wales*, taking advantage of these Civil Dissentions, made War upon *North-Wales*, and subdued all the Country of *Gwyn*: So that it is no wonder if the *English* were too hard for these *British* Princes, since they never could agree amongst themselves.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXIX. 'King *Edgar* this year commanded all the Countrey of *Thanet* to be 'laid waste.

As *Bromton*'s Chronicle informs us, the King did not do as an Insulting Enemy, but as a King, who punished one Evil with another, because the Inhabitants of that Island had despised his Royal Laws. But *Matthew Westminster*'s account of the reason of the King's severe proceeding with them, seems far more satisfactory; *viz.* That it was because certain Merchants coming with Goods from *York*, and touching upon this Island, the Inhabitants seized the men, and plunder'd them of what they brought.

This Year also, (according to the History of the Abby of *Ramsey*) *Aylwin* the *Ealdorman*, by the persuasion of *Oswald* Archbishop of *York*, and with the consent of King *Edgar*, founded the Abby of *Ramsey*, to the Honour of St. *Mary* and St. *Benedict*, as appears by the Charter of King

King *Edgar*, which you will find at large in * *Monaſt. Anglican.* Alſo King *Edgar*, at the perſuaſion of Biſhop *Athelwald*, now cauſed the Chanons to be driven out of all the greater Monaſteries in *Mercia*, and Monks to be put in their places. *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxxiii.

'This Year Archbiſhop *Oskitel* deceaſed, who was firſt conſecrated 'Biſhop of *Dorceſter*, and afterwards by the conſent of King *Edward* 'and all his *Wiſe-Men*, conſecrated Archbiſhop of *York*. He was Two 'and twenty years Biſhop, and deceaſed on the Vigils of *All-Saints*, at '*Thame*; but *Thurkytel* being his Kinſman, carried the Biſhop's Body to '*Bedford*, becauſe he was Abbot there at that time. *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxx.

But there is certainly a miſtake in the King's Name; and inſtead of *Edward*, it ſhould be *Edred*; for King *Edward* the Elder was dead long before this Biſhop's Conſecration.

'*Eadmund Etheling*, Son to King *Edgar*, died this year, whoſe Body 'lies buried at *Rumſeig*, *i.e. Rumſey* in *Hampſhire*. *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxxi.

Oskytel Archbiſhop of *York* deceaſing, his Kinſman *Oſwald*, Biſhop of *Worceſter* ſucceeded him, (as *Florence* of *Worceſter* relates.) *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxxii.

About this time alſo, *Godfred*, the Son of *Harold* the *Dane*, ſubdued the whole Iſle of *Angleſey*; which yet he enjoyed not long.

'This year, *Edgar*, Ruler of the *Engliſh*, was with great Honour 'crowned King, in the Ancient City called *Akmanceaſter*, which the 'Inhabitants called *Bathan*; ſo that there was great Joy among all men 'that happy Day, being that which is commonly called *Pentecoſt*; 'where was a frequent Aſſembly of Prieſts and Monks, as alſo a great 'Council of the *Wites*, or *Wiſemen*. This happen'd in the Thouſandth 'Year of Chriſt, wanting but 27; and in the Thirtieth Year of this 'King's Age. *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxxiii.

Alſo about this time, (according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle) *Howel* the Son of *Jevaf*, having raiſed great Forces againſt his Uncle *Jago* abovementioned, to deliver his Father out of Priſon, and having vanquiſh'd his Uncle, and driven him out of the Countrey, reſtor'd his Father to his Liberty, though not to his Dominion; for he took upon himſelf the ſole Government of all *North Wales*.

But Mr. *Vaughan*, in his Additional Notes to this Chronicle, farther relates from ſome other *Welſh* Annals, That *Jago* being thus expelled, fled to King *Edgar*, and prevailed ſo far, that he brought an Army into *North Wales*, to reſtore him; but coming as far as *Bangor*, *Howel* met him, and at the King's requeſt conſented that his Uncle *Jago* ſhould enjoy that part of the Countrey which he had in his Father *Jevaf*'s time; ſo King *Edgar* having founded a new Church at *Bangor*, and dedicated it to the Virgin *Mary*, returned with great Honour to *Cheſter*, having theſe two *Welſh* Princes in his Company; where alſo met him by his appointment, Six other Princes; as ſhall be farther related by and by.

It hath been much queſtioned, what ſhould be the reaſon that this King ſhould thus long defer his Coronation: Some of the Monks impute it to the Pennance impoſed upon him by Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, for debauching the Nun above mentioned; but that is not at all likely, ſince that Pennance was but for Seven Years, whereas he had now reigned twice as long ſince that Sin was committed. But I do rather ſuppoſe, that he was Crowned long before, in the very beginning of his Reign, though our *Monkiſh* Chroniclers have either forgot to mention it, or elſe have omitted it on purpoſe, to add the greater Luſtre to Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*:

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXIII.

Dunſtan: For it is very certain, that neither in this King's time, nor long after the Conqueſt, was it ever known, that the King Elect took the Title of King, till after his Coronation.

Now that our Kings did upon ſome great occaſion repeat the Ceremony of their Coronation, I ſhall prove from the Examples both of King *Ethelred*, as well as of King *Richard* the Firſt, and *Henry* the Third; and why it might not be ſo in the Reign of this King, as well as in either of them, I can ſee no reaſon; though the occaſion of it is not any where expreſſed, as I know of.

But to return to our Annals: 'After this the King ſail'd with all his 'Fleet to *Leganceſter*, (i. e. *Weſt-Cheſter*) where met him Six Kings, 'who all making a League with him, promiſed to be his Aſſiſtants both 'by Sea and Land.

And now we have ſpoke of this King's Fleet, it is fit we give a larger Relation of it, as alſo of theſe Princes that here met him, from *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and other Authors, who increaſe their Number to Eight Thouſand; which being ſo glorious for our Nation, I ſhall here ſet down at large.

This King was the firſt who was truly Lord of our Seas; for every Summer (ſaith *William* of *Malmesbury*) immediately after *Eaſter*, commanding his Ships from every Shore to be brought into one collected Body, he ſailed uſually with the *Eaſtern* Fleet to the *Weſtern* part of the Iſland; and then ſending it back, ſailed with the *Weſtern* Fleet unto the *Northern*; and thence with the *Northern* he returned to the *Eaſtern* Coaſts; ſailing in this manner quite round the Iſland; being exceeding diligent to prevent the Incurſions of Pyrates, and couragious in the defence of his Kingdom againſt Foreigners, and diligent in the training up of himſelf and his People for Military Employments.

Each of theſe Fleets (as we are told) conſiſted of One thouſand and two hundred Ships, and theſe alſo very ſtout ones for thoſe times: So that the number of all muſt have amounted to Three thouſand and ſix hundred Sail, as ſome of our Authors expreſly relate, but others, Four thouſand Veſſels; and there are ſome alſo that add to theſe Three, a Fourth Fleet; by which means the Number will be increaſed to Four thouſand and eight hundred Sail; as may be ſeen in *Mathew Weſtminſter*. To ſuſtain which Charge, beſides the private Contributions of his Subjects, he had alſo (in the latter end of his Reign) Six Petty Kings under him, who were bound by Oath to be ready at his Command, to ſerve him both by Sea and Land; which Oath they took at *Cheſter*, (as the Annals relate) where he had given them order to meet him, as he ſailed about the *North* of *Britain* with a great Navy. Their Names are, *Kened* or *Kineth*, King of the *Scots*; *Malcolm* King of *Cumberland*, (who at this time, it ſeems, were ſo called, though, as we ſaid, the *Cumbrians* had now thrown off that Title, and taken that of Earls); *Maccuſe*, Lord of the Iſles; with five Princes of *Wales*, the Names of whom were, *Duſnal*, *Griffyth*, *Hunuald*, *Jacob*, and *Judethil*; who all meeting him at his Court at *Cheſter*, to ſet forth the Splendor and Greatneſs of his Dominion, one day he went into a Galley, and cauſed himſelf to be rowed by theſe Petty Princes, he himſelf holding the Stern, and ſteering the Veſſel along the River *Dee*, was waited on by all his Nobles in another Barge; ſo he ſailed to the Monaſtery of St. *John Baptiſt*; where an Oration being made to him, in the ſame State and

Pomp

Pomp he retutned to his Palace: Where when he arrived, he is ſaid to have told his Nobles about him, That then his Succeſſors might boaſt themſelves to be truly Kings of *England*, when they ſhould be (like him) attended by ſo many Princes his Vaſſals; as *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *William* of *Malmesbury* relate it. As for theſe Petty Kings abovementioned, *Maccuſe*, by the ſaid *Florence*, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, and *R. Hoveden*, is called a King of *Man*, and many other Iſlands; but *William* of *Malmesbury* ſtiles him an Arch-pirate; by which word a Robber is not to be underſtood, but (as *Aſſer*, and others of that Age uſe that Appellation) one skilled in Sea Affairs, or a Seaman; ſo called from *Pira*, which in the *Attique* Tongue, ſignifies a Craft or Art; but afterward it came to be applicable only to ſuch as without any Right infeſted the Seas. *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxxiii.

Another of the Kings, and that of *Wales*, was *Huual* or *Hewal*, who tho he be not placed the firſt in order, yet if we follow the account of ſome Authors, muſt have been the chief of them all, the Prince to whom all the reſt performed Obedience: The Book of *Landaff* bids us take notice, that at the ſame time with *Edgar* lived *Howel Dha*, and *Morgan Heu*, (which two yet were the Subjects of King *Edgar*.) But in this, either that Author, or the Chronicle of *Caradoc* muſt be miſtaken, who places the Death of *Howel Dha* under the year 948: And therefore it is more likely that the *Howel* here mentioned, was not *Howel Dha*, but *Howel* the Son of *Jevaf*, who had the year before expell'd his Uncle, and taken upon himſelf the Principality of *Wales*, notwithſtanding his Father was then alive.

But as for all the reſt of theſe *Welſh* Princes, I do not know how to make them out from their Chronicles, (which give no account of this Action); only I take *Dufnal* to be the Son of *Howel Dha*, and as *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* ſays, was then Prince of *South-Wales*. As for *Jacob* and *Judethel*, I ſuppoſe they muſt have been the ſame with *Jevaf* and *Jago*, as they are called in the *Welſh* Chronicles: But as for this Prince *Gryffith*, I can find none ſuch among any of the *Welſh* Princes ruling at that time. But to return to our Annals.

'This year *Eadgar* King of the *Engliſh*, changed this frail Life, for 'another more Glorious, on the 18*th*. day of *July*: But his Body was buried with great Solemnity at the Abby of *Glaſtenbury*, to which he himſelf had been a great Benefactor; as appears by his Charter, recited at large by *William* of *Malmesbury* in his Treatiſe of the Antiquity of that Monaſtery; in which Charter he alſo ſtiles himſelf, *Totius Britanniæ Baſileus*, i. e. King of all *Britain*. *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxxv.

But ſince our Hiſtorians are ſo very large and full in their Commendations of this Prince, as that he was moſt Religious, Valiant, and Wiſe, and exceeded all his Predeceſſors (except King *Alfred*, and King *Athelſtan*) it will not, I hope, be amiſs to ſhew you how partial theſe Monks were to the Memory of this Prince; who though they will needs have to be a Saint, becauſe he either built or repaired ſo many Monaſteries, yet was certainly (if the ſame *Monkiſh* Writers are to be believed) guilty of as great Exceſſes of Luſt and Cruelty, as any of his Predeceſſors; for *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, that *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonſhire* had a Daughter named *Elfreda*, fam'd for an extraordinary Beauty, which caus'd the King to have great Inclinations for her, upon the bare Report made of her to him; but to be more certain, he ſent a

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Knight called *Athelwold*, his Confident to ſee her, reſolving to marry her, if ſhe were found to be ſo handſome as ſhe was reported. *Athelwold* made haſte, and got a ſight of her, wherewith he was ſo ſmitten, that he concealed the Errand on which he came, and reſolved to obtain her for himſelf; which being eaſily done, he leſſened her to the King, as a Woman but very ordinary, and of ſo ſmall a Stature, as would misbecome his Royal Bed; ſo that he married her with the King's conſent, whoſe Thoughts were now diverted to other Objects: But at laſt, the Earl's Enemies diſcovered the Intrigue, and told the King how he had deceived him; and whom the more to enrage, they omitted no words whereby to ſet out and enhance the extraordinary Beauty of the Lady: Upon which, the King concealed his Anger, but was reſolved by another Stratagem to over-reach him. And the better to effect what he intended, he one day told him pleaſantly, that at ſuch a time he would come and ſee whether his Wife was ſo fair as ſhe was repreſented to be. This unexpected Surprize ſo exceedingly ſtruck him, that he earneſtly begg'd of her to conſult his Preſervation, by putting on her worſt Cloaths, and deforming her ſelf by what other means ſhe thought beſt; for ſhe had now perceived, that inſtead of a King ſhe had married a Subject, though an Earl; which raiſed ſuch a Female Indignation in her, that againſt the coming of King *Edgar* ſhe dreſſed her ſelf in the moſt Gay and Charming manner her Pride and Reſentment to be thus cheated, could deviſe; which had ſuch powerful effects upon him, that, his Love being ſo much the more inflamed, as it had been ſo long defrauded, he for a Blind appointed a day of hunting in the Foreſt called *Warewell*, (now *Harwood* Foreſt) and there ſlew *Athelwold* with a Dart. The Earl's Son coming by when the Fact was juſt committed, and looking upon his Father's dead Body, the King asked him, How he liked this *Game*? To which he anſwered, That whatſoever pleaſed the King, ought not to diſpleaſe him: With which flattering Reply, the King's angry Mind was ſo appeaſed, that he ever after highly favoured the Youth; and expiated the Crime committed upon the Father, by the great kindneſs he ſhewed to the Son. But an ~~Ancient~~ Manuſcript called *Brutus* (now in the Archbiſhop's Library at *Lambeth*) relates the latter end of this Story ſomewhat more for King *Edgar*'s Reputation; which ſince I meet with no where elſe, I ſhall here give you: It is, That King *Edgar*, not long after, ſending this *Athelwold* (now made an Earl) to ſecure the Coaſt of *Northumberland* againſt the *Danes*, then like to invade it, as he was in his way thither he was ſet upon by certain unknown Soldiers, who there ſlew him, but whether by the King's Order, or no, is not ſaid. As ſoon as the Earl was dead, the King made Love to his fair Widow, and marrying her, cauſed her to be crowned Queen, though it much diſpleaſed Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, who could never after this endure her: But *William* of *Malmesbury* adds, that to expiate the Murther of her firſt Husband, ſhe built a Nunnery in the place where he was ſlain.

Another thing laid to his charge, ~~and which~~ ſhews him to have been more conſtant in his Love, than could be expected from a Young Prince, ſo univerſally addicted as he was to the Fair Sex, of which you have ſeveral Inſtances in Story; one of them here ſhall ſuffice. It ſeems, coming one time to *Andover*, (a Town not far from *Winchester*) he would have had the enjoyment of a certain Ealdorman's Daughter, mightily

mightily celebrated for her Beauty, and commanded her to be brought to his Bed: The Mother of the Virgin not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring to be a Bawd to her own Daughter, reſolved to put a Trick on him by the favour of the Night, and ſo ſent a Waiting-Maid ſhe had, in her room, one that was Handſome enough, and not Unwitty, as ſhe quickly made to appear; for as ſoon as it was morning ſhe offering to get up, the King asked her, Why ſhe would make ſuch haſte from him? She replied, ſhe could no longer have the Happineſs of his Company, becauſe her Lady had ſet her ſome Work to do. He ſtartling at this, wonder'd what ſhe meant (for he did not in the leaſt queſtion, but that his Bedfellow had been the Earl's real Daughter); ſhe then moſt paſſionately beſought him to ſet her free from the hard and cruel Service of her Lady, as a Reward for her loſt Virginity: But the King being confounded at his diſappointment, was for ſome time divided between Compaſſion for the poor Maid, and Anger at his being thus abuſed; but at laſt he put it off with a Jeſt, and ſetting her free, carried her along with him, and loved her to that degree, that he kept himſelf to her alone, until ſuch time as he married *Elfreda* above-mentioned. *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxxv.

Theſe were the Stories commonly told in thoſe days of King *Edgar*, and of which more noiſe had been made by the Monks, if he had not built ſo many Monaſteries, which ſtopp'd their mouths from ſaying much ill of one ſo devoted to their Order, and who perhaps admired Chaſtity in others, though he could not practiſe it himſelf.

But it's certain *England* highly flouriſhed under his Government, being a Man ſo truly anſwering *Homer*'s Deſcription of a King, that not only ſecured his people from Foreign Enemies, but Savage Beaſts, by laying a Yearly Tribute of Three hundred Wolve's Heads on the Prince of *Wales*, as hath been already related.

What his Employment was in Summer, we have already ſeen; in Winter he hunted, but in the Spring he uſually rode a kind of Circuit round the Kingdom, to adminiſter Juſtice to his People, and take care that his Officers did the like. He was ſmall of Stature, and Slender, yet of ſuch mighty Courage and Strength, that he would challenge the moſt Robuſt to wreſtle with him, forbidding them to ſpare him out of reſpect to his Perſon.

It happen'd one time, that *Kened* King of the *Scots*, came to his Court, to whom (as *Matthew Weſtminſter* relates) he gave Rich Preſents, with the whole Countrey of *Lothian*, on condition that he and his Succeſſors at his Feſtivals ſhould come and attend on the Kings of *England* when they ſate Crowned; beſides, he aſſign'd certain Lodgings for them by the way, which to eaſe them in their Journey, were till the time of King *Henry* the Second, held by the Kings of *Scotland*.

This *Kened*, as he once ſate at his Cups with his Courtiers, ſaid jeſtingly to them, It was very ſtrange that ſo many Provinces ſhould obey ſuch a Little, Contemptible Figure of a Man, as this *Edgar* was. Theſe Words ſoon reach'd the King's ears; upon which he preſently ſends for *Kened*, and as if he had a mind to conſult him about ſome Important Affair, carries him into a Wood, where none being preſent beſides themſelves, he delivers into his hands one of the two Swords he had brought along with him, and then tells him, That as they were now alone, ſo they had a very good opportunity to try their Strength and Skill; and therefore he was reſolved to have it forthwith

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determined which of them ought to Rule, and which to Obey, commanding him not to ſtir a foot, but decide the Controverſy with him; for it was a baſe and pitiful thing for a King to vapour loud at a Feaſt, and not to be as forward to ſhew his Courage at a Fray. *Kened* being ſtruck out of countenance at theſe words, fell down at his feet, and earneſtly begged his Pardon for what he had ſpoken in Jeſt, without any deſign of Malice in the leaſt. Upon which the King being as Generous as he was Couragious, freely forgave him.

But though this King *Edgar* was certainly a very Great and Heroick Prince, yet queſtionleſs that Charter which makes him to have ſubdued the greateſt part of *Ireland*, with the City of *Dublin*, and to be Lord of all the Iſles as far as *Norway*, is fictitious, and nothing but a piece of Monkiſh Forgery, no Author of that Age making mention of any ſuch thing; and inſtead of a Great Warrior, he is uſually ſtiled *Edgar* the Peaceable; for he never made any Foreign Wars, that we can learn. However, ſuch was his mighty Fame, that if he did not go himſelf to Foreigners, they came to him, out of *Saxony*, *Flanders*, *Denmark*, and other places: Though *William* of *Malmesbury* obſerves, their coming over did much detriment to the Natives; who from the *Saxons*, learned Rudeneſs; from the *Flemings*, Effeminacy; and from the *Danes*, Drunkenneſs; the *Engliſh* being before free from thoſe groſs Vices, and contented themſelves to defend their own with a natural Simplicity, and not given to admire the Cuſtoms and Faſhions of other Nations: Hereupon the Monk tells us he is deſervedly blamed in Story for his too great Indulgence to Strangers.

This Noble Prince died when he had Reigned about Sixteen Years, in the very flower of his Age, being ſcarce Two and thirty years old, and with him fell all the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation; ſcarce any thing henceforth being to be heard of among them, but Miſery and Diſorder.

He had by *Egelfleda*, ſirnamed the *Fair*, the Daughter of Earl *Ordmer*, (it's uncertain whether his Wife or Concubine) a Son named *Edward*, who ſucceeded him: By *Wilfrida* the Nun he had a Daughter named *Editha*, who was alſo a Nun, as hath been already related: And by *Elfreda* the Daughter of Duke *Ordgar*, a Son called *Edmund*, who died five years before his Father; and another, called *Ethelrede*, who reigned after him; but was wholly unlike him in Prudence and Courage.

I have nothing elſe to add that is conſiderable, under this year, but the death of the Noble *Turketule*, Abbot of *Croyland*, who from Chancellor to King *Edred*, was (at his own deſire) by him made Abbot. He repaired and much enriched that Abby, after its being ruined by the *Danes*; and was the firſt that by adding to the Two Great Bells of that Monaſtery, Six more, made the firſt Tuneable Ring of Bells in *England*; as *Ingulph* at the end of the account he gives of his Life, informs us.

But before I diſmiſs this King's Reign, it is fit I give you a ſhort account of the chief Laws he made; which ſince neither the time nor place of their enacting are any where mention'd, I refer to this place.

The Preface to theſe Laws is thus; 'This is the Decree or Law which 'King *Edgar* made, with the counſel (or conſent) of his *Wites* or '*Wiſemen*, for the Honour of God, the Confirmation of his Royal Dig-'nity, and for the Good of his People.

'The

'The Laws themſelves begin with ſome Eccleſiaſtical Canons, the 'firſt of which is concerning the Immunities of the Church, and about 'paying Tythes out of the Lands of the *Thanes*, as well as of thoſe of '*Ceorles*, or Countrey-men. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXV.

'The Second is concerning payment of Tythes and Firſt-fruits, as 'well where a *Thane* had a Church with a Burying-place, as alſo where 'he had not.

'The Third appoints the times the Tythes ſhould be paid at; and 'what Remedy was to be had, in caſe they were not paid at the time 'when they were due.

'The Fourth ordains at what time of the year *Peter-pence* ſhould be 'paid; and the Penalty that ſhould be incurred by thoſe that ſhould 'neglect to pay them in accordingly.

'The laſt ordains every *Sunday* to be kept holy, and to begin at 'Three a Clock in the Afternoon on *Saturday*, and to end at break of 'day on *Monday*, upon the penalty appointed by the Judiciary Book.

From which laſt Law you may obſerve, how early keeping the *Sunday* like the *Jewiſh* Sabbath, began in *England*.

Then follow the Secular, or Temporal Laws.

'The Firſt of which enjoins, that every man poor or rich enjoy the be-'nefit of the Law, and have equal Juſtice done him; and for Puniſh-'ments he would have them ſo moderated, that being accommodated 'to the Divine Clemency, they may be the more tolerable unto men.

'The Second forbids Appeals to the King in Suits, except Juſtice 'cannot otherwiſe be obtained. And if a man be oppreſſed he may 'betake himſelf to the King for relief; and in caſe a Pecuniary Mulct 'be inflicted for a fault, it muſt not exceed the value of the man's 'head.

From whence we may gather, that Fines at this time were not Arbitrary, nor could be ſet above a known conſtant Rate; ſuch as a man, according to his Quality, was able to pay, without the loſs of his Life or Liberty.

'The Third impoſes a Mulct of an Hundred and twenty Shillings to 'the King, upon a Judge that paſſes an unjuſt Sentence againſt any man, 'except ſuch Judge will take his Oath that he did it not out of any ma-'lice, but only from Unskilfulneſs, and Miſtake in Judgment; and in 'ſuch caſe he is to be removed from his Place, except he can obtain fa-'vour of the King longer to retain it; and then the Biſhop of the Dio-'ceſs is to ſend the Mulct impoſed upon him to the King's Treaſure.

'The Fourth commands, That whoſoever maliciouſly ſhall defame 'another man, whereby he receives any damage either in his Body or 'Eſtate, ſo that the defam'd Party can clear himſelf of thoſe Reports, 'and prove them falſe, then the Defamer's Tongue ſhall either be cut 'out, or he ſhall redeem it with the value of his Head.

'The Fifth is to the ſame effect as in another Law we have formerly 'cited, commanding every one to be preſent at the *Gemote*, or Aſſem-'bly of the Hundred; and further ordains, That the *Burghmotes*, or 'Aſſemblies of the great Towns or Cities, be held thrice a year, and 'the *Shiregemotes*, or general Meeting of the whole County twice, 'whereat were to be preſent the Biſhop and the Ealdormen, the one to 'teach the people God's Law, and the other Man's.

From whence you may obſerve the Antiquity of our Charges at our Aſſizes and Seſſions, which no doubt do ſucceed thoſe Diſcourſes which the Ealdorman and Biſhop then made to the people upon the ſubjects above-mentioned.

'The

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'The Sixth requires, that every man find Sureties for his Good Behaviour; and in case any one commit a Crime, and fly for it, the Sureties 'should undergo what should be laid upon him. If he stole any thing, 'and be taken within a Twelvemonth, he should be brought to Justice, 'and then the Sureties should receive back what they had paid on his 'account.

Hence we may also take notice, not only of the Antiquity of *Frank-Pledges*, which had been long before instituted by King *Alfred*, but also the continuation of this Law by King *Edgar*; from whence it appears, that it was no *Norman* invention, introduced to keep under the *English* Commonalty, as some men have without any just cause imagined.

'The Seventh ordains, That when any one of evil report is again 'accused of a Crime, and absents himself from the *Gemotes*, or publick 'Meetings, some of the Court shall go where he dwells, and take 'Sureties for his Appearance, if they may be had; but if they cannot 'get them, then they should take him alive or dead, and seize on all 'his Estate; whereof the Complaining Party having received such a 'share as should satisfy him, the one half of the remainder shall go to the 'Lord of the Soil, and the other half to the Hundred: And if any of 'that Court (being either akin to the Party, or a stranger to his Blood) 'refuse to go to put this in execution, he should forfeit 120 shillings to 'the King: And farther, That such as are taken in the very act of 'stealing, or betraying their Masters, should not be pardoned during 'life.

'The Eighth and last ordains, That one and the same Money should 'be current throughout the King's Dominions, which no man must re-'fuse; and that the measure of *Wincheſter* should be the Standard; and 'that a *Weigh* of Wool should be sold for half a Pound of Money, and 'no more. The former of these is the first Law whereby the Private Mints to the Archbishops and several Abbots being forbid, the King's Coin was only to pass.

But to return to our Annals: 'Ten days before the Death of King '*Edgar*, Bishop *Cyneward* departed this life.

King

King Edward, ſirnamed the Martyr.

KING *Edgar* being dead, (as you have now heard) Prince *Edward* ſucceeded his Father, though not without ſome difficulty, for (as *William* of *Malmesbury*, and *R. Hoveden* relate) the Great Men of the Kingdom were then divided, Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, and all the reſt of the Biſhops, being for Prince *Edward*, the Eldeſt Son of King *Edgar*; whilſt Queen *Ælfreda*, Widow to the King, and many of her Faction, were for ſetting up her Son *Ethelred*, being then about Seven Years of Age, that ſo ſhe might govern under his Name: But beſides, the pretence was, (which how well they made out, I know not) That King *Edgar* had never been lawfully married to Prince *Edward*'s Mother. Whereupon the Archbiſhops, *Dunſtan* and *Oſwald*, with the Biſhops, Abbots, and many of the Ealdormen of the Kingdom, met together in a Great Council, and choſe Prince *Edward* King, as his Father before his Death had ordained; and being thus *Elected*, they preſently Anointed him, being then but a Youth of about Fifteen Years of Age. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXV.

But it ſeems, not long after the Death of King *Edgar*, though before the Coronation of King *Edward*, *Roger Hoveden*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*, tell us, that *Elfer* Earl of the *Mercians*, being luſtily bribed by large Preſents, drove the Abbots and Monks out of the Monaſteries, in which they had been ſettled by King *Edgar*, and in their places brought in the *Clerks* (*i.e.* Secular Chanons) with their Wives; but *Ethelwin*, Ealdorman of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and his Brother *Elfwold*, and Earl *Brythnoth*, oppoſed it; and being in the Common Council or Synod, plainly ſaid, They would never endure that the Monks ſhould be caſt out of the Kingdom, who contributed ſo much to the Maintenance of Religion; and ſo raiſing an Army, they bravely defended the Monaſteries of the *Eaſt-Angles*; ſo it ſeems that during this *Interregnum*, aroſe this Civil War about the Monks, and the above-mentioned Diſſention amongſt the Nobility, concerning the *Election* of a new King.

But this ſerves to explain that Paſſage in our Annals, which would have been otherwiſe very obſcure; *viz.* 'That then there was (*viz.* 'upon the Death of King *Edgar*) great Grief and Trouble in *Mercia*, 'among thoſe that loved God, becauſe many of his Servants, (that is, 'the Monks) were turned out, till God being ſlighted, ſhewed Mira-'cles on their behalf; and that then alſo Duke *Oſlack* was unjuſtly ba-'niſhed beyond the Seas; a Nobleman, who for his Long Head of 'Hair, but more for his Wiſdom, was very remarkable: And that 'then alſo ſtrange Prodigies were ſeen in the Heavens, ſuch as Aſtro-'logers call *Comets*; and as a Puniſhment from God upon this Nation, 'there followed a great Famine.

Which ſhews this Copy of the Annals was written about this very 'time: And then the Author concludes with *Ælfer* the Ealdorman's 'commanding many Monaſteries to be ſpoiled, which King *Edgar* had 'com-

'commanded Biſhop *Athelwold* to repair. All which being in the *Cottonian* Copy, ſerves to explain what has been already related. But the next year

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXVI. 'Was the great Famine in *England*, as juſt now mentioned. About the ſame time, (according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle) *Æneon*, the Son of *Owen* Prince of *South-Wales*, deſtroyed the Land of *Gwyr* the ſecond time.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXVII. This year, after *Eaſter*, was that great Synod at *Kirtlingtun*, which *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *R. Hoveden*, call *Kyrleing*; but where that place was is very uncertain; *Florence* places it in *Eaſt-England*, but Sir *H. Spelman* acknowledges, that he does not know any place in thoſe parts, that ever bore that name, but ſuppoſes it to have been the ſame with *Cartlage*, (now the Seat of the Lord *North*): But had not *Florence* placed it in *Eaſt-England*, that Town whoſe name comes neareſt to it, is *Kyrtlington* in *Oxfordſhire*; which is alſo the more confirmed by that which follows in theſe Annals, *viz.* That *Sydeman* the Biſhop of *Devonſhire* (*i. e.* of *Wells*) died here ſuddenly, who deſired his Body might be buried at *Krydeanton*, his Epiſcopal See; but King *Edward* and Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* order'd it to be carried to St. *Maries* in *Abingdon*, where he was honourably Interr'd in the *North* Iſle of St. *Paul*'s Church: Therefore it is highly probable, that the place where this Biſhop died, was not far from *Abingdon*, where he was buried, as *Kirtlington* indeed is: But what was done in this Council can we no where find; only it is to be ſuppoſed that it was concerning this great Difference between the Monks and the Secular Chanons, as the former Council was.

The ſame year alſo were great Commotions in *Wales*; for *Howel ap Jevaf*, Prince of *North-Wales*, with a great Army both of *Welſh* and *Engliſhmen*, made War upon all who defended or ſuccoured his Uncle *Jago*, and ſpoiled the Countries of *Lhyn*, *Kelynnoc*, *Vawr*; ſo that *Jago* was ſhortly after taken Priſoner by Prince *Howel*'s men, who after that enjoyed his part of the Countrey in peace.

Nor can I here omit what ſome of our *Monkiſh* Writers, and particularly *John Pike* in his compendious Supplement of the Kings of *England*, (now in *Manuſcript* in the * *Cottonian* Library) relates, That there being this year a Great Council held at *Wincheſter* again to debate this great Affair concerning the turning out of the Monks, and reſtoring the Secular Chanons, and it being like to be carried in their favour, a Crucifix which then ſtood in the room, ſpoke thus, *God forbid it ſhould be ſo*; This amazing them, they reſolved to leave the Monks in the condition they then were. But whether theſe words were ever ſpoke at all, or if they were, whether it might not be by ſome perſon that ſtood unſeen behind the Crucifix, I ſhall leave to the Reader to determine as he pleaſes.

* Julius, D. 6.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXVIII. 'Next year all the Grave and Wiſe Men of the *Engliſh* Nation being 'met about the ſame Affair, at *Calne* (in *Wiltſhire*) fell down together 'from a certain Upper Room, (where they were aſſembled in Coun-'cil) unleſs it were St. *Dunſtan* the Archbiſhop, who fixed his foot up-'on a certain Beam; but ſome were ſadly bruiſed and hurt, whilſt 'others were killed outright.

But ſince *William* of *Malmesbury* hath given us a larger account of this Council, and what was done in it, I ſhall give it you in his words:

But

But mens minds being not yet ſettled, another Council was ſummoned at *Calne* in *Wiltſhire*, (but the King was abſent by reaſon of his Youth) where the ſame Affair was again debated with great Heat and Contention: But when many Reproaches were caſt upon Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, that Bulwark of the Church, who could by no means be ſhaken, upon a ſudden the Floor of the Chamber fell down, all there preſent being very much bruiſed, except *Dunſtan*, who eſcaped upon a Beam; all the reſt being either hurt or killed. This Miracle, ſays he, obtained quiet for the Archbiſhop and all the Monks of *England*, who were for ever after of his opinion. *Anno Dom.* DCCCLXXVIII.

This Accident is alſo related by *Mat. Weſtminſter*, and copied by Cardinal *Baronius* into his Annals, and is likewiſe mentioned by other Authors. But it is very probable, that this Misfortune did not happen without the fore-knowledge (if not the Contrivance) of Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, ſince he had now perſuaded the King not to be there, though he was preſent at the laſt Council. But *H. Huntington* would have it be a ſign from Heaven, that they ſhould fall from God's love, and be oppreſs'd by Foreign Nations; as followed not long after.

And (according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*) there was a Third Synod at *Ambresbury*; but what was done there, he does not tell us.

But to return to our Annals; 'The ſame year King *Edward* was kil-'led at *Corfeſgeate*, now *Corfe-Caſtle* in the Iſle of *Purbeck*, on the 15th 'of the *Kalends* of *April*, and was buried at *Werham*, without any 'Royal Pomp. There was not ſince the time that the *Engliſh* Nation 'came into *Britain*, any thing done more wickedly than this: But 'though men murthered him, yet God exalted him; and he that was 'an Earthly King, is now a Saint in Heaven; and though his Relations 'would not revenge his Death, yet God perform'd it ſeverely. The reſt to the ſame effect in theſe Annals I omit, becauſe I would not be tedious. But I ſhall give you a more particular account of the manner of this Prince's Death, from *William* of *Malmesbury*, and the Chronicle called *Bromton*'s; the former of which relates it thus; That as for King *Edward*, he was of ſo extraordinary Religious and Mild a Nature, that for quietneſs ſake, he let his Mother-in-Law order all things as ſhe pleaſed, giving her all Reſpects, as to his own Mother, and regarding his Younger Brother with all the tenderneſs imaginable: She on the contrary, from his Kindneſs and Love, conceives greater and more implacable Malice againſt him; and with the Sovereignty ſhe already enjoyed, was ſo ill ſatisfied, that ſhe muſt needs take from him the very Title alſo: This Deſign ſhe covered with notable diſſimulation, till a convenient opportunity preſented it ſelf for the execution of it: At length the poor Innocent Prince being one day wearied with hunting, and being very thirſty, (while his Companions followed the Game, and minded not what became of him) knowing that the Queen's Houſe was not far off, rode thither all alone, fearing nothing, becauſe of his own Innocence, and ſuppoſing every one meant as honeſtly as himſelf.

Whereupon the Queen receives him with all the ſeeming kindneſs imaginable, and fain would have had him to light from his Horſe, but he refuſing that, and only asking to ſee his Brother, ſhe cauſed ſome Drink to be preſently brought him; but whileſt the Cup was at his mouth, one of her Servants, privately before inſtructed, ſtabbed him

Anno Dom. DCCCCLXXVIII.

with a Dagger in the Back. He, exceedingly aſtoniſhed at this unexpected ill treatment, clapp'd Spurs to his Horſe, and fled away as faſt as he could towards his Company; but the Wound being Mortal, and he ſpent with loſs of blood, fell to the ground, and having one foot in the Stirrup, was dragged through By-ways; but being trac'd by his Blood by thoſe ſhe ſent after him, they brought back the Dead Corps, which they buried privately at *Werham*, where they imagin'd they had alſo buried his Memory as well as his Body; but the place of his Sepulture (as it's ſaid) ſoon grew famous for Miracles.

Queen *Elfreda* was upon this ſo convinced of her Wickedneſs, that from her Courtly and Delicate Way of Living, ſhe betook her ſelf to very ſevere Penances, as wearing Hair-cloath, ſleeping on the ground without a Pillow, with ſuch other Auſterities as were uſed in that Age; and herein ſhe continued all her life.

So fell this good King *Edward*, after he had only born the Name of King Three years and an half; who for his Innocence, and the Miracles ſuppoſed to be wrought after his Death, obtained the Sirname of *Martyr*: Which opinion of his Sanctity was the more confirmed by other great Miſeries which ſhortly after befel the Land; which the people did verily believe were inflicted on them for his Murther.

This year (according to *Florence*) a ſtrange Cloud appeared about Midnight all over *England*, being firſt ſeen of the Colour of Blood, then of Fire, and then like a Rainbow of divers Colours.

King

King ETHELRED.

IMmediately after the unfortunate Murther of King *Edward*, there being no other Male Iſſue of King *Edgar* left alive, *Ethelred* his Brother was without any difficulty Elected, as the Ancient Annals of *Thorney* Abby, preſerved in the * *Cottonian* Library, relate; and was alſo Crowned King by the Archbiſhops *Dunſtan* and *Oſwald*, and ten other Biſhops, at *Kingſton*, the 8th *Kal. May*; he being (as *R. Hoveden* deſcribes him) a Youth of a moſt Comely Aſpect, but not being above Twelve Years of Age, *William* of *Malmesbury* gives us this ſhort Character of Him and his Reign: That he rather diſtreſſed than governed the Kingdom for Seven and thirty years; that the courſe of his Life was cruel at the beginning, miſerable in the middle, and diſhonourable in the concluſion: To Cruelty he attributes the Death of his Brother, which he ſeemed to approve of, becauſe he did not puniſh; he was remarkable for his Cowardice and Lazineſs; and miſerable in reſpect of his Death. His Sluggiſhneſs was predicted by Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, when at his Chriſtening he ſuperadded his own Water to that of the Font; and thereupon *Mat. Weſtminſter* makes him to ſwear, *By God and St. Mary*, this Boy will prove a Lazy Fellow: But all this looks like a Monkiſh Story, invented by thoſe who did not love his Memory; ſince the ſame thing, though of ſomewhat a groſſer nature is likewiſe related of the Emperor *Conſtantine*, from thence named *Copronymus*.

Anno Dom. Dcccclxxviii.

* Nero *c.* 7.

Yet ſure it was no ſign of ill nature, if what *William* of *Malmesbury*, and *Bromton*'s Chronicle relate, be true, That when he wept at the News of his Brother's Death, it put his Mother into ſuch a violent Paſſion, that having not a Rod by her, ſhe beat him ſo unmercifully with a Wax Taper which ſhe then light upon, that he was almoſt dead; which cauſed in him ſuch an averſion to Wax-Lights ever after, that he could never endure any ſuch to be brought before him. But this ſounds too Romantick, and therefore I leave it to the Reader's diſcretion what credit to give it.

But to come to ſomewhat more certain and material; all Authors agree, that Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* crown'd this King with great reluctancy; yet he was forced to do it, as not having any of the Blood Royal fit to ſet up: But becauſe the Monks will have their St. *Dunſtan* to have had the Spirit of Prophecy (like the Prophets in the Old Teſtament) they relate, that denouncing God's Judgments againſt this King at his Coronation, he ſaid thus, *Becauſe thou haſt aſpired to the Kingdom by the Death of thy Brother, thus ſaith the Lord God, The Sin of thine Ignominious Mother ſhall not be expiated, neither the Sin of thoſe that were her Counſellors, but by great Bloodſhed of thy miſerable People; for ſuch Miſeries ſhall come upon* England, *as it never underwent ſince it had that name.* But this Doom was very unjuſt; for it is certain that the King never knew of, nor deſired his Brother's Death; and it was very hard to denounce God's Judgments upon the whole Nation, for the Contrivance of one wicked Woman, and which was put in execution by but a few of her Accomplices: So that if the Nation was guilty of any fault,

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXVIII. it was only in ſo far conniving at the Crime, as out of fear or partiality, to permit the Authors of it to paſs unpuniſhed; and for this the Biſhops, they having then ſo great a ſway in the whole Council of the Nation, had as much to anſwer for, as any of the *Laity:* But paſſing by God's Judgments, which are too deep for us to fathom, About this time (as the *Welſh* Chronicles relate) *Cuſtenyn Dhu* (i. e. *Conſtantine* the Black) Son to Prince *Jago* (then a Priſoner) hired *Godfryd* the *Dane* to bring his men againſt his Couſin *Howel ap Jevaf*, Prince of *North-Wales*; ſo joining their Forces together, they deſtroyed *Angleſey* and *Lhyn:* Whereupon Prince *Howel* gathered an Army, and ſetting upon the *Danes* and *Welſhmen* (who aſſiſted them), at a place called *Gwayth Horborth*, routed them, and *Conſtantine* was ſlain. I ſhall now return to our Annals, which under the next year relate, That

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXX. 'Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* and *Elfer* the Ealdorman, having taken up the 'Body of King *Edward*, which lay buried at *Werham*, they carried and 'buried it at *Sceftesbyrig*, (i. e. *Shaftsbury*) with great Funeral Pomp. The occaſion of which Removal by *Elfer*, Earl of the *Mercians* (according to *Bromton*'s Chronicle) was that old ſign of an *Engliſh Saxon* Saint (ſo often repeated in this Hiſtory) whether true or falſe, I ſhall not affirm; *viz.* a Column of Light ſtreaming down from Heaven, over the place where his Body lay buried; as alſo, that when it was taken up out of the Grave, it was as whole and uncorrupt as when it was firſt buried three years before; whereupon having waſhed and dreſſed it in new Cloathes, they buried it with great Solemnity at the Monaſtery above-mentioned, where his Siſter *Edith*, the Daughter of King *Edgar* by *Wulfritha* the Nun, was then her ſelf profeſſed. But as for the ſtrange Miracles which are here related to have been done at his Tomb, I willingly omit them. But *William* of *Malmesbury* further adds about this Queen *Elfreda*, That ſhe took upon her the Habit of a Nun at *Werewell*, a Nunnery which ſhe lately founded, and there paſſed the reſt of her days in great Auſterities and Devotions: She alſo about the ſame time built another Nunnery at *Ambresbury* in *Wiltſhire*; this being the uſual way to expiate the moſt horrid Murthers in thoſe dark times.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXI. 'This year came ſeven *Daniſh* Ships (full of Pyrates) and deſtroy-'ed *Southampton*; and (as *Florence* adds, though under the year before) plundered the Town, and either killed or carried away the Townſmen Priſoners. *William* of *Malmesbury* alſo takes notice of this, becauſe they were ſo much talked of, as being the firſt that had invaded *England* after above 60 years intermiſſion, and were only the forerunners of many more that follow'd: To which we may alſo refer that which is added by *Simeon* of *Durham* under the year before, but ſhould be put under this; That the ſame Fleet alſo waſted *Tænetland*, (that is, the Iſle of *Thanet*); and the ſame year alſo the Province of *Cheſter* was much ſpoiled by the *Norwegian* Pyrates.

The ſame year the *Daniſh* Pyrates landed in *Cornwal*, and burnt the Church and Monaſtery of St. *Petroc*. Alſo *Godfryd* the Son of *Harold* the *Dane*, landed with a great Army of his Countreymen in *Weſt-Wales*, where ſpoiling all the Land of *Dyvet*, with the Church of St. *Davids*, he fought the Battel of *Lhanwanoc*; though who had the Victory, the *Welſhmen* or the *Danes*, *Caradoc*'s Chronicle (which gives us this relation) does not tell us.

This

This year, according to *R. Hoveden*, Three Ships of theſe Pyrates landed in *Dorſetſhire*, and ſpoiled the Iſle of *Portland*: The ſame year alſo the City of *London* was miſerably deſtroyed by Fire. *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxxxii.

About this time alſo, according to the ſame Author, *Alfred* an Ealdorman, or *Engliſh* Earl, joining (as the *Welſh* Manuſcript Annals relate) with *Howel* the Son of *Edwal*, deſtroyed *Brecknock*, and ſpoil'd a great part of the Lands of *Owen* Prince of *South-Wales*; againſt whom *Eneon* the Son of the ſaid *Owen*, and *Howel* King of *North-Wales*, raiſing an Army, met with them, and totally defeated them; ſo that the greateſt part of Earl *Alfred*'s Army was ſlain, and the reſt put to flight.

Alſo about this time the Churches of *Wales* began firſt to acknowlege the Superiority of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, *Gacon* Biſhop of *Landaffe* being now conſecrated by *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

This year *Ælfer* the Ealdorman deceaſed, and *Ælfric* his Son took his Government; ſome of the Monks further add, That he was eaten up with Lice; the reaſon is plain, for this *Ælfer* had not long before turn'd the Monks out of their Cloyſters (as you have heard), and they ſeldom fail'd to revenge ſuch an Affront upon thoſe that did ſo, either alive or dead. *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxxxiii.

And the ſame year the Gentlemen of *Gwentland* in *Southwales* rebelled againſt their Prince, and cruelly ſlew *Eneon* the Son of Prince *Owen*, though he came only to appeaſe them: This *Eneon* was a Gallant Young Prince, that did many brave Actions for the Defence of his Countrey in his Father's life time; he left behind him Two Sons, *Edwyn* and *Theodore*, from whom deſcended the Princes of *South-Wales*.

'This year deceaſed *Athelwald* that good Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who 'was the Father of the Monks. And well might they call him ſo; for he rebuilt or repaired above a dozen great Monaſteries; ſo that (as *William* of *Malmesbury* obſerves) it is a great wonder how a Biſhop's Purſe could afford to do that in thoſe days, which a King could ſcarce perform when he wrote; but the wonder will be much abated when we conſider that he had the King's Purſe at his command, beſides thoſe of other people, who then looked upon ſuch Works as meritorious. But to return to our Annals. *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxxxiv.

'*Elfeage*, whoſe ſirname was *Goodwin*, ſucceeded *Athelwald*, and 'was conſecrated 14. *Kal. Novemb.* but was enthron'd at *Wincheſter*, at 'the Feaſt of St. *Simon* and *Jude* *R. Hoveden* tells us, he was firſt Abbot of *Bathe*, and then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; but at laſt was killed by the *Danes*, being a man of great Sanctity of Life.

Alſo the ſame year *Howel ap Jevaf*, Prince of *North-Wales*, came into *England* with an Army, where he was fought with and ſlain in Battel; but the place is not mentioned. This *Howel* having no Iſſue, his Brother *Cadwalhan* ſucceeded him.

'This year, according to the *Saxon* Annals, *Ælfric* the Ealdorman 'was baniſh'd the Land. *Mat. Weſtminſter* ſtiles him Earl of *Mercia*, and ſays he was Son to Earl *Alfure*; but neither of them inform us of the Crime for which he ſuffered that Puniſhment. *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxxxv.

'King *Ethelred* laid waſte the Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter*; and alſo there 'was a great Mortality of Cattel in *England*. *William* of *Malmesbury*, and *R. Hoveden*, do here add much light to our Annals; That the King becauſe *Anno Dom.* Dcccclxxxvi.

Anno Dom. DCCCCLXXXVI. becauſe of ſome Diſſentions between him and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, beſieged that City, but not being able to take it, went and waſted the Lands of St. *Andrew*, (*i.e.* thoſe belonging to that Biſhoprick); but being commanded by the Archbiſhop to deſiſt from his Fury, and not provoke the Saint to whom that Church is dedicated, the King deſpiſed his Admonition, till ſuch time as he had an Hundred Pounds ſent to him, and then he drew off his Forces; but the Archbiſhop abhorring his ſordid Covetouſneſs, is there ſaid to have denounced fearful Judgments againſt him, though they were not to be inflicted till after the Archbiſhop's death.

This year, as the *Welſh* Chronicles relate, *Meredyth*, Son to *Owen* Prince of *South-Wales*, entred *North-Wales* with what Forces he could raiſe, and ſlew *Cadwalhon ap Jevaf* in a Fight, together with *Meyric* his Brother, and conquered the whole Countrey to himſelf: Wherein we may obſerve how God puniſhed the wrong which *Jevaf* and *Jago* did to their eldeſt Brother *Meyric*, who being diſinherited, had his eyes put out; for firſt *Jevaf* was impriſoned by *Jago*, as *Jago* himſelf was by *Howel* the Son of *Jevaf*, and then this *Howel*, and his Brethren *Cadwalhon* and *Meyric* were ſlain, and loſt their Dominions.

Anno Dom. DCCCCLXXXVII. 'This year *Weedport* (that is, *Watchet* in *Somerſetſhire*) was deſtroyed by the *Danes*.

About this time (as appears by the Charter in the *Monaſt. Angl.* p. 284.) the Abby of *Cerne* in *Dorſetſhire*, was founded by *Ailmer* Earl of *Cornwall*, near to a Fountain, where it was ſaid that St. *Auguſtine* had formerly baptized many Pagans. And where alſo long after, Prince *Edwold*, Brother to St. *Edmund* the Martyr, quitting his Countrey, then over run by the *Danes*, lived and died an Hermit. But it ſeems from the Manuſcript Hiſtory of *Walter* of *Coventry*, this Abby was only enlarged by this Earl *Ailmer*, having been built ſome years before by one *Alward*, his Father, a Rich and Powerful Perſon in thoſe Parts.

Anno Dom. DCCCCLXXXVIII '*Goda* a *Thane* was killed, and there was a great Slaughter. But the ſame Author laſt mentioned, writing from ſome other Copy of Annals, relates this Story another way; That this *Goda* being Earl of *Devonſhire*, together with one *Strenwald* a valiant Knight, marching out to fight the *Danes*, they were both there killed; but there being more of them deſtroyed than of the *Engliſh*, the latter kept the field. But to return to our Annals;

'This year *Dunſtan*, that Holy Archbiſhop, exchanged this Terre-'ſtrial Life for a Heavenly one; and *Ethelgar* (Biſhop of *Selſey*) ſuc-'ceeded him, but lived not long after, (*viz.*) only One Year and Three 'Months.

This is that Great Archbiſhop, called St. *Dunſtan*, who was the Reſtorer of the Monkiſh Diſcipline in *England*; and who made a Collection of Ordinances for the *Benedictine* Order, by which he thought the Rule of that Order might be more ſtrictly obſerved in all the Monaſteries of *England*.

Anno Dom. DCCCCLXXXIX. '*Edwin* the Abbot (I ſuppoſe, of *Peterborough*) deceaſed; and *Wulf-'gar* ſucceeded him. The ſame year alſo Biſhop *Syric* was conſecrated 'Archbiſhop, in the room of *Ethelgar* abovementioned; and afterwards 'he went to *Rome*, to obtain his Pall.

This man is commonly written *Siricius*; but his Name in *Engliſh Saxon* was *Syric*, or *Sigeric*.

About

About this time, according to the *Welſh* Chronicle, *Meredyth*, Prince of *North Wales*, deſtroyed the Town of *Radnor*; whilſt his Nephew *Edwin*, (or, as ſome Copies call him, *Owen*) the Son of *Eneon*, aſſiſted by a great Army of *Engliſh*, under Earl *Adelf*, ſpoiled all the Lands of Prince *Meredyth* in *South-Wales*, as *Cardigan*, &c. as far as St. *Davids*, taking Pledges of all the Chief Men of thoſe Countries; whilſt in the mean time Prince *Meredyth* with his Forces ſpoiled the Countrey of *Glamorgan*: So that no place in thoſe parts was free from Fire and Sword: Yet at laſt, Prince *Meredyth* and *Edwin* his Nephew, coming to an agreement, were made Friends. But whilſt *Meredyth* was thus taken up in *South-Wales*, *North-Wales* lay open to the *Danes*, who about this time arriving in *Angleſey*, deſtroyed the whole Iſle. *Anno Dom.* Dcccxc.

'This year *Gipiſwic* was waſted by the *Danes* (this was *Ipſwich* in 'Suffolk); and ſhortly after *Brightnoth* the Ealdorman was ſlain at *Mal-* 'dune. All which miſchief *Florence* of *Worceſter* tells us was done by the *Danes*, whoſe Captains were *Juſtin* and *Guthmund*, when the Perſon abovementioned, fighting with them at *Maldon*, there was a great multitude ſlain on both ſides, and the ſaid Earl or Ealdorman was ſlain there; ſo that the *Danes* had the Victory. *Anno Dom.* Dcccxci.

'The ſame year alſo (according to the Annals) it was firſt decreed, 'that Tribute ſhould be paid to the *Danes*, becauſe of the great Terror 'which they gave the Inhabitants of the Sea-Coaſt: The firſt Payment 'was Ten thouſand Pounds; and it is ſaid Archbiſhop *Syric* firſt gave 'this Counſel.

To which alſo *R. Hoveden* adds, That *Adwald* and *Alfric* the Ealdormen, join'd with him in it; but which (as *William* of *Malmesbury* well obſerves) ſerved only to ſatisfy for a time the Covetouſneſs of the *Danes*; and being a thing of infamous example, a generous Mind would never have been prevailed upon by any violence to have ſubmitted to; for when the *Danes* had once taſted the ſweetneſs of this Money, they never left off exacting ſtill more, ſo long as there was any left; but they now met with a weak and unwarlike Prince, moſt of whoſe Nobility were no better than himſelf; and ſo, as the ſame Author farther obſerves, they were fain to buy off thoſe with Silver, who ought to have been repell'd with Iron.

'This year *Oſwald*, that bleſſed Archbiſhop of *York*, departed this 'life; as alſo did *Ethelwin* the Ealdorman. *Anno Dom.* Dcccxcii.

The former of them, *Simeon* of *Durham* tells us had the year before conſecrated the Abby Church of *Ramſey*, which the latter had newly founded; and as *Florence* adds, was buried in the Church of St. *Mary* in *Worceſter*, which he had newly built.

'The ſame year alſo the King and all his Wiſe and Great Men de- 'creed, That all the ſtronger Ships ſhould be got together at *London*; 'and the King made *Ealfric* and *Thorod* the Ealdormen, Admirals of 'this Fleet; as alſo *Ælfſtan* and *Æſtwig*, Biſhops; commanding them 'that they ſhould endeavour, if it were poſſible, to encompaſs the *Daniſh* 'Fleet; but *Ealfric* ſent to them underhand, to take care of themſelves; 'and the Night before they were to give Battel, he (to his perpetual 'Infamy) ſecretly withdrew himſelf from the King's to the *Daniſh* 'Fleet; ſo that all the *Danes* eſcaped by flight. But *Florence* is more plain than the Annals in the Relation of this Flight; and tells us, that the King's Fleet immediately purſued them, and took one of their Ships, all

Anno Dom. Dcccexcii. all the reſt eſcaping; only the *Londoners* meeting with the Ships of the *Eaſt-Angles* by chance, and fighting with them, killed many Thouſands of the *Danes*, and took the Ship wherein Earl *Ealfric* was, with all the men, himſelf hardly eſcaping.

The ſame year the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Angleſey*, having been cruelly haraſs'd by the *Danes*, and finding no Protection or Defence from *Meredyth* their Prince, then employed in other Wars (as you have already heard) they caſt him off, and received *Edwal ap Meyric*, the right Heir of *North-Wales*, for their Prince, who better defended his Subjects from Foreign Invaſions; for not long after, *Meredyth*, Prince of *North-Wales*, reſolving again to recover ſo conſiderable a part of his Dominion, entring *Angleſey*, Prince *Edwal* with his Forces met him at *Lhangwin*, and routed him in a ſet Battel; ſo *Theodor*, or *Tewdor Mawr*, Nephew to Prince *Meredyth*, was there ſlain, and he himſelf forced to fly.

Anno Dom. Dcccexciii. 'This year alſo (according to our Annals) *Unlaf*, (or *Anlaf*) the 'Dane, came with Ninety three Ships as far as *Stane*, (now *Staines* up-'on the River *Thames*), and there waſted the Countrey round about; 'and from thence they went to *Sandwic*, and from thence to *Gypſwic*, and 'ſpoiled all that Countrey.

But I ſuppoſe this is a Miſtake in the *Cambridge* Copy of theſe Annals; which repeat that Action of the *Danes*, together with the Death of Duke *Bryghtnoth*, which had been already ſaid in the *Laudean* and *Cottonian* Copies to have happened *Anno* 991; and therefore what follows, ſeems likewiſe miſplaced in this Copy, concerning the Receiving and Baptizing of this King *Anlaf*, which it makes to be the effect of the Victory now obtain'd; for *Anlaf* was not baptized till the year following; as will by and by appear.

But this is more certain which comes after; *viz.* 'That this year the 'Town of *Bebanburgh* (i.e. *Banborow* in *Northumberland*) was deſtroy-'ed by the *Danes*, and a great Prey there taken; after which the *Danes* 'came up the River *Humber*, and did much miſchief as well to thoſe of '*Lindſige*, as the *Northumbers*: Then were muſter'd together a great 'number of Soldiers, but when they were going to give them Battel, 'they fled, the firſt Encouragers of their flight being their own Captains, '*Frana*, *Godwin*, and *Frithegiſt*; (all Three of the *Daniſh* Race.)

'This year alſo (according to the ſame Copy) King *Ethelred* com-'manded the Eyes of *Ealfric* the Ealdorman's Son, to be put out: But 'it does not tell us for what: But *William* of *Malmesbury* is more expreſs, and ſays it was a Puniſhment for his Father's Perfidiouſneſs; which if done now, was not only very unjuſt, to puniſh the Son for the Father's faults, but alſo ill tim'd, to do it ſo long after the Crime had been committed: But he further tells us, that he not only revolted once, but again; and ſo perhaps it was for this laſt Rebellion, that the King inflicted this cruel Puniſhment upon his Son; for had the Father been in his power, it is moſt likely he would have made him to have ſuffer'd himſelf: But this being ſo much in the dark, I ſhall leave it to the Reader to make what he pleaſe on't.

There having been for ſome time great Enmity between *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, which it ſeems had broke out into open War, Pope *John* ſent *Leo* Biſhop of *Treve*, as his Nuncio, firſt to the King of *England*; who having received the Pope's Letters, called a Council of all the

the Great and Wiſe Men of the Nation; who agreed, That upon the Pope's Admonition, Ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the Marqueſs of *Normandy*, (for ſo he is called) to treat of a Peace; and when they were there, the ſaid Marqueſs agreed to a laſting Peace, upon the Pope's Admonition; ſo that none for the future ſhould receive each other's Enemies: All which appears in the Epiſtle of the ſaid Pope *John* concerning this affair; which is recited at large in *William* of *Malmesbury*, in his Reign of this King, to which I refer the Reader. *Anno Dom.* Dcccxciii.

About this time, according to the *Welſh* Chronicles, *Sweyn*, the Son of *Harold* the *Dane*, having deſtroyed the Iſle of *Man*, enter'd *North-Wales*, and ſlew *Edwal ap Meyric* in Battel: This Prince left behind him one Son, an Infant, who at laſt came to be Prince of *Wales*: So that it ſeems there was an Anarchy in *North Wales* for ſome time; unleſs *Owen*, formerly expell'd, now recover'd his Principality; which my Author does not mention.

'This year *Sigeric* (or *Syric*) Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, deceaſed, 'and *Ælfric* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was elected in his ſtead, on *Eaſter*-'Day, at *Ambresbyrig*, by King *Ethelred* and all his Wiſe Men. This 'ſame year alſo, *Anlaf* and *Sweyn* came to *London*, on the Nativity of 'St. *Mary*, with Ninety four Ships, and aſſaulted the City very ſharp-'ly, endeavouring to burn it; but here they received much more da-'mage than they believed it to be in the power of the Citizens ever to 'have done them; for the Holy Mother of God out of her great mercy 'took care of the Citizens, and delivered them from their Enemies: Or, as *William* of *Malmesbury* more plainly tells us, the Beſiegers deſpairing of taking the City, (becauſe the Citizens made ſo vigorous a defence) were forced to march away. *Anno Dom.* Dcccxciv.

'But as they went off, they did as much miſchief as any Army ever 'did, by burning and waſting the whole Countrey thereabouts, and 'killing all the Inhabitants in *Eſſex*, *Kent*, and *Suſſex*, as alſo in *Hamp-ſhire*: And, as *Florence* relates, ſparing neither Man, Woman, nor Child.

'But at laſt they provided themſelves with Horſes, and riding where-'ever they pleaſed, did unſpeakable Miſchiefs: Whereupon it was or-'dained by the King and his *Wiſe Men*, That Meſſengers ſhould be ſent 'to them, promiſing them both Tribute and Proviſions, if they would 'deſiſt from their Spoil and Rapine: To which requeſt they conſented; 'and ſo the whole Army came to *Hamtune*, and there took up their 'Winter-Quarters; and in the mean time the *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom was 'forced to maintain them; and Sixteen thouſand Pounds were given to 'them, beſides their maintenance.

'Then the King ſent Biſhop *Elfeage* to King *Anlaf*, as alſo *Æthelward* 'the Ealdorman; and leaving Hoſtages at the Ships, they brought *Anlaf* 'with great Honour to the King to *Andefer*, (that is, *Andover* in *Hamp-'ſhire*); then King *Æthelred* received him at his Confirmation, from 'the Biſhop's hand; whereupon *Anlaf* promiſed him (which he alſo 'performed) that he would never again infeſt the *Engliſh* Nation. And as *Florence* farther adds, he now returned into his own Countrey.

So it ſeems the Kingdom was rid of *Anlaf*; but what became of *Sweyen* or *Sweyn*, the Annals do not tell us; for we hear no more of him till *Anno* 1004, as you will find by and by: So that whether he went away with *Anlaf*, or commanded thoſe who infeſted the Kingdom the

Anno Dom. Dcccclxciv. next year, is uncertain. But perhaps we may to this time refer that which *Adam* of *Bremen* relates of this King *Sweyn*, who having made "War upon his Father *Harwold* the Great, whom he outed of his Kingdom and Life together, was afterwards himself overcome, and expelled his Kingdom by *Ærick* King of *Sweden*; thus justly rewarded "for his horrid Crimes, he wander'd up and down without relief. "*Thrucco* the Son of *Haco*, then Prince of the *Normans*, rejected him "as a Pagan; and *Ethelred* the Son of *Edgar* (he calls him *Adalred*) "remembring what mischiefs the *Danes* had brought on *England*, with "scorn repell'd him: So that at length he was entertained by the King of "the *Scots*, who taking compassion on him, gave him free Quarter for "Fourteen years together. But so enraged was he at the repulse "given him by the King of *England*, that ever after he studied "all he could how to plague and afflict that Countrey, one while "by his own particular Forces, and another by the assistance of "others.

How true this Story is, we cannot affirm; the Affairs of the *Northern* Nations, as to those Times, being involved in so great an obscurity: However, we thought it not amiss to give it you, as suiting with the Fortunes and Inclinations of this man, which proved so great a Plague to this our Countrey, that he seems to have been acted by some extraordinary Passion, whether of Ambition or Revenge, or both together. But to return to our Annals.

'This year also *Richard* the Elder (Duke of *Normandy*) died; and '*Richard* his Son succeeded him, and reigned One and thirty years.

Anno Dom. Dcccxcv. 'This year appeared a Comet. Also the same year, as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates, *Aldune* Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, removed the Body of St. *Cuthbert*, which had for above an Hundred years remained at *Cunecaester*, that is, *Chester*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, to the place where the City of *Durham* was afterwards built, it being then altogether uninhabited. Here Bishop *Aldune* built a small Church of Stone, dedicating it to St *Cuthbert*; and a Town being here shortly after built, it was called *Durham*.

'The Kingdom had rest this year, as also the next; but

Anno Dom. Dccccxcvii. 'The *Danes* sail'd round about *Devonshire*, to the mouth of the River '*Severne*, and there took much Plunder, as well among the *North Welsh*, 'as in *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*.

Yet here it seems that *North-Wales* was mis-put in these Annals, instead of the *South*; for no part of the *Severn* Sea borders upon *North-Wales*.

'But after this, the *Danes* going up as far as *Wecedport*, (or *Watchet*) 'they did much hurt, both by burning the Houses, and killing the Inha-'bitants whereever they came. After this they sail'd round *Penwith-'steart*, (*i. e.* the Point called the *Land's-End*) toward the *South* Coast, 'and sailing up the River *Thames*, went with their Ships as far as '*Hildaford* (now *Lideford*) burning and killing whatever they met, 'as they passed along: They also burnt the Monastery of *Ordulph*, 'which had been lately built by him at *Æteſingſtoce* (now *Taviſtock* in '*Devonshire*) and carried a very great deal of Plunder along with 'them to their Ships. This year also *Ælfric* the Archbishop went to '*Rome* to obtain his Pall.

'Then

'Then the *Danes* turned toward the *East* up the mouth of the River *Frome*, and there marched as far as they would into *Dorseta*, (i. e. *Dorsetshire*) where an Army got together against them; but as often as the *English* fought with them, so often were they by some misfortune or other put to flight; so that the *Danes* still obtain'd the Victory: After this they quarter'd in the Isle of *Wight*, but fetch'd their Provisions from *Hamptunseire* and *Southseax*. *Anno Dom.* Dcccexcviii.

Also this year, according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle, the *Danes* landing again in *South-Wales*, destroyed St. *Davids*, and slew *Urgeney* Bishop of that See: And now *Meredyth ap Owen*, Prince of *North-Wales*, deceased, leaving one only Daughter, who was married to *Lewelyn ap Sitsylt*, afterward in her Right Prince of *North-Wales*: But after the death of this Prince *Owen*, *Edwin* his Nephew, above-mentioned (as the Manuscript Chronicle relates) possessed himself of *South-Wales*, and reigned there some years.

'This year the *Danes* sail'd up the River *Thames*, and from thence went into the *Medway* to *Rofceaster*, where the *Kentish* Forces met them, and there was a very sharp Dispute; but alas! they presently gave place to their Enemies, and fled, because they had not assistance enough; so that the *Danes* kept the field; and then getting Horses, rode whereever they pleased, spoiling and laying waste all the *Western* part of *Kent*: Then it was ordained by the King and his *Wise Men*, that an Army should be forthwith raised against them both by Sea and Land; but when the Ships were ready, they delayed the time from day to day, oppressing the poor people that served on board; and if at any time the Fleet was ready to sail, it was still put off from one time to another, so that they suffered the Enemies Forces to increase; and when the *Danes* retired from the Sea-Coast, then our Fleet was wont to go out; so that at the last these Naval Forces served for no other end, but to harass the People, spend their Money, and provoke the Enemy. *Anno Dom.* Dcccexcix.

This year (as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates) *Malcolm* King of the *Scots* with a great Army wasted the Province of the *Northumbers*, and besieged *Durham*: At that time *Waltheof* Earl of the *Northumbers*, being very old, and unable to fight with the Enemies, enclosed himself in *Bebbanburgh*; whilst *Uthred* his Son, a Valiant Young Man, assembling an Army out of *Northumberland* and *Yorkshire*, fought with the *Scots*, and destroyed in a manner their whole Army, insomuch that the King himself very hardly escaped: After this he made choice of a certain number of slain *Scotchmen*'s Heads, the best adorn'd with Hair he could get, and gave them to an Old Woman to wash, allowing her for each Head a Cow for her pains; these Heads when wash'd, he set upon high Poles round about the Walls of *Durham*.

King *Ethelred* being informed of this Action, sent for the Young Man, and as a Reward for his Valour, not only gave him his Father's Countrey, but added to it that of *Yorkshire*: Upon this *Uthred* returning home, dismissed his Wife the Daughter of *Ældhure* Bishop of *Durham*; but because he cast her off contrary to his Promise, he surrender'd up to her Six Mannors which the Bishop her Father had given him with her. Then *Uthred* married *Siga*, the Daughter of *Styre*, the Son of *Ulfelme*.

Anno Dom. M.

'The King marched into *Cumerland*, (i. e. *Cumberland*) and laid it 'almoſt waſte; but neither our Annals, nor any other Author, tell us wherefore he made this War, nor upon whom it was made; but *John Fordon* in his *Scotch* Hiſtory gives us this Account of it; That King *Ethelred* having paid great Tributes to the *Danes*, ſent to *Malcolm* then Prince of *Cumberland*, under *Gryme* King of the *Scots*, commanding him that he ſhould make his Subjects of *Cumberland* pay part of this Tribute, as well as the reſt of the People of *England*; which he denying, ſent the King word, That neither he nor his Subjects ought to pay any Tribute, but only were obliged to be ready at the King's Command, to make War, together with the reſt of the Kingdom, whenever he pleaſed; for he ſaid it was much better to fight manfully, than only to buy Liberty with Money: For this cauſe, as well as for that the King affirmed that the Prince of *Cumberland* favoured the *Danes*, King *Ethelred* invaded that Countrey, and carried away great ſpoils from thence; but preſently after, the two Princes being reconciled, they entred into a firm Peace for ever after.

But to proceed with our Annals: 'After the King had thus waſted '*Cumberland*, he commanded his Ships to ſail round by *Legeaſter* (i. e. '*Cheſter*) to meet him there; but they could not do it, by reaſon of the 'contrary Winds; ſo they waſted the Iſland *Manige* (now called *An-* '*gleſey*); for the *Daniſh* Fleet was turned this Summer upon the Duke- 'dom of *Normandy*. But the next year,

Anno Dom. MI.

'Their Fleet being now returned into *England*, there aroſe great 'Troubles in this Iſland, by reaſon of this Fleet, which every where 'ſpoiled the Countries, and burnt the Towns; and landing, they 'marched in one day as far as *Æthelingadene* (which is ſuppoſed to be '*Alton* in *Hampſhire*); but there the Forces of that County marched 'againſt, and fought with them; and there *Æthelweard* the King's '*High Sheriff*, and *Leofric*, *Gerif* of *Whitcircan*, (i. e. *Whitchurch* in '*Hampſhire*) and *Leofwin* the King's *High-Sheriff*, and *Wulfer* the 'Biſhop's *Thane*, and *Godwin* the *Gerif*, were all ſlain at *Weorthige*, '(the place is now unknown); as alſo *Ælffige* the Biſhop's God-ſon, 'and of all ſorts of men, Eighty one; yet many more of the *Danes* 'were ſlain there, though indeed they kept the Field of Battel: But 'from thence their Fleet ſail'd toward the *Weſt*, until they came to '*Devonſhire*, where met him *Pallig* with what Ships he could gather 'together: He had revolted from King *Ethelred* divers times, notwith- 'ſtanding his Faith plighted to him, and though the King had largely 'rewarded him both with Lands and Money. Then they burnt *Teng-* '*ton* (i. e. *Taunton*) and many other good Towns, more than we can 'now name; which being done, there was a League clapt up with 'them: After this they went to *Exanmuthan* (i. e. *Exmouth*) from 'whence they marched in one day to *Peanhoe* (now *Pen* in *Somerſet-* '*ſhire*), where *Cola* the King's *High-Sheriff*, and *Eadſig* the King's '*Gerif*, met them with what Forces they could; but they were put to 'flight, and many of them ſlain, and the *Danes* kept the Field; ſo the 'next morning they burnt the Towns of *Peanho*, and *Cliſtune*, (or '*Clifton*) and ſeveral other good Towns. Then the *Danes* returned 'to the Iſle of *Wight*, and there one morning burnt the Town of *Wel-* '*tham*, with divers other Villages; and preſently after a League was 'made with them, and they hearken'd to Terms of Peace.

But

But the *Laudean* and *Cottonian* Copies differ very much from that of *Cambridge*, in the telling of this ſtory; for they make the *Danes* to have firſt ſailed up the River *Exe*, as far as *Exceſter*, and to have beſieged the City, but not being able to take it, they raiſed the Siege, and then marched all over the Countrey, killing and deſtroying whatever they met with; and that then a ſtrong Army of the *Devonſhire* and *Somerſetſhire* men fought with them at *Peanho*, with the ſucceſs above-mentioned. The reſt differs but little from the Printed Copy; but this laſt relation ſeems moſt likely to be true. *Anno Dom.* MI.

'The year following it was decreed by the King and his *Wiſe* '*Men*, That a Tribute ſhould be paid to the *Daniſh* Fleet, and Peace 'ſhould be concluded with them, upon condition that they would ceaſe 'from doing miſchief: Then the King ſent *Leofſig* the Ealdorman to 'the Fleet, who treated with them on the behalf of the King and his 'Council of *Wiſe Men*, propoſing that they would be content with 'Proviſions and Money, which they agreed to: Then, not long after, 'they paid them Four and twenty thouſand Pounds. In the mean time '*Leofſig* the Ealdorman killed *Ælfric* the King's High Sheriff; upon 'which the King baniſhed the other the Kingdom. And the *Lent* after-'wards came hither *Ælgiva*, Daughter of *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, 'to be married to the King. *Anno Dom.* MII.

'The ſame Summer *Eadulf* Archbiſhop of *York* deceaſed: And this 'year alſo the King commanded all the *Danes* in *England* to be ſlain at 'the Feaſt of St. *Brice*, becauſe it was told the King that they endea-'voured to deprive him and all his Great and Wiſe Men of their lives, 'and to ſeize the Kingdom to themſelves without any oppoſition.

Matthew of *Weſtminſter* caſts the Odium of this Action from the King, and lays it upon one of his Evil Counſellors, whom he calls *Hueva*, General of the King's Forces, to manage the chief Affairs of the Kingdom: He ſeeing the Inſolencies of the *Danes*, and that after the late Agreement they were grown inſupportable to the Kingdom; for they violated the Wives and Daughters of Perſons of Quality, and committed divers other Injuries not to be endured: Thereupon he came in great ſeeming trouble to the King, making moſt diſmal Complaints of theſe unſpeakable Outrages; at which the King was ſo incenſed, that by the Counſel of the ſaid *Hueva* he ſent private Letters into all parts of the Kingdom, commanding all his Subjects without exception, That upon a certain Day they ſhould every where privily ſet upon the *Danes*, and without mercy cut them off. In theſe Letters was alſo ſignified, that the *Danes* had a deſign to deprive him of his Life and Kingdom, and to deſtroy all the Nobility, in order to bring the whole Iſland under their ſubjection. And thus the *Danes*, who a little before by a League ſolemnly ſworn on both ſides, had been admitted quietly to inhabit among the *Engliſh*, were moſt treacherouſly and barbarouſly murthered, not many of them eſcaping; even the very Women were put to death, and their Children's Brains daſh'd out againſt the Walls; particularly at *London*, when this Bloody Decree was to be executed, many of the *Danes* fled into a certain Church of that City, but for all that it proved no Sanctuary to them, for they were all there cruelly murthered even at the very Altar.

H. Huntington moreover adds, That he himſelf being a Child, had heard it from certain Old Men, that by the King's Command Letters were

Anno Dom. MII. were privately dispatch'd all over *England*, to make away the *Danes* in one Night.

But so much Innocent Blood being thus perfidiously shed, cry'd aloud to Heaven for Vengeance, and the Clamours of it likewise quickly reached as far as *Denmark*: And *Walsingham* hath given us in his History a particular Account of the manner of it; for on the day when this barbarous Decree was executed at *London*, certain young men of the *Danish* Nation being too nimble for their Pursuers, got into a small Vessel then in the *Thames*, and by that means escaped and fled to *Denmark*; where they certified King *Sweyn* of what had passed in *England*; who being moved with indignation at this treatment, thereupon called a great Council of all the Chief Men of his Kingdom, and declaring to them this Cruel Massacre, desired their Advice what was best to be done: and they being inflamed with Rage and Grief for the loss of so many of their Friends and Kindred, decreed with one consent, That they ought to revenge it with all the Forces of their Nation: Upon which, great Preparations were made in the several Provinces, and Messengers sent to other Nations, to desire their Alliance with him, promising them their share in the Spoils of that Countrey which they were going to conquer: So King *Sweyn* having got ready a vast Fleet of above Three hundred Sail, arrived in *England*: But as *Bromton*'s Chronicle relates,

Anno Dom. MIII. The year following, *Sweyn* King of *Denmark*, hearing of the Death of his Subjects, sail'd with a mighty Fleet to the Coast of *Cornwall*, where he landed, and marched up to *Exceaster*, which, (as our Annals tell us) 'by the Carelesness or Cowardise of a certain *Norman*, one 'Count *Hugh*, whom the Queen had made Governor there, the *Pagans* 'took, and quite destroyed the City, and carried thence a great Booty. 'Then a Numerous Army was raised from *Wiltshire* and *Hampshire*, and 'being very unanimous, they all marched briskly against the *Danes*; 'but *Ælfric* the Ealdorman, who commanded in chief, here shewed his 'wonted tricks; for as soon as both Armies were in sight of each other, 'he feigned himself sick, and began to vomit, pretending he had got 'some violent Distemper, and by that means betray'd those whom he 'ought to have led to Victory; according to the Proverb, If the Gene-'ral's heart fails, the Army flies.

But though this was very ill done of *Ælfrick* thus to betray his trust, yet certainly the King was no less to be blamed himself, for trusting a man that had so often betray'd him, and whom he had already sufficiently provoked, by putting out the Eyes of his Son, as you have already heard.

But to return to our Annals: '*Sweyn* now finding the Cowar-'dise or Inconstancy of the *English*, marched with his Forces to *Wil-'tune*, which Town he burnt; from thence he marched to *Syrbi-'rig*, (i. e. *Old Sarum*) which they also burnt; and from thence to 'the Sea-side to their Ships.

After the death of *Edwal ap Meyric*, and *Meredyth ap Owen*, Princes of *North-Wales*, as you have already heard, *North-Wales* having for some years continued under a sort of Anarchy, without any Prince, *Meredyth* leaving behind him no Issue Male, and *Edwal* but one Son an Infant, it gave occasion (as the *Welsh* Chronicles relate) to great disturbances; for one *Aedan ap Blegored* (or *Bledhemeyd*, as the *Cottonian* Copy

Copy of the *Welſh* Annals call him) tho an abſolute ſtranger to the *Britiſh* Blood-Royal, about this time poſſeſſed himſelf of the Principality of *North-Wales*, and held it about twelve years; but whether he came in by Election, or Force, is not ſaid; only that one *Conan ap Howel*, who fought with this *Aedan* for the Dominion, was this year ſlain in Battel: So that *Aedan* for a time held that Countrey peaceably, ſince we do not read of any other Wars he had, till the laſt year of his Reign. *Anno Dom.* MIII.

'This year *Sweyn* came with his Fleet to *Northwick*, i. e. *Norwich*, '(the River it ſeems being navigable up to it in thoſe days) and wholly deſtroyed and burnt that City; then *Ulfkytel* the Ealdorman conſulted with the Wiſe and Great Men of *Eaſt-England*, and by them 'it was judged moſt expedient to buy Peace of the *Daniſh* Army, to 'prevent their doing any more miſchief; for the *Danes* had taken them 'unprovided, before they had time to draw their Forces together: But 'theſe *Danes* not valuing the Peace which they had newly made, ſtole 'away with all their Ships, and ſailed to *Theatford*; which as ſoon as '*Ulfkytel* had learnt, he ſent a Meſſenger with Commands to break or 'burn all their Ships (which notwithſtanding, the *Engliſh* neglected to 'do), whilſt he in the mean time tried to get together his Forces 'with what ſpeed he could: But the *Danes* coming to *Theodford* three 'Weeks after the deſtruction of *Norwich*, ſtayed within the Town of '*Theodford* only one night, and then burnt and laid it in aſhes: But 'the next morning as they returned to their Ships, *Ulkytel* met with 'them, and there began a very ſharp Fight, which ended in a very 'great ſlaughter on both ſides, and abundance of the *Engliſh* Nobility 'were there killed; but if all the *Engliſh* Forces had been there, the '*Danes* had never reached their Ships. *Anno Dom.* MIV.

But notwithſtanding theſe cruel Wars in the *Eaſtern* and *Southern* Parts of *England*, *Wulfric Spot*, an Officer in the Court of King *Ethelred*, now built the Monaſtery of *Burton* in *Staffordſhire*, and endowed it with all his Paternal Inheritance, which was very great, and gave that King Three hundred *Mancuſes* of Gold, to purchaſe his Confirmation of what he had done. This Monaſtery, though its Rents at the Diſſolution were ſomewhat below the Value of Five hundred Pounds *per Annum*, yet being an Abby of great Note in thoſe Parts, and alſo render'd more famous from its Annals publiſh'd at *Oxford*, I thought good to take particular notice of it. *Vid.* Monaſt. Angl.

'This year *Ælfric* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deceaſed; and *Ælfeag* '(Biſhop of *Wincheſter*) was made Archbiſhop.] But the *Laudean* and *Cottonian* Copies place this under the next year. *Anno Dom.* MV.

'So cruel a Famine alſo raged here, as *England* never ſuffer'd 'a worſe.] *Florence* relates the Famine to be ſo great, that *England* was not able to ſubſiſt.

'The ſame year alſo King *Sweyn* with the *Daniſh* Fleet ſail'd into *Den*'*mark*; but in a ſhort time return'd hither again.

'This year *Ælfeage* was now conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Canter*'*bury*, and *Brightwald* took the Biſhoprick of *Wiltonſhire*; as alſo '*Wulfgeat* was deprived of all his Honours, and *Wulfeath* had his Eyes 'put out. (Theſe were Noblemen who ſuffered under the King's 'diſpleaſure; but what the cauſe of it was, I find not.) And this 'year Biſhop *Kenwulph* deceaſed: Then after *Midſummer*, the *Daniſh* 'Fleet *Anno Dom.* MVI.

Anno Dom. MVI. 'Fleet came to *Sandwic*, and did as they uſed to do, killing, waſting, 'and plundering whatever they met with: Therefore the King com- 'manded all the *Weſt Saxon* and *Mercian* Nations to be aſſembled, who 'kept watch all the Autumn by Companies, againſt the *Danes*; but all 'this ſignified no more than what they had done often before; for the '*Danes* made no leſs Incurſions, but went whereever they pleaſed, and 'this Expedition did the people more damage than any Army could do.

'Winter coming on, the *Engliſh* Forces return'd home, and the *Danes* 'about *Martinmaſs* retired to their old Sanctuary, the Iſle of *Wight*, 'whither they carried whatever they had need of; and afterwards 'about *Chriſtmaſs* they marched out to ſeek for freſh Proviſions in *Hamp-* 'tunſhire and *Berrocſeire*, as far as *Reading*; and havocking according to 'their uſual cuſtom, burnt the Beacons whereever they found them; 'and from thence they marched to *Wealingaford*, (i.e. *Wallingford*) 'which Town they wholly deſtroyed; Then marching to *Æſceſdune*, '(now *Aſton*, near *Wallingford*) they came to *Cwicchelmeſlaw*, (now 'Cuckamſley-hill in *Berkſhire*) without ever touching near the Sea; and 'at laſt return'd home another way.

'About the ſame time an *Engliſh* Army was muſtered at *Cynet*, (i.e. 'Kennet in *Wiltſhire*) where a Battel was fought, but the *Engliſh* 'Troops were immediately worſted; after which the *Danes* carried off 'all their Booty to the Sea-ſide. There might one have ſeen the *Wilt-* 'ſhire men (like a Cowardly ſort of people) ſuffer the *Danes* to return 'to the Sea-ſide, even juſt by their doors, with their Proviſions and 'Spoils. In the mean time the King marched over *Thames* into *Scrob-* 'besbyrigſcire, (i.e. *Shropſhire*) and there kept his *Chriſtmaſs*. At that 'time the *Danes* ſtruck ſo great a Terror into the *Engliſh* Nation, that 'no man could deviſe how to get them out of the Kingdom, nor how 'well to maintain it againſt them, becauſe they had deſtroyed all the 'Countries of the *Weſt-Saxons* with Burnings and Devaſtations. Then 'the King often conſulted with his *Wiſe Men* about what was beſt to be 'done in this caſe, whereby they might ſave the Countrey before it was 'quite ruined; and after mature deliberation, it was at length decreed by 'them all, for the Common Good of the Nation, (though much 'againſt their wills) That Tribute ſhould be again paid to the *Danes*. 'Then the King ſent to their Army, to let them know, that he was 'contented to enter into a Peace with them, and to pay them Tribute, 'and alſo find them Proviſions during their ſtay: To which Terms all 'the *Danes* aſſented: So it ſeems the whole *Engliſh* Nation was forced to 'maintain them. And the beginning of the year following,

Anno Dom. MVII. 'This Tribute was again paid to them; to wit, Thirty thouſand 'Pounds. Alſo the ſame year *Ædric* was made Ealdorman over all the 'Kingdom of *Mercia*.

This *Ædric*, though he had married the King's Daughter, is cha- racterized by all our Hiſtorians, for a Proud, Falſe, and Unconſtant Man; and who by his Treachery proved the Ruin of his Countrey, as well as of many particular Perſons of great Worth: For not long be- fore, (as *Florence* relates) he made away *Athelme* that Noble Ealdor- man at *Shrewsbury*, inviting him to a Feaſt, and afterwards carrying him out a hunting, where he hired the City-Hangman to ſet his Dog upon him, called *Porthund*, which tore him to pieces: And not long after his two Sons *Walfheage* and *Uſfgeat* had their Eyes put out by the King's Order at *Cotham*, where he then reſided.

But

But we may hence obſerve, to how ſad a ſtate the Nation was reduced under a Voluptuous and Cowardly King, and a Degenerate Nobility: And the reaſon why the Annals ſay, *That the People's being kept in Arms all the Winter, did them as much harm as the Enemy*; was, becauſe having then no ſtanding Forces, the Countrey *Militia* were fain to be kept upon Duty at their own Charges, whilſt their Families were ready to ſtarve at home: *So impoſſible a thing it is to maintain any long War either at home or abroad, without a Standing Army.* *Anno Dom.* MVII.

But now the King having too late perceived his Error, *viz.* That the greateſt Cauſe of his Ruin proceeded from the want of a good Fleet,

'He then commanded Ships to be built all over *England*; (to wit) to 'every Hundred and ten Hides of Land, one Ship; and of every Eight 'Hides a Helmet and Breaſt-plate: And ſo by the next year, *Anno Dom.* MVIII.

'His Ships were all finiſhed, and they were both ſo many and withal 'ſo good, that (as our Hiſtories affirm) *England* never ſaw the like 'before: Then after they were all well mann'd and victual'd, they were 'brought to *Sandwic*, and there remain'd, in order to defend the King-'dom againſt the Invaſion of Strangers; yet notwithſtanding all thoſe 'Preparatives, the *Engliſh* Nation was ſo unhappy, that this great Fleet 'met with no better ſucceſs than often before; for it happen'd about 'this time, or a little ſooner, that *Brightric* (a falſe and ambitious man) 'the Brother of *Ædric* above-mentioned, accuſed *Wulfnoth* a Thane of 'the *South Saxons*, (and Father of Earl *Godwin*) to the King; upon 'which *Wulfnoth* ſaving himſelf by flight, got together twenty Ships, 'and with them turning Pyrate, took Prizes all round the *Southern* Coaſt, 'and did a world of miſchief; but as ſoon as it was told the King's 'Fleet, that they might eaſily ſurprize him if they would but cruiſe 'about that place, *Brightric* upon this taking Eighty Sail along with 'him, had mighty hopes by ſeizing of him either alive or dead, to make 'himſelf ſignally famous; but as he was ſailing thither, ſo great a Tem-'peſt aroſe, as never had been in the memory of man, by which all his 'Fleet was ſhipwrack'd, or ſtranded on the ſhore; and *Wulfnoth* coming 'thither preſently after, burnt all the reſt that were left. Now when 'this News came to that part of the Fleet where the King was in Perſon, 'the whole Action ſeem'd to be undertaken very precipitately, without 'any good Advice at all. And thereupon the King with all his Ealdor-'men and Great Men return'd home, leaving both the Ships and Men to 'ſhift for themſelves: But thoſe that were in them, carried them up to '*London*. And thus did all the Labour and Expence of the whole Na-'tion come to nothing, without in the leaſt diminiſhing the Power of 'their Enemies as the people hoped they would have done. *Anno Dom.* MIX.

'When all theſe Naval Preparations were thus defeated, there arrived 'preſently after Harveſt a mighty Fleet of *Danes* at *Sandwic*; and af-'ter they were landed they immediately marched to *Canterbury*, which 'City they would forthwith have deſtroyed, had they not humbly be-'ſought a Peace of them: Upon which all the *Eaſt Kentiſh* men came 'and clapt up a Peace with the *Danes*, and purchaſed it at the Price of 'Three thouſand Pounds: But theſe Heathens preſently afterwards 'ſail'd round again, till they came to *Wihtland*, (i. e. the *Iſle of Wight*) 'and there, as alſo in *Southſeaxe*, *Hamtunſcire*, and *Bearruſcire*, they 'plunder'd and burnt Towns as they uſed to do: Hereupon the King

Anno Dom. MIX. 'commanded the whole Nation to be ſummoned, that every Province 'ſhould defend it ſelf againſt them: But for all this, they ſtill marched 'whereever they pleaſed, without any body's diſturbing them: But one 'time when the King had hemm'd them in with his whole Army, as 'they were going to their Ships, and all his Forces were juſt ready to 'fall upon them, *Ædric* the Ealdorman hinder'd them, as he always 'did.

For, as *R. Hoveden* relates, he over-perſuaded the King by his cunning and plauſible reaſons, not to run the hazard of a Battel, but to let them go off if they would; and ſo they return'd to their Ships with a great deal of joy that they had ſo well got themſelves out of that Toil.

'Then after *Martinmaſs* they return'd again into *Kent*, and took up 'their Winter-Quarters near the *Thames*, fetching their Proviſions from '*Eſſex*, and thoſe Provinces that lay neareſt, on each ſide the River; and 'they frequently threatned the City of *London*, but (thanks be to God 'it had hitherto kept it ſelf ſafe), there they met with always but an 'ill reception.

'After *Chriſtmaſs* they made an excurſion through *Cyltern*, (that 'is, the *Chiltern*, or Woody Countrey of *Bucks*, and *Oxfordſhire*) and 'ſo to *Oxnaford*, and burnt that City, and having plunder'd on both 'ſides the *Thames*, they return'd to their ſhips; but when they heard 'that an Army was prepared ready againſt them at *London*, they again 'paſſed over the River at *Stanes*, and thus rambled about the Countrey 'all this Winter; yet about Spring they came again into *Kent*, and 'there refitted their ſhips.

Anno Dom. MX. 'But preſently after *Eaſter* the *Daniſh* Army marched out againſt the '*Engliſh*, and going on ſhore at *Gypeſwic* (i. e. *Ipſwich*) went di-'rectly thither, where they knew Earl *Ulfkitel* was encamp'd with his 'Forces; this happen'd on *Aſcenſion-day* in the morning; ſo the *Eaſt-Eng-'liſh* preſently fled, and there were on the ſpot ſlain *Ethelſtan* the King's 'Son-in-Law, as alſo *Oſwi* and his Son, and *Wulfric* the Son of *Leofwin*, 'with many other Noble *Thanes*, and common Soldiers not to be num-'bred: One *Thurkytel*, ſirnamed *Myranheafod*, (that is, in our preſent 'Language, *Ant's-head*) firſt began to fly, whereby the *Danes* kept the 'field; and having provided themſelves with Horſes, they ſubdued all '*Eaſt-England*, ſpoiling and burning for three Months together, where 'they went; then marching into the *Fens*, they there deſtroyed both 'Men and Cattel, and burnt the Towns of *Theodford* and *Grantabyrig*, '(i. e. *Cambridge*): Then turning *Southward* toward the *Thames*, they 'rode on Horſeback to their ſhips; and preſently coming out of them 'again, they marched towards the *Weſt* into *Oxnafordſcire*, and from 'thence into *Buckinghamſcire*, and ſo along the River *Owſe*, till they got 'as far as *Bedanford*; and thence to *Temeſanford* (now *Temsford*), 'burning all the Towns in their way.

'Then again they returned to their ſhips with all their Plunder, and 'there divided it amongſt them. But as for the King's Forces, when 'they ſhould have ſtopped their paſſage, they e'en returned home; and 'when the *Danes* were in the *Eaſt*, they were taken up in the *Weſt*; 'and whilſt they were in the *South*, the others were in the *North*.

And *Florence* farther adds, That in this Expedition into *Oxfordſhire*, the *Danes* not only took, but burnt the City of *Oxford*.

All

All which Deſtructions muſt needs have proceeded from hence, that the *Danes* making War by Sea as well as by Land, could upon the approach of the King's Army ſail away to any other part of the Kingdom, and from thence march off again before the King's Army could ever come at them; which proves how abſolutely neceſſary it is for an Iſland to maintain a powerful Fleet, if ever they mean to be ſafe. But to return to our Annals. *Anno Dom.* MX.

'At laſt all the *Wiſe Men* of the Kingdom were again ſummoned by 'the King, to conſult how they might better defend the Kingdom; 'but, it ſeems, whatſoever was there reſolved on, did not continue a 'month without alteration, till at laſt there were no Commanders that 'would raiſe any Forces, but every one fled away as faſt as they could, 'neither would any one Shire help its Neighbours: Inſomuch that be-'fore the Feaſt of St. *Andrew*, the *Daniſh* Army came to *Hamtune*, 'which Sea-Town they burnt, and took what Plunder they pleaſed in 'the Neighbourhood, and from thence again paſſed over the *Thames* 'into *Weſt-Seax*, and thence into the Marſhes of *Kent*, all which they 'wholly burnt and deſtroyed: And when they had thus marched where-'ever they would, about *Midſummer* they returned again to their Ships.

Oxford and *Cambridge* being both burnt this year by the *Danes*, all Studies ceaſed at each of theſe Places, till long after, as *Thomas Rudburn* relates, one *Robert Bolean* began to read his Lectures on the Scriptures, *Anno* 1133. From which time (ſays he) the Scholars have ſtill continued both at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*.

But no wonder that things ſucceeded no better, if what *Caxton* in his Chronicle relates, were true concerning thoſe Times; That when the Nobles met in the Great Council of the Kingdom, inſtead of conſulting for the good of it, they fell to impeaching one another, and ſpent their whole time in their own private Quarrels; the Church-men ſtanding upon their Privileges, refuſed to aſſiſt the King, or to contribute any thing conſiderable to the Publick Neceſſities: To all which miſchiefs were likewiſe added Robberies, and Scarcity of Bread; which ſtill encouraged the *Danes*, as they perceived the Kingdom grow weaker and weaker, to demand greater Tribute to buy their Peace; till at laſt the Kingdom was quite exhauſted of all its Treaſure.

'This year the King and his *Wiſe Men* ſent again to the *Daniſh* Army 'with deſires of Peace, promiſing them both Proviſions and Money; 'for they had then ſubjected to them all *Eaſt-England*, *Eaſt Seax*, *Middle-'Seax*, *Oxnaford*, *Grantebiryge*, *Heortford*, *Buckingaham*, *Bedanford*, 'and *Huntandun Scyres*, and on the *South*-ſide of *Thames*; and all the '*Kentiſh-men*, and *South-Saxons*, with the Town of *Hæſtings*; and 'beſides all theſe, *Suthrig*, (i. e. *Surrey*) *Bearruc*, and *Hamtune Scires*, 'and great part of *Wiltunſcire*; all which miſeries happen'd to us 'through evil Council, becauſe the Tribute was not paid them time 'enough, and not till they had done all the miſchiefs they could. Then 'was a Peace clapp'd up with them: Yet nevertheleſs this League being 'ſoon broken, they marched about every where in Troops, carrying 'off a world of Booty with them, either taking theſe poor people Pri-'ſoners, or elſe ſlaying them outright. *Anno Domi* MXI.

'Alſo this year, between the Nativity of the Virgin *Mary* and *Mi-'chaelmas*, they beſieged *Canterbury*, and took it by Treachery; for one '*Ælmer* (an Archdeacon) whoſe Life Archbiſhop *Ælfeage* had for-

Anno Dom. MXI. 'merly ſaved, betrayed it to them (after twenty days Siege); then 'they took Priſoners Archbiſhop *Ælfeage*, and *Ælfwold* the King's She- 'riff, and *Leofwin* the Abbot, and *Godwin* the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; but 'Ælmer, Abbot of St. *Auguſtine*'s they let go.

'They likewiſe took all in Holy Orders, both Men and Women; 'nor can it be told how many theſe were; after which they remain'd in 'the City as long as they pleaſed: But as ſoon as they had plunder'd it, 'they went back again to their Ships, carrying the Archbiſhop along 'with them; and he was now become a Captive, who but a little be- 'fore was the Spiritual Head of the *Engliſh* Nation: One might there 'have ſeen Miſery at its full ſtretch, where uſed to be Joy and Proſpe- 'rity; even in that City from whence was firſt brought to us the joyful 'Tidings of the Goſpel: But they detain'd the Archbiſhop Priſoner '(near Seven Months) till ſuch time as they martyr'd him.

Osbern in his Life of St. *Elfeage*, relates, That this Archbiſhop ſent to the *Danes* when they came before the Town, deſiring them to ſpare ſo many innocent Chriſtians lives; but they deſpiſing his requeſt, fell to battering the Walls, and ſo throwing Firebrands into the City, ſet it on fire; ſo that whilſt the Citizens ran to ſave their Houſes, *Ælmeric* the Archdeacon let the *Danes* into the City.

Florence here adds, That the Monks and Laity were decimated after a ſtrange manner; ſo that out of every Ten Perſons, only the Tenth was to be kept alive; and that only Four Monks and about Eight hundred Laymen remain'd after this Decimation: And that not long after, above Two thouſand *Danes* periſhed by divers inward Torments; and the reſt were admoniſh'd to make ſatisfaction to the Biſhop, but yet they obſtinately refuſed it.

Florence of *Worceſter*, and *R. Hoveden* alſo relate, That the *Danes* deſtroyed many of the Priſoners they had taken, with cruel Torments, and various Deaths.

Anno Dom. MXII. 'This year *Eadric* the Ealdorman (ſirnamed *Streon*), and all the 'Wiſe and Chief Men, both Clerks and Laicks of the *Engliſh* Nation, 'came to *London* before *Eaſter* (which fell out then the day before the '*Ides* of *April*) and there ſtayed until ſuch time as the above-mentioned 'Tribute could be paid, which was not done till after *Eaſter*, and was 'then Eight thouſand Pounds: In the mean time (being about Six 'Months after) upon a *Saturday* the *Daniſh* Army being highly incen- 'ſed againſt Archbiſhop *Ælfeage*, becauſe he would neither promiſe 'them Money himſelf, nor yet would ſuffer any body elſe to give them 'any thing for his Ranſom; for which, as *Osbern* in his Life relates, they 'demanded no leſs than Three thouſand Pounds in Silver, (a vaſt Sum 'in thoſe days); which being denied them, and many of them being 'got drunk, they laid hold on the Archbiſhop, and led him to their 'Council on the *Saturday* after *Eaſter*, and there knocked him on the 'head (as the Annals relate) with Stones and Cows Horns, till at laſt 'one of them ſtriking him with an Axe on the Head, he fell down dead 'with the Blow.

Florence ſays, that this was done by one *Thrum* a *Dane*, whom he had the day before confirmed, being thereunto moved by an Impious Piety. But *John* of *Tinmouth* in his Manuſcript Hiſtory of Saints, called *Hiſtoria Aurea* now in the Library at *Lambeth*, relates that when Archbiſhop *Elfeage* was thus killed, the *Danes* threw his Body into the River,

River, which was ſoon taken out again by thoſe whom he had converted. *Anno Dom.* MXII.

But our Annals here farther relate, 'That the Biſhops *Eadnoth* and '*Ælfhune*, (the former of *Lincoln*, and the latter of *London*) took 'away his ſacred Body early the next morning, and buried it in St. *Paul*'s 'Minſter, (where God now ſhews the power of this Holy Martyr.) 'But as ſoon as the Tribute was paid, and the Peace confirmed by Oath, 'the *Daniſh* Army was looſely diſperſed abroad, being before cloſely 'compacted together; then Five and forty of their Ships ſubmitted to 'the King, and promiſed him to defend the Kingdom, provided he 'would allow them Victuals and Apparrel.

'The year after Archbiſhop *Ælfeage* was thus martyr'd, the King *Anno Dom.* 'made one *Liſing* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: Alſo the ſame year, be- MXIII. 'fore the Month of *Auguſt*, King *Sweyn* came with his Fleet to *Sand*-'*wich*, and ſoon after ſailing about *Eaſt-England*, arrived in the Mouth 'of *Humber*; and from thence up the River *Trent*, till they came to '*Gegnesburgh* (now *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnſhire*.)

Which miſchief, according to *William* of *Malmesbury*, proceeded from *Turkil* a *Dane*, who was the great Inciter of the Death of the Archbiſhop, and who had then the *Eaſt-Engliſh* ſubjected to his will. This man ſent Meſſengers into his own Countrey to King *Sweyn*, letting him know, that he ſhould come again into *England*; for the King was given ſo much to Wine and Women, that he minded nothing elſe; wherefore he was hated by his Subjects, and contemned by Strangers; that his Commanders were Cowards, the Natives weak, and who would run away at the firſt ſound of his Trumpets. Though this ſeems not very probable, for Earl *Turkil* was then of King *Ethelred*'s ſide, as you will ſee by and by.

King *Sweyn* being prone enough to ſlaughter, needed no great Intreaties to bring him over; he had been here eight years before, and why he ſtayed away ſo long, I wiſh our Authors would have told us: But *William* of *Malmesbury* further adds, That one chief end of his coming over, was to revenge the death of his Siſter *Gunhildis*, who being a Beautiful Young Lady, had come over into *England* with *Palling* her Husband, a powerful *Daniſh* Earl, and receiving the Chriſtian Religion, became her ſelf a Hoſtage of the Peace that had been formerly concluded: But tho the unhappy Fury of *Edric* had commanded her to be beheaded together with ſome other of her Countreymen, yet ſhe bore her Death with an undaunted Spirit, having ſeen her Husband, and a Son, a Youth of great and promiſing hopes, ſlain before her face. But to come again to our Annals:

'So ſoon as King *Sweyn* arrived in the *North*, Earl *Uhtred* and all the 'Countrey of the *Northumbers*, with all the people in *Lindeſige*, and 'the people of the five *Burghs* or Towns (but what theſe were we now 'know not) lying on the other ſide *Wætlingaſtreet*, ſubmitted them-'ſelves to him. There were alſo Hoſtages given him out of every 'Shire; but when he found that all the people were now become ſub-'ject to him, he commanded them to provide his Forces both with 'Horſes and Proviſions, whilſt he in the mean time marched toward the '*South* with great expedition; committing the Ships and Hoſtages to '*Knute* his Son: And after he had paſſed *Wætlingaſtreet*, they did as 'much miſchief as any Army could do: Then they turn'd to *Oxnaford*,

'whoſe

Anno Dom. MXIII.

'whoſe Citizens preſently ſubmitted themſelves to him; from thence 'he went to *Wincheſter*, where the Inhabitants did the ſame; and from 'thence they marched *Eaſtward* towards *London*, near which many of 'his men were drown'd in the *Thames*, becauſe they would not ſtay to 'find a Bridge; but when they came thither, the Citizens would not 'ſubmit, but ſallying out, had a ſharp Engagement with them, becauſe 'King *Ethelred* was there, and Earl *Turkil* with him: Wherefore King 'Sweyn departed thence to *Wealingaford*, and then over *Thames Weſtward* 'to *Bathe*, and there ſate down with his whole Army, whither came to 'him *Æthelmar* the Ealdorman of *Devonſhire*, with all the *Weſtern* '*Thanes*, who all ſubmitted themſelves to him, and gave him Hoſtages.

'When he had ſubdued all theſe places, he marched *Northwards* to 'his Ships, and then almoſt the whole Nation received and acknowledg- 'ed him for their real King: And after this the Citizens of *Lon-* '*don* became ſubject to him, and gave him Hoſtages, becauſe otherwiſe 'they fear'd they ſhould be utterly deſtroy'd; for *Sweyn* demanded that 'they ſhould give full Pay and Victuals to his Army; and that Winter '*Thurkil* demanded the ſame for King *Ethelred*'s Forces, which lay at '*Grenawic*, (i. e. *Greenwich*). But both the Armies refrain'd not a jot 'the leſs from plundering where they pleaſed; ſo that the Nation both 'as well in the *North* as in the *South*, was no longer able to bear it.

'After this the King ſtayed ſome time with his Fleet which lay then 'in the *Thames*, whilſt the Queen retired beyond Sea to her Brother Earl '*Richard* (in *Normandy*); and *Elſige* Abbot of *Burgh* went along 'with her; the King alſo ſent thither the Princes *Eadward* and *Ælfred*, 'with Biſhop *Ælfune* to be their Governor. Then the King went with 'his Fleet about *Chriſtmaſs* into *Wihtland*, and there kept the Feſtival; 'and afterwards paſſed over to Earl *Richard*, and there ſtayed with him 'till *Sweyn* died.

'There is in the *Peterburgh* Copy of theſe Annals, this following Re- 'lation; That whilſt the Queen thus remained beyond Sea, *Elſige* Abbot 'of *Burgh*, who was then with her, went to the Monaſtery called '*Boneval*, where the Body of Saint *Florentine* lay buried: This place 'he found almoſt wholly deſerted, and the poor Abbot and Monks in a 'miſerable condition, having been robbed of all they had; then he 'bought of the Abbot and Monks the whole Body, except the Head, 'for Five thouſand Pounds, and at his return into *England* dedicated it 'to *Chriſt* and St. *Peter*, that is, he placed it in the Church of *Peter-* '*burgh*, of which he was then Abbot.

In the *Saxon* it is 500 *l.*

This was a vaſt Sum of Money in thoſe days, to be given for the Bones of one dead Carkaſs, and not entire neither; but ſuch was the Superſtition of that Age.

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'This year King *Sweyn* ended his Life about *Candlemas*: Then all the '*Daniſh* Fleet and Army choſe *Cnute* his Son to be their King: But all 'the *Wiſe* or *Chief Men* of the *Engliſh* Nation, as well of the Clergy as '*Laity*, ſent to King *Æthelred*, to let him know that there was no 'Prince dearer to them than their own Natural Lord, provided he would 'govern them better than he had hitherto done. Upon this the King 'ſent Prince *Edward* his Son, and ſeveral others, Attendants, into this 'Kingdom, with Orders to recommend him to the whole Nation in his 'Name, promiſing them to be a faithful and kind Lord to them; and 'that he would redreſs whatever Grievances they had ſuffer'd, and would

'alſo

'alſo pardon whatſoever had been done againſt him either by Words or 'Deeds, provided they would all ſincerely return to their Allegiance. *Anno Dom.* MXIV.

'Then a full and firm Amity being concluded on both by Words and 'Deeds, and Hoſtages being given on both ſides, they decreed the *Da-'niſh* King for ever baniſhed *England*: After which King *Ethelred* re-'turn'd about *Lent* into his own Countrey, and was chearfully received 'by all men.

The *Bodleian* Copy of *Florence* here adds, That Queen *Elfgiva* (or *Emma*) with the Two Young Princes her Sons, remained ſtill in *Normandy*, until ſhe was (after the Death of her Husband) ſent for over by King *Cnute*, and the Common-Council of the Kingdom, and being married to him, was ſolemnly crowned at *Weſtminſter*, in the preſence of all the Biſhops and Great Men of *England*.

'After *Sweyn* was dead, *Cnute* his Son ſtaid with his Army at *Geg-'nesburgh* until *Eaſter*, and there agreed with the people of *Lindeſige*, 'that they ſhould provide his Army with Horſes, and then that all of 'them ſhould march out together to plunder; but King *Ethelred* came 'thither with a ſtrong Army before they were ready to execute their 'Deſign, and ſpoiled and burnt all places, killing all the men they 'could meet with; therefore King *Cnute* departed thence with his 'Fleet, leaving the poor miſerable people to ſhift for themſelves, and 'ſail'd *Southward* till he came to *Sandwic*, and there put the Hoſtages 'on ſhore which had been given to his Father, having firſt cut off their 'Hands and Noſes. But for an addition to all theſe Calamities, the 'King commanded Twenty one thouſand Pounds to be paid to the Ar-'my that then lay at *Grenawic*.

'Alſo this year on the Vigil of St. *Michael*, happen'd a great Inunda-'tion of the Sea all along this Coaſt, inſomuch that it ſpread further 'than ever it had yet done, ſo that it drowned many Towns, and an in-'numerable company of men.

We have nothing further to add under this year, more than to obſerve the various Relations of our *Monkiſh* Writers concerning the ſudden death of King *Sweyn*, which they will needs have to be a Judgment upon him for waſting the Lands belonging to the Monaſtery of *Badriceſworth*, and for giving opprobrious language againſt the Memory of St. *Edmund*, who was then enſhrin'd. But becauſe their Relation of this matter is very remarkable, I ſhall give you both *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*, their Account of it; which is thus, That King *Sweyn* lying then at *Gainsborough*, there held a General Aſſembly of his Great Officers; and when it grew toward evening, being encircled with his Armed Men, he caſt out Threats, that he would ſend and ſpoil that Monaſtery; whereupon he preſently thought he ſaw St. *Edmund* coming all Armed toward him, which made him cry out vehemently, *Help, help, Fellow-ſoldiers, look here, King* Edmund *comes to kill me*; and as he uttered theſe words, he received a Mortal Blow by the Saint's hands, and ſo fell from his Horſe, and lying till the duſk of the evening in great torment, he expired on the ſecond of *February*, and was carried to *York*, and there buried: So theſe Writers report from the Legend of St. *Edmund*: Yet *John* of *Tinmouth* makes St. *Edmund*'s Ghoſt to have ſtabbed him with his Dagger as he ſate in his Chair. But *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, That St. *Edmund* appeared to him in his ſleep, and ſmote him whilſt he was in bed, becauſe he anſwered him rudely:

Anno Dom. MXIV. rudely: But they all agree that he died of the Blow which St. *Edmund* had given him: But I do believe that there may be ſo much Truth in this Story, that King *Sweyn* being mortally wounded by ſome unknown hand, who had the good fortune to make his eſcape, gave occaſion to the Monks of St. *Edmundsbury* to invent this Legend for the Honour of their Saint, and alſo to deter others from daring to violate that place, which was then accounted ſacred.

But it ſeems King *Ethelred* was not much better'd by Affliction, nor did he long obſerve his Promiſe of governing according to Law; for the next year,

Anno Dom. MXV. 'A *Mycel Gemot* (or Great Council) being now held at *Oxnaford*, 'Earl *Eadric* there betray'd *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, two *(Daniſh)* Thanes, 'of the *Seafenburghs* (that is the Seven Towns, but where they lay, 'we know not) and inviting them all into his Chamber, they were 'there treacherouſly ſlain: Then the King ſeized upon all their Goods, 'and commanded the Widow of *Sigeferth* to be ſecured, and carried to '*Meanelmesbyrig*, (i. e. *Malmesbury*): But ſome ſhort time after, *Ed*-'*mund Ætheling* coming thither, married this Woman againſt his Fa-ther's will: For the Prince going (as *William* of *Malmesbury* relates) to ſee her, upon the great fame of her Beauty and Virtue, having ſeen her, and preſently falling in Love with her, he there married her. *Florence*, and *Mat. Weſtminſter*, do alſo farther relate, that not only theſe two Noblemen, but alſo divers of the Nobility appeared there, who though they were of *Daniſh* Blood, yet ſtood firm to King *Ethelred*'s Intereſt; the chief of theſe were *Sigefert* and *Morchar*, (abovementioned) men of great Riches and Power in the *Northern* Parts, and that perfidious Earl *Edric*, who gaping after their Eſtates, accuſed them ſecretly of Treaſon to King *Ethelred*, by whoſe Order the Earl invited them all with great ſhew of kindneſs to a Feaſt, where he cauſed them to be treacherouſly murther'd. But their Dependants, who went about to revenge their Lords death, were repulſed, and forced to fly into the Tower of St. *Frideſwide*'s Church in *Oxford*, from whence, when they could not eaſily be driven, the Tower was ſet on fire, and they conſumed with it: But preſently after, the King repenting of his Cruelty, cauſed the Church to be cleanſed and repaired.

This year alſo *Lhewelyn ap Sitſylt*, who was married to *Angharat*, only Daughter to *Meredyth* Prince of *Wales*, (as you have already heard) raiſed great Forces againſt *Aedan ap Blegored*, the uſurping Prince of *North Wales*, and fighting a bloody Battel with him, there ſlew him with his four Sons; but the place is not mentioned where this Fight was: After which, *Lhewelyn* took upon him the Principality of *North Wales* (for one *Kynan*, or *Conan*, then held *South-Wales*); but though this *Lhewelyn* was deſcended by his Mother's ſide from *Howel Dha*, yet notwithſtanding he was not the Lawful Heir of *North-Wales*, but *Jago* Son to Prince *Edwal* above-mentioned, who after the death of this *Lhewelyn* ſucceeded him, as you will hear in due time.

'After this, about the Feaſt of the Nativity of the Virgin *Mary*, '*Edmund Ætheling* marched toward the *Five Burghs* (places in 'the *North* of *England* to us unknown) and preſently invading the 'Lands of the ſaid *Sigeferth* and *Morchar*, ſubdued all that Countrey. 'About the ſame time King *Cnute* arrived at *Sandwic*, and forthwith 'ſail'd round about *Kent*, to the *Weſt-Saxons*, till he came to the mouth 'of

'of the River *Frome*, and there landing, plunder'd all about *Wiltſhire*, 'Dorſetſcire, and *Sumerſetſcire*. At the ſame time King *Ethelred* lay 'ſick at *Coſham* (in *Wiltſhire*) and then Earl *Eadric* got together an 'Army, and *Edmund Ætheling* another in the *Northern* parts; but 'when they came near one another, the Ealdorman lay in wait to en-'trap Prince *Edward*, and cut him off, but was not able to effect it, (for 'his Deſign was diſcovered); whereupon they ſhiered off without fight-'ing at all, and by that means yielded the field to their Enemies. Then '*Eadric* having firſt gained over to him Forty of the King's Royal 'Navy, ſubmitted to *Cnute*, as did alſo the *Weſt-Saxons*, and gave 'him Hoſtages, and provided Horſes for his Army, and there he ſtay'd 'among them till *Chriſtmaſs*. *Anno Dom.* MXV.

'This year King *Cnute* came with his Fleet of a Hundred and ſixty 'Sail, and with him *Eadric* the Ealdorman, over the *Thames* into *Mer-'cia*, as far as *Crecilade* (on the *North*-ſide of *Wiltſhire*); and then 'towards *Chriſtmaſs* they turned about to *Waringſcire*, (i.e. *Warwick-'ſhire*), where they plunder'd without mercy, burning Towns, and 'killing all that came in their way. Upon this *Ædmund Ætheling* be-'gan to raiſe an Army againſt them; but when his Forces were got to-'gether, they were but of little ſervice to him, becauſe that neither the 'King was preſent there, nor did the Citizens of *London* come up to 'his aſſiſtance; ſo that that Expedition was utterly loſt, and every man 'went home again about his own buſineſs. *Anno Dom.* MXVI.

'But after the Holidays were over, another Expedition was appoint-'ed, under a great Penalty upon every one that ſhould not appear at the 'Muſter, though he lived never ſo far off: And a Meſſenger was ſent 'to the King at *London*, humbly beſeeching him to come and meet the 'Prince's Army with all the Forces he could raiſe; but (it ſeems) when 'they were all got together, they ſignified no more than what they had 'often done formerly; for it was told the King that ſome in the Army 'conſpired againſt him, whereupon he diſmiſſed his Forces, and ſo re-'turn'd to *London*.

So that whoever reads this Hiſtory, may perceive that this King through his own Cowardiſe or Ill Fortune, was conſtantly attended with ill ſucceſs where ever he went.

'Then Prince *Edmund* rode down to the *Northumbers* to Earl *Uhtred*, 'and all men thought they were about to raiſe another Army againſt 'King *Cnute*, but they went into *Staford*, and *Scrobbesbyrig*, and *Legaceſter* '*ſcires*, plundering in all places where they came; whilſt *Cnute* did the 'like in his Quarters, marching through *Buckingahamſhire*, and from thence 'into *Bedafordſhire*, and ſo through *Huntingtonſhire* over the Fens to *Stan-'ford*, and from thence into *Lincolneſcire*, and afterwards into *Nottingham-'ſhire*, and ſo into *Northumberland*, towards *Eoforwic* (i.e. *York*); which 'when *Uhtred* had heard, he deſiſted from ſpoiling the *Northern* Parts; 'and ſo being compell'd through neceſſity, ſubmitted himſelf, together 'with all the *Northumbers*; and tho he gave Hoſtages, yet he was ſhort-'ly after ſlain (by King *Cnute*'s Orders), as was alſo *Thurkytel* the Son 'of *Nafan* (as *Florence* relates) by *Thorebrand* a certain Noble *Dane*; but, 'according to *Malmesbury*, it was done at the Command of *Cnute* himſelf.

'After this, *Cnute* appointed *Yric* to be Earl of the *Northumbers*, in-'ſtead of *Uhtred*, and then returned *Southward* another way by the *We-'ſtern* Coaſts, ſo that his whole Army arrived at their Ships before

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'*Easter*; but *Edmund Ætheling* returned to *London* to his Father. 'After the Holidays King *Cnute* with all his Ships sail'd towards *Lon-*'*don*; but it happened that before the *Danish* Fleet arrived there, King '*Ethelred* deceased on the Feast of St. *George*, after he had suffer'd many 'Afflictions and Miseries in this life.] And was buried at St. *Paul*'s in *London*.

This Prince has the Ill Character from *William* of *Malmesbury*, and the rest of our Historians, of being given to Wine and Women; and that neglecting the Company of the Queen his Wife, he debased the Royal Majesty by frequenting Mistresses of mean Quality, which very much alienated his Consort's Affections from him; though she had two Children by him, *viz. Elfred* and *Edward*. He is also said to have been Tyrannical to his own Subjects, taking away their Lives and Estates only for pretended Crimes. That he was also both Cowardly and Cruel, appears by that Barbarous Massacre of the *Danes* in time of Peace. But *William* of *Malmesbury* says it was a wretched and miserable time; for every one was obliged to give up or murther his dearest Guests; nay, those whom a nearer Relation had yet render'd dearer to him. That this King was likewise Timerous and Unfortunate in all his Undertakings, appears through the whole course of his Reign; from whence he has the Title among our *English* Historians, of *Ethelred the Unready*, because his Preparations were always either ill-tim'd or unsuccessful; but as he was a mean-spirited Prince succeeding a Magnanimous Father, so Prince *Edmund* his Son and Successor equall'd his Grandfather King *Edgar* in Courage, tho not in good Fortune.

But though King *Ethelred* was no Great or Worthy Prince in his own Person, yet with the Assistance of his *Wites* or *Wise Men* of his *Great Council*, he made divers excellent Laws and Constitutions. There are in *Bromton*'s Chronicle four several Bodies of these Laws, made at as many several times, and in divers places, whereof there are only two extant among the *Saxon* Laws published by Mr. *Lambard*.

The Laws comprized in the first Division are Six, there said to have been made at *Woodstock* in *Mercia*, for the restoration of Peace according to the Law of *England*.

The first is, That every Freeman shall find Sureties to be bound for him, that he shall do right in case he be accused.

The second I shall omit, since it hath been already mentioned in the Laws of King *Edgar*; only the latter end of it is very remarkable; to wit, The Lord shall answer for his whole Family, and be *Surety* for the appearance of every Person in it. And if any of his Servants after they are accused, run away, the Lord or Master shall pay his man's *Were* to the King: And if the Master be accused as the Adviser to, or Promoter of his Escape, he shall purge himself by five *Thanes*; and if he do it not, he shall pay to the King his *Were*, and his man shall be an Outlaw.

The Third ordains, That a Bondman being cast by the *Ordeal*, shall be marked with a Hot Iron for the first Offence; and being cast in the same manner the second time, shall be put to Death. Which Law bears some resemblance to our present Law or Custom, whereby *Clergy* is allowed for the first Crime committed.

By the fifth the King's Reeve or Officer is obliged to require Sureties for the good behaviour of such as are of ill fame amongst all men; which

which if ſuch a one obſtinately refuſes to give, he is to be put to death, and to be buried in an unhallowed place with Malefactors: And if any uſe force in his behalf to further his Eſcape, he is to undergo the ſame Puniſhment. *Anno Dom.* MXVI.

As for the next Set of Laws, they are ſaid to have been made at *Veneting*, or *Wanating* (now *Wantage* in *Berkſhire*), and for the increaſe of common Peace and Happineſs by King *Ethelred* and his Wiſe Men.

The firſt of them is concerning the keeping of the King's Peace, as it was in the days of his Predeceſſors, and for the puniſhment of the breach of it, in caſe of Manſlaughter: If it were in a *Gemot* or Aſſembly of five Boroughs, with the forfeiture of five Pounds weight in Silver: If in an Aſſembly of a Borough or Town, by a Mulct of Seven hundred (Shillings). [But how much this was, is not known; for we have not now any true account of the Standard of Money at that time.] If in a *Wapentake*, by One hundred; and if in an Ale-houſe a man be killed, with ſix half Marks; if he be not killed, with twelve *Oares*; for the Value of which, *Vid.* Sir *Hen. Spelman*'s Gloſs.

From hence (but eſpecially from the Laws of King *Ina*) we may obſerve, how Ancient the Liquor of Ale, and Ale-houſes, have been in *England*, as alſo (what commonly follows it) quarrelling, and breaking of the Peace in ſuch places.

The fourth commands, That Publick Meetings be obſerved in every Hundred or Wapentake; and that Twelve *Thanes*, (ſays *Bromton*) or Twelve Men of free condition, (as *Lambard* reads it) being Elderly Men, together with their *Præpoſitus* (or Chief) ſhall ſwear upon the Goſpels or Holy Reliques, That they will neither condemn an Innocent Perſon, nor acquit a Guilty One.

From whence we may obſerve the Antiquity of Trials by a Grand Inqueſt of more than Twelve Men, even in the *Engliſh Saxon* times, and was not introduced by *William* the *Conqueror*, as *Polydore Virgil*, an *Italian*, not much skill'd in the Antiquities of this Iſland, hath delivered in his Hiſtory.

And to confirm what we have here ſaid, the Third Chapter of the League betwixt King *Alfred*, and *Guthrun* the *Dane*, very much maketh out, which orders, *That if the King's* Thane *or Servant be accuſed of Homicide, he ſhall purge himſelf* (*if he dare*) *by twelve other* Thanes: Which you may ſee at large in thoſe Laws themſelves; and beſides theſe the Reader throughout the whole Collection of *Saxon* Laws may obſerve, there is frequent mention made of clearing and purging by ſo many men ſummoned for that purpoſe, as ſometimes by twelve, ſometimes by fewer, and ſometimes by more.

As for the Trial by *Ordeal*, it grew more in requeſt in the Reign of King *Cnute*, and his Succeſſors, being indeed originally a *Daniſh* Cuſtom.

The reſt of the Laws of King *Ethelred* made at *Wantage*, having many of them relation to this way of Trial by *Ordeal*, and containing many obſcure terms, I omit. But ſince ſeveral of them may very well be referred to other former Laws, I ſhall only ſelect from amongſt them, ſuch as are moſt worthy to be taken notice of here.

The twenty third appoints what Cuſtom ſhould be paid by Ships and Veſſels of all ſorts that unladed at *Billingge ſgate*; from whence it appears that this was the Ancient Port of *London*, Wines and all other Commodities being here unladed.

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The twenty ſixth impoſes the ſame Puniſhment upon ſuch as wittingly receive, as well as on thoſe that make Bad Money.

Whereby we may obſerve, That though the Coining of Bad Money was not as yet made Treaſon, yet it was puniſhable at the King's diſcretion, either by Fine or Death, as you will ſee in the following Law.

The twenty eighth puts it into the King's power, whether to fine or put to death ſuch Merchants as import Counterfeit Money: And further impoſeth upon all Port-reeves that ſhall be acceſſary, the ſame Puniſhment as upon thoſe that coin falſe Money, except the King think fit to pardon them.

There are alſo other Laws which we cannot certainly affirm to have been made in his time, though the general Conjecture is that they were. Theſe are compriſed in an Agreement or Act which the *Wiſe Men* of *England* and the Counſellors of *Wales* made, concerning the Inhabitants of the Mountains of that Countrey: But as for the particular Laws made in this Common-Council of both Nations, ſince they only concern Cattel or other Goods taken away on either ſide, or elſe the manner of giving Teſtimony, both by *Welſh* and *Engliſh* Witneſſes in ſuch caſes, I refer the Reader to the Laws themſelves; and ſhall only deſire him to take notice, That Juſtice was to be equally adminiſtred by Twelve Judges, Six *Welſh* and Six *Engliſh* men, much after the ſame manner as the Commiſſion for the Borders of *England* and *Scotland* is now executed.

But that we may ſee how great a diſtance there was then between theſe two Nations (which, God be thanked, are now united into one) the ſixth Article of theſe Laws expreſly forbids the *Welſh* to come into *England*, or the *Engliſh* to enter *Wales*, except received at either Bank by the Borderers, who ſhall take care for their ſafe conduct and return: And in caſe any Borderer be accuſed of falſe dealing herein, and cannot by witneſs diſprove it, he ſhould be fined.

King

King EDMUND, ſirnamed Ironſide.

AFter the Death of King *Ethelred*, all the Wiſe and Great Men who were then at *London*, together with the Citizens of that place, elected *Eadmund* the Eldeſt Son of that King to reign over them, who held it but a ſhort time, and that with great difficulty. *William* of *Malmesbury* ſays he was born of a Woman whoſe name he did not know; but * *Ethelred* Abbot *de Rievallis*, ſaith ſhe was the only Daughter of *Toret* a Noble *Earl*, whom the Chronicle of *John* of *Wallingford* calls *Ethelred*'s firſt Wife: But *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates otherwiſe, that he was not born of Queen *Emma*, who was his only Wife, but of a certain Ignoble Woman; yet beſides the Obſcurity of his Birth, he was a Man without all exception, both for Strength of Body and Mind, and therefore called by the *Engliſh*, *Ironſide*. He would have made amends both for his Father's Cowardiſe, and his Mother's want of Birth, had he been but allowed ſome longer time to have lived. So that it appears by theſe Authors, that this King *Edmund* was born of a Concubine.

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* *De Genealog. Reg. Ang.*

But to come to our Hiſtory: When King *Edmund* was thus declared King at *London* (as *Simeon* of *Durham* tells us) with great Acclamations of Joy, he alſo relates, That many of the Biſhops, Abbots, and Noblemen of *England* coming to *Southampton*, abjuring the Progeny of King *Ethelred*, at the ſame time choſe *Cnute* for their King; who (according to our Annals) 'immediately came with his Fleet to *Grenawic*, 'about *Lent*, and within a ſhort time after marched up to *London*, where 'they dug a great Trench on the *South*-ſide of the River, and drew 'their Ships to the *Weſt*-ſide of the Bridge, and beſieged the City, inſo-'much that none could go in or out, making ſuch frequent Aſſaults upon 'it; yet the Citizens reſiſted them vigorouſly: But King *Eadmund* was 'marched out before into *Weſt-Saxony*, where all that Nation willingly 'ſubmitted themſelves to him. Not long after, he fought with the '*Danes* at *Peonnan* (now *Pen*) near *Gillingam* (in *Somerſetſhire*.)

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But *Cnute* not being there, they do not tell us who commanded in his ſtead, for he was then with his Fleet at the Siege of *London*.

'After *Midſummer* King *Eadmund* fought another Battel at *Sceorſtan* (which place is ſuppoſed to be a Stone that now parts the four Counties of *Oxfordſhire*, *Glouceſterſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, and *Warwickſhire*): But our Annals do not mention who had the Victory; only, 'That there 'were many kill'd on both ſides, and that the two Armies marched off 'from each other of their own accord; for *Eadric* the *Ealdorman*, and '*Ælmer*, then joined with the *Danes* againſt King *Edmund*.

But as *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, *Eadric* the Traytor was the cauſe of the King's Soldiers running away; for holding up his Sword dipped in the Blood of ſome mean perſon, (or as *Simeon* ſays, his Head, which was very like King *Edmund*'s) whom he had newly killed, he cried out to the *Engliſh*, to fly, for their King was dead: Yet *R. Hoveden* adds, That the Fight was very bloody, and both Parties were forced to leave off, being quite tired.

Our

Anno Dom. MXVI.

Our Annals do then thus proceed, That King *Edmund* having gather-
'ed an Army the third time, march'd to *London*, and raiſed the Siege,
'driving the *Danes* to their Ships, and within two days after the King
'paſſed over at *Brentford*, and there fought the *Danes*, and put them to
'flight; but many of the *Engliſh* were drown'd by their own ne-
'gligence, as they ran before the Army, being greedy of ſpoil.

'After this the King marched down toward the *Weſt-Saxons*, and
'there reinforced his Army; whilſt in the mean time the *Daniſh* Forces
'returned to *London*, and beſieged that City, aſſaulting it both by Land
'and Water, but God at that time alſo delivered it; whereupon the
'*Danes* departed from *London* with their Ships into *Arwan*, and there
'landing marched up into *Mercia*, killing and burning all they met with,
'according to their old cuſtom, and there furniſhed themſelves with
'Proviſions, and then drew all their Ships with their Spoil up the
'*Medway*.

But where this *Arwan* abovementioned lay, is very uncertain; That it could not be the River *Arrow* in *Warwickſhire* (as ſome fancy) is plain, that being no where Navigable: Therefore the *Ingenious* Editor of theſe *Annals*, in the explication of the Proper Names of Places at the end of the Book, does very probably gueſs, that this River was either that which we now call *Orwell*, which divides *Eſſex* from *Suffolk*; or elſe that there is an Error in the *Saxon Copy*, and inſtead of *into Arwan*, it ſhould be read *to Waran*, that is, they went up the River *Lee* as far as *Ware*: But this I leave to the Reader's Judgment, and ſhall again return to the Annals themſelves.

'Then King *Eadmund* aſſembled the whole *Engliſh* Nation a fourth
'time, and paſſed the *Thames* again at *Brentford*, and from thence went
'into *Kent*, and there put the *Daniſh* Horſe to flight in *Seapige*, and
'killed as many of them as they could meet with: But *Eadric* the Eal-
'dorman by his ſubtle Artifices perſuaded the King to ſtay at *Æglesford*,
'which was the moſt perfidious advice that could be given him.

Florence of *Worceſter*, and *William* of *Malmesbury* are more particular in this Tranſaction; and ſay, That the Traitorous Earl above-mentioned ſo over-perſuaded the King by his plauſible Inſinuations, that he did not purſue the *Danes*, when almoſt routed, or elſe he might have obtained an abſolute Victory.

'Then (according to our Annals) the *Danes* turned againſt the
'*Weſt-Saxons*, and marched into *Mercia*, killing all before them; but
'when the King underſtood that the *Danes* were gone thither, he drew
'all the *Engliſh* Forces together the fifth time, and following them him-
'ſelf in the Rear, overtook them near a Hill called *Aſſandun* (now
'*Aſhdown* in *Eſſex*), where they had a very ſharp Engagement;
'but there *Eadric* the Ealdorman playing his old pranks, firſt of all be-
'gan the flight with the *Mageſætons*, by *Cambden* ſuppoſed to be the
'*Radnorſhire* men; and ſo once more deceived his Natural Lord, and
'the whole Nation.

But here, though I cannot but admire the wonderful Courage and Conſtancy of this Brave Prince, yet can I not commend his Prudence, who could thus truſt a known Traytor, that had not only betrayed himſelf, but his Father before him: But I need make no long reflections upon this, ſince we find few Princes guilty of the like Eaſineſs in later Ages.

'But

'But this is certain from our Annals, That *Cnute* now obtained the 'Victory againſt the greateſt part of the *Engliſh* Nation; and there 'were ſlain on the ſpot *Eadnoth* the Biſhop, and *Wilfſige* the Abbot, *Ælfric* 'and *Godwin* the Ealdormen, and *Wulfkytel* Earl of *Eaſt-England*, and 'moſt of the *Engliſh* Nobility. *Anno Dom.* MXVI.

William of *Malmesbury* highly commends this *Wulfkytel*, and ſays that he deſerved perpetual Honour, becauſe he was the firſt in the time of *Sweyn*, who ſet upon the *Daniſh* Pyrates, and gave ſome hopes that they might be conquered. But as for *Eadnoth* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and the Abbot above-mentioned, they came not to fight, but as *Simeon* ſays, to pray to God for thoſe that did; ſo that the *Engliſh* Nation never yet received a greater Blow.

But King *Edmund* being left almoſt alone, got to *Glouceſter*, and there rallied and recruited his ſhatter'd Troops; but thither (according to our Annals) 'King *Cnute* with all his Army purſued him: Then *Eadric* 'the Ealdorman, and all the Great Men on both ſides adviſed the Two 'Kings to come to Terms of Peace: Whereupon they both met toge-'ther at *Olanege* (an Iſland in the River *Severn*, now called the *Eighth*) 'and there concluded a League between them (Hoſtages and Oaths 'being mutually exchanged) and agreed, That the *Daniſh* Army 'ſhould be paid.

A Peace being thus concluded, the two Kings parted from each other, *Eadmund* going into *Weſt-Saxony*, and *Cnute* to the *Mercians*.

But ſince other Authors have more particularly related the Cauſe and Manner of making this Peace, I ſhall give you a larger account of it from *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *R. Hoveden*; the firſt of whom ſays, That the Traytor *Edric* and ſome others, when King *Edmund* would have fought again with *Cnute*, would by no means ſuffer him to do it; but adviſed him rather to make a Peace, and divide the Kingdom with him; to whoſe Perſuaſions the King at laſt (though unwillingly) conſented; and Meſſengers paſſing between them, and Hoſtages being interchanged, the two Kings (or rather, their Commiſſioners, as *Bromton*'s Chronicle relates it) met at a place called *Deorhurſt*, on the *Severne*, and there concluded a Truce. Then King *Edmund* with his men being on the *Weſt* ſide of *Severne*, and *Cnute* with his Followers ſitting down on the *Eaſt* ſide thereof, they paſſed over in Ferry-boats to the Iſland above-mentioned, where they met, and agreed upon the Terms of Peace.

But *Ethelred* Abbot of *Rieval*, tells the Story ſomewhat different, *viz.* That both Armies growing weary of the War at laſt, compelled the Great Men on each ſide to come to a Conference, where one of the moſt Elderly among them is brought in making a long Speech, (I ſuppoſe to ſhew the Wit of thoſe Authors); and therein he very pathe-"tically repreſents the Miſchiefs the Soldiers lay under, in thus expoſing "their Lives and Fortunes for Two Princes of equal Courage; and ſo "adviſed them before it was too late, That ſince King *Edmund* could not "endure a Superior, nor *Cnute* an Equal, they ſhould leave it to them "two to fight by themſelves for that Crown which they both ſo much "deſired to wear; leſt by this deſperate way of fighting, the Soldiers "ſhould be all kill'd, and then there would be none left to defend the "Nation againſt Foreign Invaders. Which Speech being highly appro-ved of by all there preſent, both Armies cried out with one voice,

Let

Anno Dom. MXVI. *Let them either Fight, or Agree:* This Sentence of the Chief Commanders and Soldiers being brought to both the Kings, pleaſed them ſo well, that they met in the Iſland above-mentioned, and there fought ſingly in the ſight of both Armies; where having broken their Spears, and then drawn their Swords, there follows in theſe Authors a long and Tragical Relation of this mighty Combat, which yet it ſeems happened without any Wounds on either ſide; but *Cnute* beginning at laſt to be out of breath, and fearing the greater Strength and Youth of King *Edmund*, propoſed a Peace to be made by diviſion of the Kingdom between them; and they give us alſo the fine Speech made by King *Cnute* upon this Subject; which Propoſal being willingly received by King *Edmund*, they kiſſed and embraced each other, both Armies wondering and weeping for joy at this ſo happy and unexpected agreement. So mutually changing both their Arms and Apparrel in token of Friendſhip, they each return'd to their own men, and there drew up the Conditions of the League; *viz.* That King *Edmund* ſhould enjoy *Weſt-Saxony*, and *Cnute* the Kingdom of *Mercia*; but what was to become of the reſt of *England*, they do not ſpeak one word.

But tho ſo many of our Writers ſeem pleas'd with this Romantick Story, yet I rather aſſent to the Teſtimony of our *Annals*, and the *Encomium Emmæ*, as alſo *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and ſeveral Manuſcript Authors in the *Cottonian* Library, who all agree this Peace to have been made at the place aforeſaid, without any Combat at all between the two Kings: Only *William* of *Malmesbury* relates, that when King *Edmund* had challenged *Cnute* to fight with him ſingle, to ſave the further Effuſion of their Subjects Blood, this Challenge being carried to King *Cnute*, he utterly declined it, ſaying, Though he had as great a Courage as his Antagoniſt, yet he would not venture his own ſmall Body againſt a man of ſo great Strength and Stature; but ſince both their Fathers had enjoyed a ſhare of the Kingdom, it was more agreeable to prudence to divide it between them: Which Propoſal being joyfully received by both Armies, as a thing moſt juſt and equal in it ſelf, and which moſt tended to the good of both Nations, now haraſs'd out by long and cruel Wars, King *Edmund* accepted of, and agreed (though with ſome reluctancy) to a Peace, upon the terms above-mentioned. Thus we find what a great uncertainty there is in moſt of the Relations of thoſe times. But to proceed with our *Annals*:

'The *Danes* as ſoon as this Peace was concluded, went to their Ships 'with all the Plunder they had taken, and from thence ſail'd to *London*, 'and there took up their Winter-Quarters.

For that City, as being part of the *Mercian* Kingdom, had now ſubmitted it ſelf to them.

'Not long after this, *viz.* at the Feaſt of St. *Andrew*, King *Eadmund* 'departed this life, and was buried with his Grandfather King *Eadgar* 'at *Glæſtingabyrig*. The ſame year alſo deceaſed *Wulfgar* in *Abbandune*, 'whereof he was Abbot, and *Æthelſige* ſucceeded him.

But ſince our *Annals* tell us only of the ſudden Death of this Prince, without relating the manner of it, we ſhall give it you more at large from other Authors, who almoſt generally agree, that he was murthered by that Traytor *Edric*, though they differ ſomewhat in the Actors or Inſtruments by whom it was committed; ſome will have him to be taken off by Poyſon; others, with an Arrow ſhot by an Image made on purpoſe,

poſe, which diſcharged it ſelf upon the King as ſoon as he touched it; but this is too improbable to beget any credit: And therefore what *William* of *Malmesbury*, and *Bromton*, relate, is moſt likely to be true, *viz.* That this *Ædric* above-mentioned ſuborned two of this King's Servants to lye under the Houſe-of-Office, and to thruſt up a ſharp piece of Iron into his Fundament, as one night he ſate down to eaſe himſelf. Tho the Chronicle laſt-mentioned ſays this Murther was committed at *Oxford* by one of *Edric*'s Sons, who at the command of his Father ſtabbed him in the Hinder-Parts with a long ſharp Knife, and left the Weapon ſticking in his Body. But *H. Huntington*, and *Alred* Abbot of *Rievalle*, ſay that *Edric* was the firſt who ſaluted *Cnute* Sole King of all *England*; to whom when he had told all the matter, the King anſwer'd, *Well, for ſo great a Good Turn, I will advance thy Head above all the Lords in* England; and thereupon commanding him to be beheaded, order'd his Head to be ſet upon the Tower of *London*: But this being related by no other Author beſides *Mat. Weſtminſter*, is not probable; for all others make him to have been alive ſome time after this. But *Simeon* of *Durham* and *R. Hoveden*, do with greater certainty relate, That as ſoon as he received the News of *Edmund*'s Death, he order'd all the Biſhops, Ealdormen, and Chief Men throughout *England*, to be ſummoned to *London*, and when they appeared before him, he cunningly asked them, If they were Witneſſes of the Agreement which had been made between him and King *Edmund*, concerning the Diviſion of the Kingdom; and whether there was any Condition inſerted, That either his Sons or his Brethren ſhould ſucceed him in the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*? Then they all began with one accord to ſay, They did not know that King *Edmund* had left any part of the Kingdom to his Brethren, either living or dying; but as for his Sons, they knew very well that *Edmund* would have left him to be the Protector of his Children, till they ſhould come of fitting age to reign: But they likewiſe add, that they bore falſe witneſs, and lied groſly, becauſe they hop'd to make King *Cnute* the more favourable to them, and ſhould thereby receive the greater Rewards for their pains: But ſome of them had a juſt Recompence for their Perjury, by being not long after put to death. Hereupon King *Cnute* after he had thus taken their Teſtimonies, received the Oaths of Fidelity from the ſaid Great Men and Biſhops, who all ſwore that they would chuſe him for their King, and willingly raiſe Taxes to pay his Army; and at the ſame time alſo they renounced the Sons of King *Edmund*, (*Edward* and *Edmund*) from ever being Kings of this Nation. *Anno Dom.* MXVI.

But King *Cnute* growing jealous of theſe Young Princes, ſent them to the King of *Sweden*, that they might by him be made away; which he out of compaſſion not only refuſed, but generouſly ſent them to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*, to be educated; and being there kindly received for ſome time, *Edmund* the elder of them died, but *Edward* the younger marrying *Agatha* the Queen's Siſter, had by her *Edgar*, ſirnamed *Ætheling*, *Chriſtina* a Nun, and *Margaret*, afterwards married to *Malcolme* King of *Scotland*; of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak further, before we come to the end of this Book.

King CNUTE.

Anno Dom. MXVII.

'THis year (according to our *Annals*) *Cnute* King of *Denmark* 'began to reign over all *England*, which he divided into four 'Parts or Governments, reſerving *Weſt Saxony* to himſelf, 'committing *Eaſt-England* to Earl *Thurkyl*, *Mercia* to '*Eadric*, and the *Northumbers* to *Tric*; but not long after, the ſaid *Eadric* 'the Ealdorman was killed: The manner of which *Bromton*'s Chronicle thus relates, That at *Chriſtmaſs* the King being at *London*, in a certain upper room on the other ſide of the *Thames*, it happened that the Traytor *Eadric* upbraided the King with his ſervices, How that for his ſake he had betrayed King *Ethelred*, and alſo made away *Edmund* his own King, and yet he had received no very extraordinary advantage or benefit thereby, according to his Merits, (to be ſure, as he himſelf thought); at which *Cnute* being highly enraged, anſwered, *Out of thy own mouth ſhalt thou be judged, who plainly confeſſeſt thy ſelf a Traytor againſt both thy former Kings, therefore thou ſhalt certainly dye*: So he immediately commanded him to be tied hand and foot, and flung out of the Window into the River; though ſome other Authors relate that he was firſt ſtrangled: But we cannot find for certain which way it was done; for *William* of *Malmesbury* and *R. Hoveden* only ſay this, That the King commanded *Eadric*, ſirnamed *Streon*, to be ſlain in the Palace, becauſe he was afraid of being circumvented by his Treacheries; and ordered likewiſe his Body to be flung over the Wall of the City, and there to lye unburied.

The *Annals* do here further add, 'That *Northman* Son to Earl *Leofwin*, 'and *Æthelward* Son to *Æthelmer* the Great, and *Brihtric* Son to *Ælf*-'*ger* Earl of *Defenanſcire*, were alſo put to death; but their Crimes are not ſet down: Therefore *R. Hoveden* ſuppoſes them to have been only the King's Jealouſy of their too great Power, being all *Engliſh* Noblemen, though I ſuſpect they were guilty of ſomewhat more than what we find related.

'The ſame year alſo the King baniſhed *Eadwig Ætheling*, called '*Ceorles Cyng*, (i.e. King of the Clowns) Brother to King *Eadmund*. But the Annals ſeem to make this *Eadwig* two perſons, though for what reaſon I know not; but however he was not immediately baniſhed after *Cnute* came to the Crown, as ſome Writers ſuppoſe; neither yet was he put to death, as *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Bromton*, relate; for the latter tells us this Story of him, That *Cnute* not thinking himſelf ſafe ſo long as *Edwig* was alive, conſulted with Earl *Eadric* how to have him diſpatched out of the way; by whoſe advice the King ſent for one *Ethelward*, and tempted him privately with large Rewards; but he abhorring in his heart ſo foul a deed, however promiſed to do it as ſoon as he found a fitting opportunity, and by this means ſtill deferred it. But then the ſame Author adds, That having by the ſaid *Eadric*'s Counſel baniſhed Prince *Edwin*, the year following, under a feign'd Reconciliation, he was by King *Cnute*'s Order made away; which is contrary to what

William

William of *Malmesbury* relates; for he says that this Prince, having been long tossed about both by Sea and Land, and being broken as well in Body as in Mind, secretly return'd into *England*, and lay conceal'd till he died, and then was buried at *Tavistock*. *Anno Dom.* MXVII.

But the *Annals* further say, 'That before the *Kal.* of *August*, the King 'commanded Queen *Emma*, Widow of the late King, his Predecessor, 'to be brought over to him, and some time after took her for his Consort. This he did to gain the Friendship of the Duke of *Normandy* her Father; but she is highly censured for marrying the sworn Enemy of her Husband and her Children: Though this only lets us see that it is no new thing for Princes to prefer the wearing of a Crown even before their own Honour.

'Now again (according to our Annals) was paid that Tax or Tri- *Anno Dom.* MXVIII. 'bute called *Danegelt*, throughout all the *English* Nation, to wit, Se- 'venty two thousand Pounds; besides that which the Citizens of *Lon-* 'don paid, *viz.* Eleven thousand Pounds more. Which Tax being raised when there seemed to be no more fear of the *Danes*, it looks as if King *Cnute* now took upon him to govern as a Conqueror. From which also you may observe the flourishing Trade and Wealth of that City in those days, since it could even at that time pay above a Seventh of this excessive Taxation.

'Then also a great part of the *Danish* Army return'd into *Denmark*, 'and only forty Ships remain'd with King *Cnute*; the *Danes* and *Eng-* 'lish were likewise now reconciled and united at *Oxnaford*: *Bromton* says it was done at a Great Council or Parliament at *Oxford*, where King *Cnute* ordained the Laws of King *Edgar* (i. e. of *England*) to be observed.

'The same year also *Æthelsige*, Abbot of *Abbandune* deceased, and 'Æthelwin succeeded him.

'This year King *Cnute* returned into *Denmark*, and there stayed all *Anno Dom.* MXIX. 'the Winter. *Bromton*'s Chronicle says he went over to subdue the *Vandals*, who then made War against him, and carried along with him an Army both of *English* and *Danes*; the former being commanded by Earl *Godwin*, set upon the Enemies by surprize, and put them to flight; after which the King had the *English* in as much esteem as his own *Danish* Subjects. But the year following,

'He returned into *England*, and then held a *Mycel Gemot*, or Great *Anno Dom.* MXX. 'Council at *Cyrenceſter*, where *Ethelward* the Ealdorman was outlaw'd. 'The same year also King *Cnute* went to *Assandune* (the place where 'he had before fought the great Battel with King *Edmund*) and there 'caused a Church to be built of Lime and Stone for the souls of those 'men that had been slain there: Which being (as *R. Hoveden* relates) consecrated in the King's presence by *Wulstan* Archbishop of *York*, and divers other Bishops, was committed to the care of his Chaplain, whose Name was *Stigand*.

'Also Archbishop *Living* deceased, and *Ethelnoth* a Monk and Dean 'of *Canterbury*, was consecrated Bishop by *Wulstan* Archbishop of 'York.

But before we proceed farther, I will give you some account of the Affairs of *Wales* in these times: Where after the death of *Kynan*, or *Conan*, the Usurping Prince of *South-Wales* above-mentioned, *Lewelyn* Prince of *North-Wales* had, according to *Caradoc*'s Chronicle, possessed

Anno Dom. MXX. himself of *South-Wales*, and had for some years governed both those Countries with great Peace and Prosperity, so that from the *North* to the *South* Sea, there was not a Beggar in the whole Countrey, but every man had sufficient to live of his own, insomuch that the Countrey grew daily more and more populous.

But this year produced a notable Impostor; for a certain *Scot* of mean Birth came now into *South-Wales*, and called himself *Run*, or *Reyn*, (as the Manuscript Copies have it) the Son of *Meredyth ap Owen*, late Prince of *Wales*, as you have already heard. Upon which the Nobility of that Countrey, who loved not *Lewelyn*, set up this *Run*, or *Reyn*, to be their Prince; But *Lewelyn* hearing of it, assembled all the Forces of *North-Wales*, and marched against this *Run*, who had now also got all the strength of *South-Wales* together; and going as far as *Abergwily* (i.e. the mouth of the River *Gwily*) there waited the coming of *Lewelyn*; but when he arrived, and both Armies were ready to join Battel, *Run*, full of outward confidence, encouraged his men to fight; yet no sooner was the Battel begun, but this Impostor soon discovered what he was, by withdrawing himself privily out of the fight; whereas on the contrary, *Lewelyn* like a Couragious Prince standing in the Head of his Army, called out aloud for this base *Scot*, *Run*, who durst so belye the Blood of the *British* Princes: Both Armies then meeting, fought for a while with great Courage, and Malice to each other; but it seems the *South-Wales* men being not so resolute in the Quarrel of this Impostor, as those of *North-Wales* were to defend the Right of their Lawful Prince; the latter being also encouraged by the Speeches and Prowess of their Prince, put the former to the Rout, and pursued this *Run* so closely, that he had much ado to escape; Prince *Lewelyn* having got thus a great deal of Spoil, return'd home, and for a short time govern'd these Countries in Peace. But to return to our Annals;

Anno Dom. MXXI. 'This year, about *Martinmass*, King *Cnute* outlaw'd (*i.e.* banished) 'Earl *Thurkyl*:' But they tell us not the Crime. Yet *William* of *Malmesbury* makes it a Judgment, for being the principal Promoter of the Murther of Archbishop *Ælfeage*; and that as soon as he return'd into *Denmark*, he was killed by some Noblemen of that Nation.

This year also, according to an Old Manuscript belonging to St. *Edmundsbury*, and cited by the Lord Chief Justice *Coke*, in the Preface to the 9th Book of his *Reports*, King *Cnute* held a Parliament at *Winchester*, wherein were present the two Archbishops, and all the other Bishops, as also many Ealdormen and Earls, with divers Abbots, together with a great many Knights, and a vast multitude of People; and there, in pursuance of the King's desires, it was decreed, That the Monastery of St. *Edmund the King* should be free and for ever exempt from all Jurisdiction of the Bishops and Earls of that Country.

But Sir *H. Spelman* here very well observes, that this Manuscript could be no Ancienter than the Reign of *Henry* the Third, because the word *Parliament* was not in use before that time.

Though thus much is certain, That King *Cnute* the year before founded this Monastery, afterwards called St. *Edmundsbury*, (but then known to the *Saxons* by the name of *Beadricheſworth*) where there had been a Church built before; and King *Edward* the Elder, in the year 942, had also given several Lands to it, and upon which Foundation King *Cnute* had lately built and endowed the said Abby, which was one of the Largest and Richest in all *England*.

Lewelyn

Lewelyn ap Sitsylt, Prince of *Wales*, but a ſhort time enjoyed the fruits of his late Victory; for this year the *Welſh* Chronicles tell us, he was ſlain by *Howel* and *Meredyth*, the Sons of Prince *Edwin*, or *Owen*, above-mentioned, who yet did not ſucceed in the Principality; for *Jago*, Son to *Edwal* late Prince of *Wales*, was now advanced to the Throne as Lawful Heir, having been long debarr'd of his Right: But it ſeems he could not do the like in *South-Wales*, which one *Rytheric ap Juſtin* ſeiz'd upon, and held by force. *Anno Dom.* MXXI.

'This year King *Cnute* ſail'd with his Fleet to the Iſle of *Wight*; but 'upon what account, our Annals do not ſhew us: Alſo Archbiſhop '*Æthelnoth* went to *Rome*, and was there received by Pope *Benedict* 'with great Honour, who put on his Pall with his own hands, and 'being ſo habited, celebrated Maſs, as the Pope commanded him; and 'then after he had dined with him, return'd home with his Bene-'diction. *Anno Dom.* MXXII.

'Alſo *Leofwin* the Abbot, who had been unjuſtly expell'd from the 'Monaſtery of *Elig*, was his Companion, and there cleared himſelf of 'thoſe Crimes of which he had been accuſed, before the Pope: the Arch-'biſhop and all the Company that were there preſent, teſtifying on his 'behalf.

'*Wulſtan* Archbiſhop of *York* deceaſed, and *Ælfric* ſucceeded, *Edel-'noth* the Archbiſhop conſecrating him at *Canterbury*. Alſo this year 'the ſame Archbiſhop tranſlated the Reliques of St. *Ælfeage* (his Pre-'deceſſor) from *London* to *Canterbury*. *Anno Dom.* MXXIII.

The King himſelf, as *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, removed them with his own hands, paying them all due Veneration; and further adds, that his Body remain'd as uncorrupt as if he had been but lately kill'd.

'*Richard* the Second, Duke of *Normandy* died, and *Richard* his Son 'ruled after him one year; and then *Rodbert* his Brother ſucceeded him, 'and ruled eight years. *Anno Dom.* MXXIV.

'This year King *Cnute* ſail'd with his Fleet into *Denmark*, to a Plain 'near the Holy River, but where that was, I know not; and there 'came againſt him *Wulf* and *Eglaf*, with a very powerful Army 'out of *Sweden* both by Land and Sea; and many on King *Cnute*'s ſide 'were there killed, both *Danes* and *Engliſh*, the *Swedes* keeping the 'field of Battel. After which *Cnute* returning into *England*, I find no mention made of any Action here in any Author, for the two ſucceeding years. But then, *Anno Dom.* MXXV.

'King *Cnute* ſail'd with fifty Ships of *Engliſh Thanes* into *Norway*, 'and drove King *Olaf* out of that Countrey, and conquer'd it for him-'ſelf. *Anno Dom.* MXXVIII.

Bromton's Chronicle relates, That this *Olaf* being a Soft and Eaſy Prince, was already in a manner driven out by his own Subjects; and ſo *Cnute* only went as it were to receive the Kingdom from the Nobility and People, who ſubmitted themſelves preſently to him.

'King *Cnute* came back into *England*.] And (as *R. Hoveden* adds) upon his Return baniſhed *Hacun* a *Daniſh* Earl, that had married his Niece *Gunhilda*, who was his Siſter's Daughter, ſending him away under pretence of an Embaſſy; for the King was afraid leſt otherwiſe he might deprive him both of his Kingdom and Life. *Anno Dom.* MXXIX.

King

Anno Dom. MXXX.

'King *Olaf* return'd again into *Norway*, to regain his Right; but the 'People rising up against him, he was there slain.

This is he who was afterwards canoniz'd under the Title of *King* Olaf *the Martyr.*

About this time (as *Guil. Gemeticensis*, and *John* of *Walingeford*, do both relate) *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* pitying the long Exile of his Nephews *Edward* and *Alfred*, sent Ambassadors to King *Cnute*, requiring him to restore them to their Right; but he not at all valuing his threatning, sent the Ambassadors back with a Repulse; whereat the Duke conceiving great indignation, assembled his Nobles, and by their Advice caus'd a great Navy to be prepar'd, which in a short time came to Anchor at *Fescam*; then the Duke with his Army put to Sea, but by Tempest was driven into the Isle of *Guernsey*, and so shatter'd, that he was forced to return home, where they were detain'd a long time by contrary Winds, which was an extreme mortification to him.

But not long after, Ambassadors came over to him from King *Cnute*, signifying, That he was contented to resign to the Young Princes half the Kingdom, which they should peaceably enjoy during his life, (and that was not like to be long) for he then laboured under a languishing Distemper: Wherefore the Duke thought good for some time to defer his Expedition till he should be come back from *Jerusalem*, whither he had vowed to undertake a Pilgrimage. And when he had recommended to *Robert* Archbishop of *Rouen*, and other Nobles, his Son *William*, then a Child of Seven Years old, and received from them Assurances of their Fidelity to him, he began the said Voyage; and having perform'd it, as he was returning homewards the next year, he fell sick, and died about the *Alpes*. But of this *William* his Son, by *Harlotte* his Concubine, not only succeeded his Father, but was also afterwards King of *England*; as you shall hear when we come to his Reign.

Anno Dom. MXXXI.

'This year, as soon as King *Cnute* return'd into *England*, he gave 'the Port of *Sandwic* to *Christ*'s Church in *Canterbury*, with all the Issues 'and Profits arising from thence on both sides the Haven, according to an Extract from his Charter (preserved among the * Evidences of that Church); and that as far as, when the Tide of Flood was highest, and a Ship lying near the Shore, a man could from thence cast a little Axe on land, so far the *Christ-Church* Officers should receive all Rights and Dues.

* *Vid.* X. *Script. col.* 2225.

† *Tom.* I. *p.* 282.

This year also, according to † *Monast. Angl.* King *Cnute* founded another Monastery for *Benedictines* in *Norfolk*, which from its being seated in a Woody Place, was called St. *Bennet*'s in *Holme*; the Lands and Scite of which Abby being by King *Henry* the VIII^th^, after the Dissolution of Monasteries, exchanged with the Bishop of *Norwich* for other Lands; he is the only Bishop of *England* who has still the Title of an Abbot.

Also under this year I find a Charter in the *Manuscript* Copy of *Florence* of *Worcester*, in the *Bodleian* Library, made to the Monastery of St. *Edmundsbury*, granting and confirming all its Lands and Privileges; the beginning of which Charter being somewhat remarkable, I shall here recite: *Cnute, Rex Totius Albionis Insulæ, aliarumque Nationum adjacentium, in Cathedra Regali promotus, cum Consilio & Decreto Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, Abbatum, Comitum, omniumque meorum Fidelium elegi sanciendum,*

ciendum, & perpetuo ſtabilimento ab omnibus confirmandum, quod Monaſterium, quod Badriceſwerde nuncupatur, &c. which is alſo printed from the Original, at the end of Mr. *Petyts* Treatiſe of the Rights of the Commons, *&c.* *Anno Dom.* MXXXI.

King *Cnute* having performed theſe great Deeds of Charity and Devotion, not long after (in the ſame year, as our *Annals* inform us) 'began his Journey to *Rome*.

But ſince our Annals do not tell us what he did there, I ſhall give it you in ſhort from his own Letter, as I find it in *William* of *Malmesbury*, which upon his return from *Rome*, he wrote and ſent into *England*, by *Living* Abbot of *Taviſtock*; and begins thus:

"*Cnute*, King of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and all *Swedeland*, to *Ailnoth* (or "*Egelnoth*, the Metropolitan), and to *Alfric* of *York*, with all the Bi- "ſhops and Primates, and to the whole *Engliſh* Nation, as well *Noble-* "*men* as *Plebeians*, Health: Wherein he gives an account of his Jour- "ney, as alſo the reaſon of his undertaking it; then how honourably "he was received at *Rome*, and what he had there negotiated for the "benefit of his Subjects: Then he gives Directions and Commands to "his Officers to do all Juſtice and Right to the People in his Abſence, "a thing which he reſolved on (as he ſays) long before, but never "could till now accompliſh what he had deſigned for the Pardon of his "Sins and the Safety of all his Subjects; he further ſignifies, that he "was received by all the Princes, who at that time were with Pope *John*, "ſolemnizing the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, with extraordinary Reſpect and Ho- "nour, but eſpecially by *Conrade* the *German* Emperor; that he had dealt "with them all about the concernments of his people both *Engliſh* and "*Danes*, that their Paſſage to *Rome* might be more free and open; and "had obtained, that as well Merchants as others ſhould with all ſafety "paſs and repaſs without any Toll or Impoſition: He had alſo com- "plained to the Pope, that his Archbiſhops paid vaſt Sums of Money "before they could obtain their Palls, which Grievance was by the "Pope's Decree taken off. All theſe Immunities procured from the "Pope, the Emperor, *Rodolph* King of *France*, and all other Princes "throughout whoſe Territories he travelled, were confirmed by Oath, "under the Teſtimonies of Four Archbiſhops, and Twenty Biſhops, "with an innumerable Company of Dukes and other Noblemen there "preſent. Then follows a Thankſgiving to Almighty God, for giving "him ſuch Succeſs in what he had undertaken. After this, he deſires "it might be publiſhed to all the world, that having devoted his Life to "God's ſervice, he reſolved to govern the People ſubject to him in all "Piety, Juſtice, and Equity; And in caſe any thing blameworthy had "been done by him in his Youth, by the help of God he was now "ready to make full amends for it. Therefore he charges all his Mini- "ſters whatſoever, as well Sheriffs as others, That for fear of him they "ſhould not pervert Juſtice, becauſe there was no neceſſity that Money "ſhould be raiſed by any unjuſt exactions. And at laſt, after great "Aſſeverations how much he ſtudied the Profit and Conveniency of his "People, he adjures all his Miniſters before he arrived in *England*, that "they ſhould procure all Dues to be paid according to the ancient Cu- "ſtom; as the Alms of the Plow, the *Tythes* of all Cattel brought forth "in the ſame year, *Peter-Pence* in *Auguſt*, with the Tythes of Corn, "and at *Martinmaſs* the Firſt fruits of the ſame, called *Curceſcot*, or

"*Cyrce-*

Anno Dom. MXXXI. "*Cyrceſcot* (*i.e.* Money given to the Church); in caſe this was not paid "before his Return, he threatens ſeverely to animadvert upon every one "according to the Laws.

William of *Malmesbury* further adds, That at his Return he was as good as his word; for he commanded all the Laws which had been made by former *Engliſh* Kings, and chiefly by *Ethelred* his Predeceſſor, "to be obſerved under great Penalties; for the true obſervation where-"of, our Kings (ſays he) are at this very day ſworn under the name "of the Good Laws of King *Edward*; not that he only ordain'd them, "but becauſe he obſerved them.

So that from hence we may take notice, That Kings who have the leaſt of Hereditary Title, if they mean to reign happily, ought in Policy, as well as Conſcience, to obſerve the Laws of that Kingdom to which they have been advanced without any Right of Blood.

But to return again to our *Annals*; they further tell us, 'That upon 'the King's return from *Rome* (where it ſeems he ſtaid not long after) 'he marched into *Scotland*, and there King *Malcolm* became ſubject to 'him, with two other Kings (of the Iſles) called *Mælbærth* and '*Jehmarc*.

'The ſame year alſo *Robert* Earl of *Normandy* went to *Jeruſalem*, and 'there died; and *William* who was afterwards King of *England*, began 'to reign, being an Infant.

From whence we may plainly ſee, that the *Cottonian* Copy of theſe Annals was wrote in the form we have them, after the Conqueſt; and though the other Copies do not expreſly call him King of *England*, yet they give him the Title of King *William*, which is all one.

About this time (as the *Welſh* Chronicles relate) the *Iriſh Scots* invaded *South-Wales*, by the means of *Howel* and *Meredyth*, the Sons of *Edwin* above-mentioned, who hired them againſt *Rythaerch ap Jeſtyn*, the Uſurping Prince of that Countrey, whom by the aſſiſtance of theſe *Scots* they ſlew in Battel, and by that means got the Government of *South-Wales*, which they ruled jointly, but with ſmall quiet; for the Sons of *Rythaerch* gathered together a great number of their Father's Friends, to revenge his death; with whom Prince *Howel* and *Meredyth* meeting at *Hyarthwy*, after a long Fight routed them, and made them fly; but the year following Prince *Meredyth* himſelf was ſlain by the Sons of *Conan ap Sitſylt*, Brother to Prince *Lewelyn*, to revenge their Father's death, whom *Meredyth* and his Brother *Howel* had ſlain.

Anno Dom. MXXXII. 'This year appeared a ſtrange kind of *Wild-Fire*, ſuch as no man ever 'remembred, and did a great deal of miſchief in divers places. The ſame 'year alſo deceaſed *Ælfſige* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Ælfwin* the King's 'Chaplain ſucceeded in that See.

Anno Dom. MXXXIII. '*Merehwit* Biſhop of *Somerſetſhire* (i. e. *Wells*) deceaſed, and was 'buried at *Glaſtingabyrig*.)

Anno Dom. MXXXIV. '*Ætheric* the Biſhop died (the Annals tell us not of what See): But *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *R. Hoveden* add, That *Malcolm* King of *Scots* died this year, to whom ſucceeded *Mactade*.

Anno Dom. MXXXV. The ſame Authors farther tell us, That King *Cnute* before his Death appointed *Swane* his Eldeſt Son to be King of *Norway*; and *Hardecnute*, his Son by Queen *Æmma*, to be King of *Denmark*; and *Harold*, his Son by *Ælgiva*, a *Hampſhire* Lady, to be King of *England* after himſelf.

'This

'This year King *Cnute* deceaſed at *Scæftesbyrig*, and was buried at the 'new Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*, having been King of *England* almoſt 'twenty years. *Anno Dom.* MXXXVI.

There is no King that can deſerve a more various Character than this; ſince none who came in ſo roughly, after govern'd more mildly: He was naturally Cruel, and very Ambitious, and ſtuck not at any thing to gain a Kingdom, as appears by his dealing with his Predeceſſor's Children, and Brothers; but more particularly with *Olaf* King of *Norway*, whom *Simeon* of *Durham* relates to have been turn'd out of it by the ſecret Practices and Bribes which he liberally beſtow'd upon the Great and Factious men of that Kingdom; but however, toward his latter end he reigned both prudently and moderately; and we may ſay of him what a *Roman* Author does of one of his Emperors, That it had been well for this Kingdom if he had never reign'd at all, or elſe had continued longer; none of his Sons reſembling him either in Valour or Wiſdom.

But to let you ſee that this King was really ſenſible before his death, of the Vanity of Worldly Empire, I ſhall, to divert the Reader, give you this ſtory of him, out of *H. Huntington*, who thus relates it, *viz.* That King *Cnute* being once at *Southampton*, caus'd his Royal Seat to be plac'd on the ſhore, while the Tide was coming in; and with a Majeſtick Air ſaid thus, "Thou *Sea* belongeſt to me, and the Land where-"on I ſit is mine; nor hath any one unpuniſhed reſiſted my Commands; "I charge thee therefore come no further upon my Land, neither pre-"ſume to wet the Feet of thy Sovereign Lord. But the Sea, as before, came rowling on, and without any Reverence at all not only wet but daſhed him; whereupon the King quickly riſing up, bade thoſe that were about him to conſider the weak and bounded Power of Kings; and how none indeed deſerved that Title, but He whoſe Eternal Laws both Heaven, and Earth, and Seas obey. A Truth ſo evident of it ſelf, that were it not to ſhame his Court-Flatterers, (who would not elſe be convinced) *Cnute* needed not to have gone wet-ſhod home. From thenceforth he would never afterwards wear his Crown, but commanded it to be put upon the Head of the Crucifix at *Wincheſter*. M.

From whoſe Example, as *Petrus Pictavienſis* relates, aroſe that cuſtom of hanging up the Armour of Great Men in Churches, as Offerings made to God, by whoſe aſſiſtance they had attained any Honour to themſelves, or Benefit to their Countrey, either by Victory, or an Honourable Death.

I ſhall conclude his Reign with his Laws, which ſince we have not the time when they were made, I have reſerved to this place: They begin thus:

This is the Law (or Decree) which *Cnute* King of all *England*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, hath ordained with the Conſent of his *Wiſe Men* at *London*, as well for the Maintenance of his own Royal Dignity, as for the Benefit of his People, and were made at *Wincheſter* in *Midwinter*, (*i.e.* at *Chriſtmas*) which, you muſt note, was one of the ſtated times when all the Great Men of the Kingdom, both Clergy and Laity, uſed of courſe to attend upon the King, whether he ſummoned them, or not.

But ſince theſe Laws are very long, and contain a Repetition and Confirmation of divers Laws formerly made by his Predeceſſors, I ſhall only here extract ſome of them, and refer the Reader to Mr. *Lambard* for the reſt.

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"The *first* of Civil Concernment commands Justice to be faithfully "and indifferently administred both to Poor and Rich, and abolishes all "unjust Laws.

"The *second* requires Mercy to be used, and that no man be put to "death for a small offence.

"The *eighth* ordains, that all people keep the Peace; and orders one "and the same good Money to be current, and no man to refuse it. If "any one embase the Coin, his hands shall be cut off without any Re- "demption: And if a Reeve or Magistrate be accused that it was done "by his consent, he shall purge himself by a treble Purgation; and if "he be cast, incur the same Punishment with the Offender.

"The *twelfth* is remarkable, since it comprizes all those Forfeitures "which the King challenges as due to himself, in the Counties of *West-* "*Saxony*, except he please to confer them upon any other; *(viz.)* the "Penalties incurr'd for the breach of the Peace, for breaking into a "House, stopping up a Passage, and forsaking a man's Colours. If also "for any Crime a man be outlaw'd, the Restitution of him to his for- "mer state belongs to the King. He also that possesseth *Bocland* (i. e. "Land convey'd by Deed) forfeits to the King, let his Lord be who he "will; as also whoever relieves or Harbours a Fugitive.

"The *fourteenth* Law appoints Mulcts for divers Offences, and parti- "cularly, That if any Judge have out of Hatred or Lucre perverted Ju- "stice, by the Law of the *English* he is to pay to the King the value of "his Head; and also to be removed from his Place, or redeem it as the "King shall please, except he plead that what he did was from Igno- "rance, and then he must confirm this Assertion by Oath: And by the "Law of the *Danes* he is to incur the Mulct of the breach of that Law, "except he can plead Ignorance.

"The *nineteenth* renews the former Laws of King *Alfred*, com- "manding every one of free condition to enter himself into some Hun- "dred or Tything; that being in a condition to purge himself, he may "also be in a capacity to claim from another the value of his Head, "otherwise none that exceeds twelve years of age, in case he receive any "wrong, shall be capable of enjoying the same privilege with a Free- "man; and be he a Master of a Family, or a Retainer, he must be "entred into some Hundred or other, and must find Pledges or Sureties "for his appearance, in case he be accused of a Crime. Some Great "Men (says the King) if they can do it, will protect their Servants, "giving out sometimes that they are Free, other times that they are "Slaves; but we not enduring any such unjust practises, enjoin, That "every one of twelve years of age shall give Security by Oath, that he "will neither steal himself, nor be accessary to the Theft of any other.

Thus doth he revive what King *Alfred* had before ordained, That no Freeman should be out of *Tything*, or live at random, without this most efficacious Tye of Suretyship; and to what was enacted before, adds this caution of twelve years, beyond which, for the Publick Peace and Security, none were to live without being admitted and received into some Hundred and Tything.

"The *twentieth* Law of King *Cnute* so far indulges a man unblame- "able and of good Repute, who never brake his Oath in the Hundred, "nor was cast by the *Ordeal*, that his single Purgation shall be accepted. "But a man of the contrary Reputation, shall either be compelled to take

"his

"his ſingle Oath in three Hundreds, or a threefold one, according to "the cuſtom of that Court, or be put to the *Ordeal*; but a ſingle Pur- "gation is to be made with a threefold preparatory Oath. *Anno Dom.* MXXXVI.

"By virtue of the *fifty fourth* Law, whoſoever conſpires againſt the "King, or his Lord, ſhall forfeit Life and Fortunes, except he purge "himſelf by the threefold *Ordeal*.

"The *ſixty firſt* declares breaking down or burning Houſes, as alſo "Theft, manifeſt Murthers, and betraying of ones Lord, according to "Human Laws, to be Crimes for which there is no *Bote* or Satisfaction "to be made, by way of Mulct or Compenſation: Which is an altera- "tion of the former Laws, by which all theſe Crimes were redeemable "by Money.

"The *next* wills, That Mercy be ſhewn, as much as may be, to "ſuch as truly and unfeignedly amend their ways.

"And by that which follows, the King declares he will put a differ- "ence betwixt Small and Great, Rich and Poor, Young and Old, In- "firm and Healthful; foraſmuch as ſome men may offend out of a kind "of neceſſity; and that a diſtinction is to be made betwixt a forced and "a voluntary act: Therefore he promiſes to ſuccour where there is "moſt need of his help.

"The *ſixty ſeventh* contains an Act of Grace of the King to his Sub- "jects, whereby he relieves ſuch as were formerly oppreſſed: He alſo "enjoins all his Officers, that they make proviſion for his Houſe out of "his own Lands and Tillage, and that they compel no man to furniſh "him with any Proviſions in this kind, upon pain of paying the value "of their heads, if they impoſe any Mulct upon Refuſers.

"The *ſixty eighth* ordains, That in caſe any man by neglect, or ſud- "den Death, depart this world inteſtate, his Lord ſhall take nothing "of his Goods, except what is due to him as an *Herriot*; but all is to be "diſtributed by his Judgment to the Wife, Children, and next Kindred, "juſtly, according to their ſeveral Rights.

"The *ſixty ninth* ſettles the rates of all *Herriots* to the King, ordering "that the *Herriot* of every one be according to his dignity; as firſt, "That of an Earl eight Horſes, whereof four with Furniture, and four "without; four Helmets, as many Corſlets, eight Spears, and as ma- "ny Shields; four Swords, and two hundred *Mancuſes* of Gold. That "of the King's chief *Thane* four Horſes, whereof two with Furniture, "and two without; two Swords, four Spears, and as many Shields; "one Helmet, one Corſlet, and fifty *Mancuſes* of Gold. The *Herriot* "of an inferior *Thane*, an Horſe with Furniture and Arms; or amongſt "the *Weſt-Saxons* the Sum of Money that is paid, called *Halfange*; in "*Mercia* and *Eaſt-England*, two Pounds: But amongſt the *Danes* the "*Herriot* of a King's *Thane*, who hath free Juriſdiction, is four Pounds; "and if he be nearer to the King, his *Herriot* is two Horſes, whereof "the one with Furniture, and the other without; a Sword, two Spears, "as many Targets, and fifty *Mancuſes* of Gold. But the *Herriot* of a "*Thane* of the loweſt condition, is two Pounds.

This word *Herriot*, (or as the true *Saxon* word is written) *Here-geate*, ſignifies Furniture for War, given by the Vaſſal to his Lord, probably at firſt deſigned for the driving away Thieves and Robbers, which abounded when the *Daniſh* or *Northern* Nations ſo frequently invaded the Land: For though the word *Here* does in the *Saxon* Lan-

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guage ſignify an Army, yet it is in our *Saxon* Authors (when without compoſition) generally taken in the worſt ſenſe, for Invaders and Spoilers: A Lawful Army collected by the King for the defence of the Nation being called by the name of *Fyrd*.

"The *ſeventy firſt* requires Widows to continue in Widowhood for "the ſpace of Twelve Months, and then permits them to marry: If a "Woman marry before her Twelve Months be out, ſhe ſhall loſe her "Dower, with all that her Husband left her, which is to come in ſuch "caſe to the next of kin; and he that marries her, ſhall pay the value "of his Head to the King, or to whomſoever he aſſigns it.

"The *ſeventy fifth* Law deprives him of Life and Eſtate, who either "in an Expedition by Land or Sea deſerts his Lord, or his Fellow-Soldier; and in ſuch caſe the Lord is to have back the Land he gave "him; or if it was *Bocland*, it goes to the King. But in caſe any one "dye in Fight in the preſence of his Lord, either at home or abroad, "his *Herriot* ſhall be remitted, and his Children ſhall ſucceed both to his "Goods and Lands, and equally divide them.

"The *ſeventy ſixth* gives him liberty that hath defended his Land, "and cleared it from all doubts and incumbrances in the *Sciregemote*, or "County-Court, to poſſeſs it quietly whilſt he lives, and to leave it to "whom he pleaſes when he dies.

From whence we may obſerve, that before the Conqueſt men might bequeath their Lands by their Laſt Will.

"The *ſeventy ſeventh* gives liberty to every man to hunt in his own "Grounds, but forbids all men under a Penalty to meddle with the "King's Game, eſpecially in thoſe places which he had fenced by Privilege.

By thoſe places thus privileged, he means thoſe which afterwards the *Normans* called *Foreſts*, being Ground Defart and Woody, lying open to the King's Deer, not fenced about with any Hedge or Wall, but circumſcribed and privileged, or (as here he words it) fenced with certain Bounds, Laws, and Immunities, under Magiſtrates, Judges, Officers, *&c.* Concerning theſe Foreſts, the King publiſhed certain Conſtitutions (Thirty four in number), which you may ſee at large in Sir *Hen. Spelman*'s Gloſſary, *tit. Foreſta*. But becauſe he mentions them not in this nor any other of his Laws, they ſeem to have been made afterwards: But the Thirtieth Article is therein almoſt the very ſame with this Law, forbidding all men to meddle with his Game; and yet permitting them to hunt in their own Grounds, *ſine Chaſea*; but what that ſignifies, unleſs it be following their Game out of their own Grounds, I will not take upon me to determine.

King

King Harold, ſirnamed Harefoot.

NOT long after the Death of King *Cnute*, our Annals relate, 'That there was a great *Witena Gemot*, or Council of the 'Wiſe Men, held at *Oxnaford*, where Earl *Leofric*, and al- 'moſt all the *Thanes* on the *Eaſt* part of *Thames*, with the 'Seamen of *London*, choſe *Harold* for King of all *England*, whilſt his 'Brother *Hardecnute* was in *Denmark*: But Earl *Godwin* and all the 'Great Men of the *Weſt-Saxons*, withſtood it as much as they could, 'though they were not able to prevail againſt them. Then was it alſo 'decreed, That *Elgiva* (or *Emma*) the Mother of *Hardecnute*, ſhould 'reſide at *Wincheſter*, with the Domeſtick Servants of the late King, and 'ſhould poſſeſs all *Weſt-Saxony*, where Earl *Godwin* was Governor, or 'Lord Lieutenant. It is ſaid alſo by ſome concerning this King *Ha- 'rold*, that he was the Son of King *Cnute*, and of *Ælgiva* the Daughter 'of *Ælfhelm* the Ealdorman; but that ſeems ſcarce probable to many, 'however, he was full (or Real) King of all *England*. *Anno Dom.* MXXXVI.

That which gave cauſe to this ſuſpicion, was (as *Florence* of *Worceſter* and *Radulph de Diceto* relate) That this *Ælgiva* not being able to have Children by King *Cnute*, commanded the Son of a certain Shoomaker, then newly born, to be brought to her, and feigning a formal Lying in, to have impoſed upon the credulous King her Husband, that ſhe was really brought to bed of a Son; which, if true, ſhews that it is no new or ſtrange thing for a Queen of *England* to impoſe a ſuppoſititious Birth upon the King her Husband, and the whole Nation.

But this Contention about the Election of *Harold*, gives us great reaſon to doubt the Truth of the Relation in *Simeon* of *Durham*, and other Authors, of this *Harold*'s being appointed by his Father's Will to ſucceed in the Kingdom of *England*; ſuch a Nomination or Recommendation ſeldom or never failing to be obſerved by the States of the Kingdom without any diſpute, at the Election of a New King: And beſides, Queen *Emma* his Mother, who had then the greateſt power with King *Cnute*, would ſure much rather have had her own Son *Hardecnute* to have ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of *England*, than *Harold*, at beſt ſuppoſed to be her Husband's Son by another Woman: So that if *Harold* was now choſen King, it is moſt likely that it was not in purſuance of King *Cnute*'s Will, but purely from the prevailing Faction of the *Danes* and *Londoners*; who, as *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, were by their long converſation with them, become wholly *Daniſh* in their Inclinations.

But if *Ingulph* may be believed (who lived as well before as after the Conqueſt), there was then ſo great a Diſpute about the Election of a King, that many fearing a Civil War would enſue, it cauſed multitudes of people to quit their Habitations, and betake themſelves into Wateriſh and Fenny Places, where they thought the Enemy could not, or would not eaſily purſue them; and particularly to the Monaſtery of *Croyland*, where they cauſed ſuch a diſturbance, that the Monks of that place

Anno Dom. MXXXVI. place could neither meet in the Church nor in the Refectory: When at last, to avoid the Effusion of Christian Blood, it was agreed at the aforesaid Council at *Oxnaford*, That the Kingdom should be divided between the two Brothers, *Harold* and *Hardecnute*, so that the former should have all the Countries lying *Northward* from the *Thames*, together with the City of *London*, and *Hardecnute* enjoy all the *Southern* Provinces. But *Hardecnute* having received his share of the Kingdom, went into *Denmark*, where making unnecessary delays, *Harold* seized the whole Kingdom to himself. Which is in part confirmed by an Ancient *Manuscript* Chronicle in the * *Cottonian* Library; which relates, That *Harold* King of the *Northumbrians* and *Mercians*, was elected King of all *England*; and *Hardecnute*, because he staid in *Denmark*, was cast off. To which may be added certain old †*Manuscript* Annals, now in the same Library (part of which is supposed to be written by *Henry* of *Huntington*), That *Harold* was elected by the Chief Men of the *East-Angles* (*i. e.* the *Danes* of that Countrey) together with the *Londoners*; so that he usurped the Kingdom of his Brother *Hardecnute*, being then in *Denmark*. And *Simeon* of *Durham* relates, That by the Consent of the Great Men of *England*, *Harold* began to reign as true and just Heir, but not so indisputably as King *Cnute* his Father had done; because *Hardecnute*, who was a truer Heir than he, was then expected; yet that in a short time the Kingdom became divided after the same manner as *Ingulph* hath related. But it seems very unlikely, that *Hardecnute*, if he had been chosen King of any part of *England*, would have left it, and gone over into *Denmark*, before he was well settled at home. It is therefore more likely (what *Florence* of *Worcester* asserts), That *Harold* was at first elected King only of the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, *Hardecnute* being to enjoy all the rest; but that not coming out of *Denmark* in due time, *Harold* got himself chosen King of the whole Kingdom the year following.

* *Otho*, D. 7.

† *Julius*, D. 4.

But leaving this matter concerning *Hardecnute*'s Succession, which must be confessed is much in the dark, the Author last mentioned does say, That *Harold* after he had obtained the Royal Dignity, sent his Guards speedily to *Winchester*, and there tyrannically seized on the greater part of the Treasures of the King his Father, which had been bequeathed by *Cnute* to the Queen his Mother-in-Law.

But I cannot omit taking notice of the most Cruel and Bloody Treatment of Prince *Alfred* (Brother to King *Edward*) and his Followers; which because many of our Best and most Ancient Historians, as well Printed as Manuscript, refer to this year, and that too not long after King *Harold*'s coming to the Crown, I shall here set down, since it seems most likely to have happened now, rather than at any other time: For though our Authors differ much about it, yet seeing most of the Ancient *Manuscript* Annals in the *Cottonian* Library, (as also that old Treatise called *Encomium Emmæ*, being a Panegyrick wrote on that Queen by a Monk of her own time) agree in relating the Circumstances of this horrid Action, I shall from thence transcribe this following Account of it; *viz.*

"That King *Harold* seeking by Treachery how to get those two young "Princes, (Sons to the late King *Ethelred*) into his power, forged a "Letter in the Name of Queen *Emma* their Mother, inviting them into "*England*; wherein, personating her, she seemed to chide them gently

"for

" for their delay, in not coming over to look after their own concerns; " ſeeing they could not but know that it procured the daily confirming " of the Uſurper in his power, who omitted no arts or means whatſo- " ever, to gain the chief Nobility over to his Party; yet alſo aſſures them, " that the *Engliſh* Nation had much rather have one of them to be their " King; and in concluſion, deſires they would come as ſpeedily and as " privately as they could, to conſult with her, what courſe was beſt to " be taken. *Anno Dom.* MXXXVI.

This Letter was ſent to the Princes, then in *Normandy*, by an expreſs Meſſenger, with Preſents alſo, as from their Mother; which they joyfully receiving, returned word by the ſame hand, That one of them would be with her ſhortly, naming both the Time and Place. * *Alfred* who was the younger (for ſo it was thought beſt) at the appointed time, with a few Ships, and ſome ſmall number of *Normans* about him, appeared on the Coaſt, and no ſooner came aſhore, but fell into the Snare that Earl *Godwin* had laid for him, being ſent on purpoſe to betray him; and being cajoll'd into a belief that he was ſent for by the King then at *London*, he was in the way met at *Guilford* by Earl *Godwin*, who with all ſeeming Friendſhip at firſt kindly entertained him, but in the night ſurprized the Prince, and made him Priſoner, with all his Company, moſt of whom (in all about Six hundred men) were put to various kinds of cruel deaths, and being twice decimated, every Tenth man ſuffered without mercy. The Prince was brought to *London*, and by the King ſent bound to *Ely*, and had his eyes put out as ſoon as he landed there; and being delivered to the Monks to be kept, died ſoon after in their Cuſtody; but whether of the Pain, or Grief, or ſome other Indiſpoſition, is left uncertain.

* Note, *Some other Hiſtorians make him the Elder.*

Yet though this Author makes no mention of Prince *Edward* his Brother's coming over with him; but rather aſſerting the contrary, that he never came at all; however, ſeveral other Hiſtorians will have this Prince to have either come over then, or ſome time before; and that being with his Mother when his Brother was thus treated, ſhe immediately ſent him back into *Normandy*; which I muſt confeſs ſeems very improbable, ſince *Harold* had it then in his power to deſtroy them both.

But though it is certain that this unfortunate Prince was made away, yet ſince our *Annals* are wholly ſilent in it, there is nothing about which our Hiſtorians ſo much vary, as concerning the time when it was done. *William* of *Malmesbury* and *Bromton* place it after the death of *Harold*, and before the coming over of *Hardecnute*; when they ſay that Prince *Alfred* arrived, with ſome expectations of the Kingdom; but the former plainly confeſſes, that he related this ſtory only upon common fame; yet becauſe the Chronicles (*i. e.* the *Saxon* Annals) are ſilent, he will not affirm it for truth; ſo it ſeems he had never ſeen the abovemention'd *Encomium Emmæ*. But that Prince *Alfred* was made away by the means of Earl *Godwin*, we ſhall further make out when we come to the Reign of King *Edward* the *Confeſſor*.

And the reaſon that ſome of our Hiſtorians give for *Godwin*'s cruel uſage of Prince *Alfred*, whilſt he let his Brother eſcape, is, that *Godwin* was afraid of the High Spirit and Wit of this young Prince; becauſe he knew that if ever he came to be King, he would never be governed by him, nor marry his Daughter; both which he hoped for from *Edward*, in caſe he ſhould be choſen King by his means (as afterwards

wards happen'd). This, whether true or not, I will not determine; yet it ſuits well enough with the Intereſt of that Politick Earl. I ſhall ſay no more of this, only we cannot but hence obſerve the great Uncertainty of Traditional Accounts, though of no long ſtanding, ſince this Story, tranſacted not many years before the Conqueſt, is told ſo many ſeveral ways.

Anno Dom. MXXXVII. 'This year (according to our Annals) *Ælgiva* the Widow of King '*Cnute*, and Mother of King *Hardecnute* and King *Edward*, was ba-'niſhed; but going over to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, he aſſign'd her '*Bricge* (i. e. *Bruges*) for her Retirement, where he protected her, 'and provided for her as long as ſhe ſtaid there.

But the Reader is to take notice, that this Queen, who is here called *Ælgiva* in the *Engliſh-Saxon*, is the ſame with *Emma* in the *Norman-French* Dialect, and who was now baniſhed *England* by King *Harold*, as all Writers agree. But the reaſon why this Queen did not retire into *Normandy*, her own Countrey, was, that her Father and Brother were both dead; and though *William* her Nephew then ſucceeded in the Dukedom, yet he was but an Infant, under the Tutelage of the King of *France*.

This year alſo produced a great Revolution in *Wales*; for *Griffyth ap Lewelyn ap Sitſylt*, ſometimes Prince of *Wales*, raiſed a great Army againſt Prince *Jago*, who now enjoyed the Principality of *North-Wales* (as you have already heard); and *Jago* alſo provided for himſelf as well as he could; but the greater part, and the better Soldiers were of *Griffyth*'s ſide, for the love they bore to his Father, as plainly appeared when it came to a trial; for after the Battel was joined, *Jago*, his Soldiers deſerting him, was ſoon overthrown and ſlain; and then *Griffyth* reigned in his ſtead. From whence we may obſerve the ſtrange fickleneſs of the *Welſh* Nation in thoſe times, who notwithſtanding their ſeeming Affection to this Prince the Right Heir, yet left him as ſoon as ever they met with one of the ſame Race whom they liked better. From which evil cuſtom theſe Countries were never long without Civil Wars, till the total Conqueſt of them by the *Engliſh*.

But *Griffyth ap Lewelyn*, after he had thus ſlain Prince *Jago*, governed *North-Wales* very well, following his Father's ſteps; and in the very firſt year of his Government he fought with the *Engliſhmen* and *Danes* at *Crosford* upon *Severne*; and from thence he led his Army to *Lhanpadarn vawr* in *Caerdiganſhire*, and deſtroyed that place; and thence paſſing into *South-Wales*, totally ſubdued it; *Howel ap Edwin*, at that time Prince thereof, being forced to fly his Countrey; and when he had thus reduced *South Wales*, he returned home again with Honour. But the next year,

Anno Dom. MXXXVIII. *Howel* Prince of *South-Wales* (as the *Engliſh* as well as *Welſh* Chronicles relate) having now procured *Edwin* the Brother of *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia* to aſſiſt him, marched with a great Army of *Engliſh* and *Danes* againſt Prince *Griffyth*, who meeting them in the field, overcame them, and ſlew *Edwin* at *Pencadair*, and purſued *Howel* ſo cloſely, that though he eſcaped himſelf, yet his Wife was taken Priſoner; whom *Griffyth* liked ſo well, that he kept her for his Miſtreſs.

But though *Howel* after this made ſeveral Attempts to regain his Countrey, yet he could never ſucceed, for that Prince *Griffyth* held it all his time. But the *Cottonian* Chronicle relates, that fighting afterwards

wards with *Griffyth* at a place called *Paldiwach*, he obtained the Victory, and again made himſelf Prince of *South-Wales*: But this I leave to the Reader's Judgment. To return again to our Annals:

'*Ethelnoth* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deceaſed, and a little after '*Ethelric* Biſhop of the *South-Saxons*; and alſo a little before *Chriſtmas* '*Brytch* Biſhop of *Worceſter*; and a little after, *Ælfric* Biſhop of the '*Eaſt Angles*: Then *Æadſige* was made Archbiſhop, and *Grymkytel* Bi-'ſhop of the *South-Saxons*; and *Living* ſucceeded in the Biſhopricks of '*Worceſter* and *Glouceſter*. *Anno Dom.* MXXXVIII.

'This year King *Harold* deceaſed at *Oxnaford*, 16. *Kal. April*, and '*was buried at *Weſtminſter*. He governed *England* Four Years, and 'Sixteen Weeks.] But there is certainly an Error in this Copy of the *Annals*; for either he deceaſed not till the next year, as the *Cambridge* Copy and *Mat. Weſtminſter* place it; or elſe he could reign but Three Years, and perhaps ſo many odd Weeks as theſe *Annals* mention. *Anno Dom.* MXXXIX.

'In his time was again paid a great Tax for the ſetting out Sixteen '*Sail*; to wit, Eight Marks to every Rower (which ſhews it conſiſted of only Gallies, and not Ships); and as *Florence* alſo adds, Twelve Marks more to every Maſter, which he order'd to be rais'd through all *England*; as was before done in the Reign of King *Cnute*.

But it ſeems every Port was bound to pay ſuch a proportion, to ſet out theſe Sixteen Sail (as *H. Huntington* relates) whereby nevertheleſs he ſo much incenſed the minds of the *Engliſh* againſt him, that the *Welſh* perceiving it, or elſe for ſome other reaſon, began to be very unruly; inſomuch that ſome Inſurrections happened thereupon, wherein many of the *Engliſh* Nobility were ſlain; as *Edwin*, Brother to Earl *Leofric*; *Turketil* and *Algeat*, the Sons of *Effi*, both of them Great Perſons; and ſeveral others.

And to this time (I ſuppoſe) we may refer what *Caradoc* in his *Welſh* Chronicle relates, That *Griffyth ap Lewelyn*, Prince of *North-Wales*, in the firſt year of his Reign, fought with the *Engliſh* and *Danes* at *Croſsford* upon *Severne*, and put them to flight; and from thence he led his Army to *Lhanpadan vawr* in *Caerdiganſhire*, and deſtroyed the place utterly; and from thence paſſed all over *South-Wales*, receiving the people into his ſubjection, for *Howel ap Edwin* their King fled before him, and forſook the Land.

As for the Character of this King *Harold*, and the reaſon why he was called *Harefoot*, they are very uncertain: *H. Knighton* in his Chronicle writes very oddly, That he had a Body like a Hare, ſure he means hairy like that Creature, and from thence was called *Harefoot*; which is very improbable. But others with more appearance of truth, derive it from his Swiftneſs of Foot. *Bromton* gives him this Character, That in all reſpects he degenerated from the Worth of his Father King *Cnute* (inſomuch that divers ſuſpected him not to have been his Son), for he was altogether careleſs both as to matters of War and Peace; only he would purſue his own Will and Pleaſure, and what was very unbecoming his Royal Eſtate, chuſing rather to go on foot, than ride; whence, for the lightneſs and ſwiftneſs of his Feet, he ſeems to have been called *Harefoot*.

As for his Laws, we have only this one mentioned by Mr. *Selden* in his *Janus Anglorum*, which was, That whatever *Welſhman*, coming into *England* without leave, was taken on this ſide *Offa*'s Ditch, ſhould have his Right Hand cut off by the King's Officers.

King HARDECNUTE.

Anno Dom. MXXXIX. KING *Harold* dying thus ſuddenly, the Chief Men of *England*, with whom alſo the *Londoners* now joined, ſent Meſſengers to *Hardecnute* (who was then at *Bruges* with his Mother) intreating him to come and receive the Crown; whereupon he haſted into *Denmark*, there to ſettle his Affairs; which when he had done, with Forty (or as ſome ſay, Sixty) Ships, well mann'd with *Daniſh* Soldiers, according to our Annals, he arrived at *Sandwich* ſeven 'days before *Midſummer*, being joyfully received both by the *Danes* and '*Engliſh*; (and as *H. Huntington* relates, was by both of them *elected* '*King*); though afterwards the Great Men that did it, paid dearly for 'it; for not long after, it was decreed, That a Tax of Eight Marks 'ſhould be again paid to the Rowers in Sixty two Sail of Ships. The 'ſame year alſo a *Seſter* (*i.e.* a Horſe-load) of Wheat was ſold for 'Fifty five Pence, and more.

Anno Dom. MXL. 'This year *Eadſige* the Archbiſhop went to *Rome*; and alſo another 'Military Tax was paid, of Twenty nine thouſand twenty nine pounds: 'And after this, was paid Eleven thouſand forty eight pounds for two 'and thirty Sail of Ships.

But whether theſe Taxes were raiſed by Authority of the Great Council of the Kingdom, our Authors do not mention; but I believe not; for this *Danegelt* was now by conſtant uſage become a Prerogative.

'The ſame year came *Eadward* the Son of King *Æthelred* into this 'Kingdom from *Wealand* (by which our Annals mean *Normandy*): After which time Prince *Edward* returned no more thither, but ſtaid in *England* till his Brother died.

But the ſame year, not long after his Coronation, he ſent *Alfric* Archbiſhop of *York*, and Earl *Godwin*, and divers Great Men of his Court to *London*, attended by the Hangman, and out of Hatred to his Brother *Harold*, and Revenge of the Injuries done to his Mother (as he pretended) commanded his Body to be dug up, and the Head to be cut off and flung into the *Thames*; but ſome Fiſhermen afterwards pulling it up with their Nets, buried it again in St. *Clement*'s Church-yard, being then the Burying-place of the *Danes*.

The ſame year alſo (according to *Bromton*'s Chronicle) King *Hardecnute* ſent over his Siſter *Gunhilda* to the Emperor *Henry*, to whom ſhe had been in her Father's life-time betroth'd: But before ſhe went, the King kept the Nuptial Feaſt with that Magnificence in Cloaths, Equipage, and Feaſting, that as *Mat. Weſtminſter* relates, it was remembred in his time, and ſung by Muſicians at all great Entertainments. But this Lady was received and treated by the Emperor her Husband with great kindneſs for ſome time; till being accuſed of Adultery, ſhe could find, it ſeems, no beter a Champion to vindicate her Honour, than a certain little Page ſhe had brought out of *England* with her, who undertaking her defence, fought in a ſingle Combat againſt a man of a vaſt Stature,

Stature, named *Rodingar*, and by cutting his Hamſtrings with his Sword, and falling down, he obtained the Victory, and ſo cleared his Lady's Honour; of which ſhe yet received ſo little ſatisfaction, that ſhe forſook her Husband, and retired into a Monaſtery, where ſhe ended her days. *Anno Dom.* MXL.

About this time alſo (as *Simeon* of *Durham*, *Bromton*'s Chronicle, and other Authors inform us) King *Hardecnute* was highly incenſed againſt *Living* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Earl *Godwin*, for the death of his Half Brother *Alfred*, Son to King *Ethelred*; *Alfric* Archbiſhop of *York* accuſing them both of having perſuaded King *Harold* to uſe him ſo cruelly as you have already heard: The Biſhop and Earl being thus accuſed before King *Hardecnute*, the former was deprived of his Biſhoprick, and the latter was alſo in very great danger. But not long after, the King being appeaſed with Money, the Biſhop was again reſtored; and as for Earl *Godwin*, he had alſo incurred ſome heavy Puniſhment, had he not been ſo cunning as to buy his peace (as theſe Authors relate) by preſenting the King with a Galley moſt magnificently equipp'd, having a gilded Stern, and furniſhed with all Conveniences both for War and Pleaſure, and mann'd with Eighty choice Soldiers, every one of whom had upon each Arm a Golden Bracelet weighing ſixteen Ounces, with Helmet and Corſlet all gilt, as were alſo the Hilts of their Swords; having a *Daniſh* Battel-Axe adorned with Silver and Gold, hung on his Left Shoulder, whilſt in his Left Hand he held a Shield, the Boſs and Nails of which were alſo gilded, and in his Right a Launce, in the *Engliſh-Saxon* Tongue called a *Tegar*: But all this would not ſerve his turn, without an Oath, That Prince *Alfred* had not his eyes put out by his Advice, but he therein merely obeyed *Harold*'s Commands, being at that time his King and Maſter.

This year (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) King *Hardecnute* ſent his *Huiſceorles* (*i.e.* his Domeſtick Servants, or Guards) to exact the Tax which he had lately impoſed: But the Citizens of *Worceſter*, and the *Worceſterſhire* men riſing, ſlew two of them, called *Feadar* and *Turſtan*, having fled into a Tower belonging to a Monaſtery of that City. Thereupon *Hardecnute* being exceedingly provoked to hear of their deaths, ſent to revenge it, *Leofric* Ealdorman of the *Mercians*, *Godwin* of the *Weſt-Saxons*, *Siward* of the *Northumbrians*, and others, with great Forces, and orders to kill all the men, plunder and burn the City, and waſte the Countrey round about. On the evening preceding the thirteenth of *November*, they began to put his Commands in execution, and continued both waſting and ſpoiling the City and Countrey for four days together; but few of the Inhabitants themſelves could be laid hold of, the Countrey-men ſhifting for themſelves every man as well as they could, and the Citizens betaking themſelves to a little Iſland in the *Severne*, called *Beverege*, which they fortified, and vigorouſly ſtood upon their Defence, till their Oppoſers being tired out and ſpent, were forced to make Peace with them, and ſo ſuffered them to return quietly home. This was not done till the fifth day, when the City being burnt, the Army retreated, loaded with the Plunder they had got. *Anno Dom.* MXLI.

Simeon next after this cruel Expedition, places the coming over of Prince *Edward*; but our Annals with greater probability put his Return under the year before.

Anno Dom. MXLI.

'This year alſo King *Hardecnute* deceaſed at *Lambeth* (6. *Id. Junii*). 'He was King of *England* two years, wanting ſeven days, and was 'buried in the New Monaſtery (of *Wincheſter*); his Mother giving 'the Head of St. *Valentine* to pray for his Soul.

But ſince our Annals are very ſhort in the Relation of his Death, we muſt take it from other Authors; who all agree, That the King being invited to a Wedding at the place above-mentioned, which with great Pomp and Luxury was ſolemnized betwixt *Tovy*, ſirnamed *Prudan*, a *Daniſh* Nobleman, and *Githa* the Daughter of *Ofgod Clappa*, a great Lord alſo of that Nation; as he was very jolly and merry, carouſing it with the Bridegroom and ſome of the Company, he fell down ſpeechleſs, and died in the Flower of his Age.

He is to be commended for his Piety, and Good-Nature to his Mother, and Brother Prince *Edward*: But the great Faults laid to this Prince's charge, are Cruelty, Gluttony, and Drunkenneſs: For the firſt of theſe you have had a late Example; and for the latter, take what *H. Huntington* relates, That Four Meals a day he allowed his Court; and it muſt be then ſuppoſed he loved eating well himſelf; though this Author attributes it to his Bounty; and how he rather deſired that the Meat ſhould be taken away untouch'd from ſuch as were invited, than that thoſe who were not invited, ſhould complain for want of Victuals; whereas, ſaith he, the cuſtom of our time is (either out of Coveteouſneſs, or, as they pretend, becauſe their people cannot eat) for Great Men to allow their Fellowers but one Meal a day; which ſhews, that the cuſtom of Set-Suppers hath had divers Viciſſitudes, being not commonly uſed in *England* in Great Mens Families at the time when *H. Huntington* wrote, and therefore is an *Engliſh* Cuſtom prevailing ſince that time; the *Norman* Faſhions being then moſt uſed.

John Rouſe alſo, in his *Manuſcript* Treatiſe *de Regibus Ang.* already cited, relates, That the day of King *Hardecnute*'s Death was in his time kept by the *Engliſh* as an Holiday, being called *Hock-Wedneſday*; on which they danced, and drew Cords croſs the way, as they do in ſeveral Pariſhes in *England* even at this day, to ſtop people till they will pay them ſome Money.

King

King Edward (called) the Confessor.

'BEfore King *Hardecnute* was buried, all the People chose *Edward* '*Æthelin*g King at *London*; who reigned as long as God per-'mitted him.

Anno Dom. MXLI.

But *William* of *Malmesbury* with greater probability says, That this King did not come to the Crown without some difficulty; for when he had received the News of his Brother *Hardecnute*'s Death, he was in great perplexity what was most advisable for him to do; at last, after mature deliberation, he thought it the safest course to trust his Fortune to Earl *Godwin*'s Advice; who being sent for to a friendly Conference, for some time he was considering whether he should come to him or not; but at length he agreed to speak with him; and upon the Enterview *Edward* was about to lay himself at his Feet, but that he would by no means suffer: Then the Prince earnestly desired he would assist him in his safe return to *Normandy*; when immediately *Godwin* gave him this unexpected answer, That he had better live gloriously King of *England*, than dye ignominiously in Exile: That the Crown did of Right belong to him as Son of *Ethelred*, and Grandchild of *Edgar*: That he was one of mature Age, inur'd to Labour, and who had learnt by experience how to order Publick Affairs with Justice; and had been taught by his own late Afflictions how to remove and prevent the Miseries of the People: That to bring this about, there would be no great Obstacle; for if he would but trust himself to him, he should find that his Interest was very powerful in the Nation, and that Fortune would be favourable to his just Pretensions; and if he would accept of the Royal Dignity, he was confident there would be none to oppose it; but on condition that he would establish a firm Friendship with him and his Family, by promising to prefer his Sons, and marry his Daughter, that then he should soon find himself a King.

Edward's case at this time was such, as not to reject so fair Proposals, but rather agree to any Conditions, and comply with the present state of Affairs; whatsoever therefore *Godwin* required, he promised and swore to perform. Now the Earl was a Man fitted by Nature for managing such an Intrigue, having a very smooth and plausible Tongue, so Eloquent, that he could move and charm the Affections of the People, insinuate into them whatsoever he pleased, and bring them entirely over to his Interest and Service. Upon this he procures a Great Council to be summoned at *Gillingham* (some Copies have it, at *London*); and there he influenced some by his own Authority, gain'd over others by his Promises; and those who were inclined before to Prince *Edward*'s Cause, he fully settled and confirmed to his Party; the rest, that made opposition, being over-power'd, were first of all turn'd out of their Places, and then banished the Land.

The *Annals* of the Abby of *Winchester* (printed in the *Monast. Ang.* from the Manuscript in the *Cottonian* Library) not only agree with *William* of *Malmesbury* in this Relation, but are also much more particular; *viz.* That Prince *Edward* coming to *Godwin* one morning in disguise

Anno Dom. MXLI. disguiſe to *London*, fell at his Feet, begging him to preſerve his Life; but the Earl taking him up, promiſed to uſe him like his Son; and alſo gave him farther Encouragements and Aſſurance; ſo that *Edward* returning again to *Wincheſter* to his Mother, *Godwin* ſhortly after ſummoned all the Great Men of the Kingdom to meet there, to conſult about making a New King. Then theſe *Annals* proceed to relate the manner of this *Election*; *Viz.* That Earl *Godwin* raiſing the Prince from the place where he ſate at his feet (being then *incognito*, having his Hood over his Face), ſaid thus, *Behold your King: This is Prince* Edward, *the Son of King* Ethelred *and Queen* Emma: *This is He whom I Elect*, &c.; and ſo firſt did him Homage: Then after ſome Debates among themſelves, they all at laſt conſented to his *Election*; ſo that if it diſpleaſed any there, they durſt not ſhew their Diſcontent, ſince Earl *Godwin* would have it ſo; and *Edward* being thus Elected, was, not long after, crown'd at *Weſtminſter*.

* *Otho, D.* 7. Which is alſo confirmed by an Ancient Chronicle * in the *Cottonian* Library (already cited), ending with this Prince, which ſaith, That *Hardecnute* being dead, *Eadward* was advanced to the Crown by the endeavours chiefly of Earl *Godwin*, and *Living* Biſhop of *Worceſter*.

Bromton's Chronicle farther adds, That at this Grand Council all the Great Men of *England* agreed and ſwore with one conſent, That no *Danes* ſhould reign over them any more, becauſe of the great Affronts and Contempts they had received from that Nation: For they held the *Engliſh* in ſuch ſervile ſubjection, That if an *Engliſhman* had met a *Dane* upon a Bridge, he was obliged to ſtand ſtill till the other had paſſed by; and if he had not bowed to the *Dane*, he was ſure to be well baſted for his neglect; ſo that as ſoon as King *Hardecnute* was dead, the *Engliſh* drove all the *Danes* out of the Kingdom.

But notwithſtanding the great happineſs the *Engliſh* now received by having a King of their own Nation; yet it ſeems, 'This year was unfortunate for the Intemperance of the Seaſon, which (as our *Annals* relate) deſtroyed the Fruits of the Earth; ſo that a great number of Cattel died. Alſo about this time *Ælf*——, Abbot of *Burgh* deceaſed, and *Arnwi* a Monk was choſen Abbot, being a mild and good man.

About the ſame time alſo, according to the *Welſh* Chronicle, Prince *Conan* the Son of *Jago*, who had fled into *Ireland* to ſave his life, and coming now over from thence, being aſſiſted with the Forces of *Alfred* the *Daniſh* King of *Dublin*, entred *North-Wales* by ſurprize, took Prince *Griffyth* Priſoner, and was carrying him away to his Ships: But the people of the Countrey hearing of it, they immediately roſe and purſued the *Iriſhmen*, and at laſt overtaking them, reſcued their Prince, and made a great ſlaughter among them, the reſt with much difficulty got to their Ships, and returned with *Conan* into *Ireland*.

Anno Dom. MXLII. But notwithſtanding K. *Edward* had been elected King ever ſince the laſt *Summer*, 'yet was he not Anointed or Crowned till this year, when '(as our *Annals* relate) that Ceremony was performed on *Eaſter*-day 'with great Solemnity, by *Eadſige* the Archbiſhop, who alſo preached 'before the people, and inſtructed them for the King's good, as well as 'their own advantage.

This is the firſt Diſcourſe or Sermon that we can find was ever made of this nature at any King's Coronation.

'The

'The ſame year alſo *Stigand* the Prieſt was conſecrated Biſhop of the *Anno Dom.* MXLII.
'*Eaſt-Angles*; and preſently after the King ordered all the Lands his 'Mother held from him to be ſurveyed, taking from her whatſoever 'Gold and Silver ſhe had, with many other things, becauſe ſhe had 'been too ſevere to him, as well before he was King, as after; and as *Roger Hoveden* obſerves, had given him leſs than he expected from her.

So that in this Undutifulneſs to his Mother, he does not ſhew himſelf ſo great a Saint as the Monks repreſent him: But they ſay for his excuſe, that he did it by the Advice of the Earls *Leofric*, *Godwin*, and *Syward*, by whom this Weak and Eaſy Prince was chiefly managed.

This year alſo, according to the *Welſh* Chronicles, *Howel ap Edwin* late Prince of *South-Wales*, with all the Forces he could raiſe of his own Countrey-men, and the *Engliſh*, entred *South Wales*, and began to ſpoil and havock it; of which when Prince *Griffyth* was informed, he gathered his People together in *North-Wales*, and came courageouſly to meet his Enemies (whom he had twice before diſcomfited), and overcame and chaſed them the third time, as far as the Spring of the River *Towy*; where after a long and dangerous Battel, *Howel* was ſlain, and his Army routed, and was ſo cloſely purſued, that few or none eſcaped alive: After whoſe Death *Rytherch* and *Rees*, the Sons of *Rythaerch ap Jeſtyn*, aſpiring again to the Rule and Government of *South-Wales*, which their Father had once before acquired, gathered a great Army as well of ſtrangers, as out of *Gwentland* and *Glamorgan*, and meeting with *Griffyth* Prince of *Wales*, he courageouſly animated his men with the remembrance of their former Victories under his Standard, and joined Battel with his Enemies, whom he found diſpoſed to try if they could regain the Honour which before they had loſt: Wherefore when they were come up to engage, the Fight was ſo bloody and deſperate, that it continued till night parted both Armies, and then being quite ſpent, they retreated. But ſtill each being fearful of one another, they thought it their beſt way to return to their own Countries to raiſe freſh Recruits.

About this time was founded a Noble Monaſtery near *Coventry* in *Warwickſhire*, by *Leofric* Earl of the *Mercians*, and the Lady *Godiva* his Wife, who was not only one of the moſt Beautiful, but moſt Pious Women of that Age; they alſo enriched this Monaſtery with great Preſents both of Gold and Silver. Vid. *Cambden's Britan. Warwickſhire.*

By reaſon of which Monaſtery the Town adjoining became much more flouriſhing, and took the name of *Coventry* from this Convent: And we farther read in *Bromton's* Chronicle, That this worthy Lady *Godiva* being deſirous to exempt the ſaid Town from the grievous Taxes and Tolls impoſed on it, ſhe earneſtly and frequently ſollicited her Husband to take them off, but yet was ſtill denied: However, ſhe ceaſing not to renew her requeſt, he told her jeſtingly at laſt, That if ſhe would be content to ride naked through the Town, he would grant her Petition; which ſhe readily undertook to do, and ſo commanding all people at that time to keep within doors, ſhe covered her Body with her own Hair, of which ſhe had ſo great a quantity, that it ſerved inſtead of a Mantle.

Thus did ſhe generouſly free the Citizens from thoſe heavy Exactions which they then lay under, though by the no-very-decent expoſing of her ſelf; and afterwards gave them a Charter of Exemptions, affixing her

Anno Dom. MXLII. her Husband's and her own Seal to it. Now how the Episcopal See came afterwards to be removed hither from *Litchfield* and *Chester*, we shall in its due place declare.

The Charter of the Foundation of this Monastery, dedicated to our Blessed Lady, St. *Peter*, and all the Saints, is printed in * *Monast. Angl.* though without any date; wherein are named all the Mannors given by the said Munificent Founder; and the same is ratified by the Charter of King *Edward*, and a Bull of Pope *Alexander*, bearing date *Anno Dom.* 1043. Neither did the Piety of these Liberal Persons rest here, for Earl *Leofric*, with the Assent of his Lady *Godiva*, repaired also the Monasteries of *Leon* (or *Lemster*) near *Hereford*; of *Wenlock*; of St. *Wereburga* in *Chester*; of St. *John* in *Worcester*; and lastly, that of *Evesham*.

* Vol. I.

Anno Dom. MXLIII. 'This year Archbishop *Eadsige* resigned his Archbishoprick, by reason 'of great Bodily Infirmities; and by the King's leave, and the advice 'of Earl *Godwin*, he consecrated *Syward* Abbot of *Abbandune* to succeed 'him; which thing was known but to few, till it was actually done, 'because the Archbishop was afraid lest some other, less Learned and 'Able, would either by Money or Interest obtain that See, if so be it 'was once divulged before it was done.

But of this *Syward*, * *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, That though he was thus consecrated Archbishop, yet notwithstanding he was soon after deposed for his Ingratitude to his Predecessor, in that he defrauded the weak Old Man of his necessary maintenance: But however to make this *Syward* some amends, he was translated to the Bishoprick of *Rochester*; which was a great Fall indeed from the See of an Archbishop, to that of his principal Chaplain; but it seems he was resolved to be a Bishop, though a mean one, comparatively.

* *De Pontif. Lib.* I.

The Annals also relate, 'That this year there was so great a Famine 'in *England*, that a *Sester* of Wheat (which, as *Roger Hoveden* tells us, 'was then a Horse-load) was sold for Sixty Pence and more.

Which was then a great deal of Money, considering the scarcity of Silver in those times, and that every Penny then weighed Four Pence of our Money.

'Also the same year the King sail'd to *Sandwic* with Five and thirty 'Ships.] And as *R. Hoveden* informs us, it was to meet *Magnus* King of *Norway*, then designing to invade *England*; but a War breaking out with *Sweyn* King of *Denmark*, it put an end to that Expedition.

'Also *Æthelstan* the *Oeconomus*, or Steward of the Abby of *Abbing-* 'don, was made Abbot; and *Stigand* again received his Bishoprick of 'the *East-Angles*]; from which, it seems, by the cunning and Simoniacal practices of Bishop *Grymkytel*, he had been before deprived.

'The same year King *Edward* married the Daughter of Earl *Godwin*, 'whose Name was *Edgitha*, or *Editha*.] A Woman (as *William* of *Malmesbury* says) not only of great Beauty and Piety, but also Learned above what Women usually were in that Age wherein he lived; insomuch that *Ingulph* tells us, when he was but a Boy, and lived at Court with his Father, she was wont to meet him as he came from School, and took delight to pose him in Verses; and would also, passing from *Grammar*, argue with him in *Logick*, in which she was well skill'd; and when she had done, would order her Waiting-Woman to give him some Money.

But

But as King *Edward* had till now deferr'd the performance of his Promiſe in marrying this Lady ever ſince he came to the Crown, ſo it had been no great matter whether he had married her or not, becauſe he never enjoyed her. *Anno Dom.* MXLIII.

But notwithſtanding the temptation of ſo fair a Lady, he not only kept his own Virginity inviolable, but alſo perſuaded her to do the like; and this, (as the Abbot of *Rieval* in his Life relates) he did not do out of any hatred to her Father, (as is commonly reported by ſeveral of our other Hiſtorians) but becauſe the *Engliſh* Nobility, being deſirous that one from his Loins ſhould ſucceed him, had importun'd him to marry, which he could not well refuſe (for then the ſecret Reſolution of his dying a Virgin, would have been diſcloſed); therefore he wedded her, both to ſecure himſelf againſt her Father, as alſo to make the Virtue of his Continence appear more conſpicuous; which, as this Author tells us, was no Secret, being then divulged, and believed all over *England*; and divers Cenſures paſſed concerning the motives why he did ſo. *Vid.* X. *Script.*

'The ſame year *Brightwulf* Biſhop of *Scirebone* deceaſed, who had 'held that Biſhoprick Thirty eight years; and *Hereman* the King's 'Chaplain ſucceeded to that Biſhoprick.

'Alſo *Wulfric* was conſecrated Abbot of St. *Auſtin*'s at *Chriſtmas*, 'with the King's good Conſent, becauſe of the great Bodily Infirmity 'of *Ælfſtan* (the former Abbot.)

'This year deceaſed *Living* Biſhop of *Devonſhire* (*i.e.* of *Exeter*), 'and *Leofric* the King's Chaplain ſucceeded thereunto. The ſame year 'Ælfſtan Abbot of St. *Auguſtin*'s in *Canterbury* deceaſed; and alſo *Of-* 'got Glappa, the *Daniſh* Earl, was expelled *England*. *Anno Dom.* MXLIV.

The ſame year likewiſe, (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *William* of *Malmeſbury*) *Alwold* Biſhop of *London*, who had been before Abbot of *Eveſham*, being by reaſon of his great weakneſs unable to perform his Epiſcopal Function, would have retired to his old Monaſtery; but the Monks not permitting it, he reſented it ſo ill at their hands, that taking away all the Books and other Ornaments which he had conferred upon them, and retiring to the Abby of *Ramſey*, he beſtowed them all upon them, and there within a ſhort time after ended his days; and then King *Edward* made one *Robert*, a *Norman* Monk, Biſhop of *London*.

Alſo the ſame year the Noble Matron *Gunhilda*, Niece to King *Cnute*, was baniſhed *England*, together with her two Sons.

This year likewiſe, in a great Council held at *London*, (as *Florence* relates) *Wulmar* a Religious Monk of *Eveſham* was choſen Abbot of that Monaſtery, and was ordained the 4th of the *Ides* of *Auguſt* following.

About this time, according to the *Welſh* Chronicles, Prince *Griffith* having ruled in Peace ever ſince the laſt great Battel above-mentioned, till now, the Gentlemen of *Tſtrad Towy* did by Treachery kill a Hundred and forty of his beſt Soldiers; ſo that to revenge their deaths, the Prince deſtroyed all thoſe Countries.

'*Grymkitel* Biſhop of the *South-Saxons* (i. e. *Selſey*) deceaſed; as 'did alſo the ſame year, *Ælfwin* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Stigand*, 'who was before Biſhop in the *North-Eaſt* parts (*i. e.* of *Helmham*) 'ſucceeded in that See: And Earl *Sweyn* the Son of *Godwin*, went over *Anno Dom.* MXLV.

'to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* to *Brycge*, and ſtaid there all Winter, 'and at Summer departed; (being it ſeems at that time in diſgrace at Court for deflow'ring an Abbeſs whom he loved).

Anno Dom. MXLVI. 'This year *Æthelſtan* Abbot of *Abbandune* deceaſed; to whom 'ſucceeded *Sparhafock*, a Monk of St. *Edmundsbury*. Whence you may obſerve, that the Abbots were at that time ſeldom choſen out of Monks of the ſame Abby.

'Alſo this year Biſhop *Syward* deceaſed; and then Archbiſhop *Ead-* 'ſige retook that Biſhoprick.] Which is contrary to what *William* of *Malmesbury* hath already related.

'The ſame year likewiſe *Lothen* and *Yrling*, *Danes*, came to *Sandwic* 'with Twenty five Ships, and there landing, committed great havock, 'and carried away abundance of Booty, as well of Gold as Silver; ſo 'that no man can tell how great it was: From whence they ſailed 'about *Thanet*, and attempting there to commit the like Outrages, the 'people of that Countrey vigorouſly reſiſted them, and hindred their 'landing, and ſo made them to direct their courſe towards *Eſſex*, where 'they committed the like Barbarities, carrying away all the men they 'could lay hold on; and then paſſing over into the Territories of Earl '*Baldwin*, and there ſelling all their Plunder, they ſail'd towards the '*Eaſt*, from whence they came.

Alſo the ſame year (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) *Harold*, ſir-named *Hairfax*, Brother to the late King *Olaf*, having put *Sweyn* King of *Denmark* to flight, ſubdued that Kingdom. King *Sweyn* being thus driven out of his Countrey, ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Edward*, deſiring his Aſſiſtance with his Fleet againſt the King of *Norway*; which Earl *Godwin* much approved of, but the reſt of the Great Men diſſuading him from it, nothing was done; but the King of *Norway* dying ſoon after, *Sweyn* recovered his Kingdom. But *Florence* of *Worceſter* places this Tranſaction two years later; but which of them is in the right, I will not diſpute.

'Alſo this year (according to our *Annals*, as well as other Authors) 'was the great Battel of *Valleſdune* in *Normandy*, between *Henry* King 'of *France*, and the Nobility of that *Dukedom*, becauſe they refuſed to receive *William* the Baſtard for their Duke: But when he afterwards got them into his power, he beheaded ſome of them, and others he baniſhed.

I have mentioned this, to let you ſee with how great difficulty this young Duke (who was afterwards King of *England*) was ſettled in that Dutchy, which he could never have obtained without the Protection and Aſſiſtance of the King of *France*.

About this time alſo the *Welſh* Chronicles tell us *South-Wales* was ſo infeſted by the *Daniſh* Pyrates, that the Sea-Coaſts were almoſt quite deſerted.

'The ſame year, or elſe in 1048 (as it is in the *Cottonian* Copy of 'the *Annals*) was held the great Synod or Council at St. *Remy*, where 'were preſent Pope *Leo*, and the Archbiſhop of *Burgundy* (*i.e.* of *Be-* 'ſanſon, tho they are here mentioned as two ſeveral Archbiſhopricks) 'as alſo the Archbiſhop of *Treves*, and *Remes*, with many other Wiſe 'Men both of the Clergy and Laity; and thither King *Edward* ſent 'Biſhop *Dudoce*, and *Wulfric* Abbot of St. *Auguſtine*'s, with Abbot '*Ælfwin*, that they might acquaint the King what was there decreed 'concerning the Chriſtian Faith. 'This

'This year King *Edward* ſail'd to *Sandwic* with a great Fleet, and there 'met Earl *Sweyn*, who came with ſeven Ships at *Boſenham* (i.e. *Boſham* 'in *Suſſex*) where he made a League with the King, and received a 'Promiſe from him to be reſtored to all his poſſeſſions; but Earl *Harold* 'his Brother, and *Beorne*, very much oppoſed him, ſaying, He was ut- 'terly unworthy of thoſe Favours the King had promiſed him; ſo he 'had only four days allowed him to go back again to his Ships. *Anno Dom.* MXLVI.

'In the mean time a Report was brought to the King, That a Fleet of 'Enemies were landed on the Coaſt of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and there taking 'of Prey: Then Earl *Godwin* ſail'd about toward the *Eaſt* with two of 'the King's Ships, one of which his Son *Harold* commanded, and the 'other Earl *Totſige* his Brother, and alſo Two and forty Sail of the 'people of the Countrey: Then was Earl *Harold* with the King's Ships 'driven by a Storm into *Pevenſee*, and there detain'd by contrary 'Winds; but within two days after, Earl *Sweyn* came thither, and had 'Conference with his Father, Earl *Godwin*, and Earl *Beorne*, whom he 'intreated to accompany him to the King at *Sandwic*, and there uſe 'their intereſt to make his Reconciliation with him; but whilſt 'they were on their way, *Sweyne* begged of *Beorne* (his Couſin) that 'he would go back along with him to his Ships, ſaying, He feared leſt 'his men would deſert him, unleſs he ſpeedily returned; whereupon 'complying with him, they went back to the place where the Ships 'rode, and there *Sweyn* was very importunate with him to go on Ship- 'board; but he utterly refuſing that, the Mariners bound him, and 'then put him into a Pinnace, and ſo carried him on board by force; 'then hoiſting up Sail, they ſteered *Eaſtward* to *Axamutha*, and there 'kept him till they had made him away.

'Then they took his Body, and buried it in a certain Church; but 'afterwards his Relations and the Mariners of *London* came, and dig- 'ging up ~~his Body~~ it, carried it with them to the old Church of *Winche-* 'ſter, where they buried it near his Uncle King *Cnute*: Then *Sweyn* 'ſailing *Eaſtward* towards *Flanders*, ſtaid there a whole Winter in *Brycge*, 'with Earl *Baldwin*'s good leave. The ſame year deceaſed *Eadnoth*, 'Biſhop in the *North* parts; and one *Ulf* was conſecrated Biſhop in 'his ſtead.

'This year was a great Council held at *London* in *Midlent*, and there *Anno Dom.* 'were ſent out Nine Ships well mann'd with Seamen, Five only being MXLVII. 'left in Port; alſo this very year Earl *Sweyn* return'd into *England*.

For *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* had by his Interceſſion made his Peace with the King.

'The ſame year was a Great Synod aſſembled at *Rome*, whither King '*Eadward* ſent the Biſhops *Hereman* and *Aldred*, who arrived there on '*Eaſter*-Eve; after which the Pope held a Synod at *Vercelle*, whither was 'ſent Biſhop *Ulf*, who was afterwards like to be deprived, becauſe he 'could not perform his Function as he ought, had he not paid a good 'round Sum of Money. This year alſo deceaſed *Eadſige* the Archbi- 'ſhop, (4° *Kal. Novemb.*)

'King *Edward* now appointed *Rodbyrd* Biſhop of *London*, to be *Anno Dom.* 'Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in *Lent*, who immediately went to *Rome* to MXLVIII. 'obtain his Pall: Then the King beſtowed the Biſhoprick of *London* on '*Sparhafoc* Abbot of *Abbandune*, and gave that Abby to Biſhop *Rothulf* 'his Kinſman.

Anno Dom. MXLVIII.

'About the ſame time the Archbiſhop, returning from *Rome* the day 'before the Vigil of St. *Peter*, was Inſtalled in the Epiſcopal Throne 'at *Chriſt-Church*, on St. *Peter*'s Day: Then came to him *Sparhafoc* 'with the King's Letters and Seal, commanding that he ſhould conſe-'crate him Biſhop of *London*; but the Archbiſhop refuſing it, ſaid, 'The Pope had forbad him to do it: After which, the Abbot return'd 'to the Archbiſhop, and deſired his Epiſcopal Orders, but he pe-'remptorily denied them, ſaying, The Pope had ſtrictly charged him not 'to do it. Then the Abbot went to *London*, and held the Biſhoprick 'notwithſtanding all that Summer, and the Autumn following.

'Then *Euſtatius* (Earl of *Boloigne*, the King's Brother-in-Law) 'came from beyond the Seas, and having been with the King, and told 'him his Buſineſs, he return'd homewards; and when he came to *Can-'terbury*, he refreſhed himſelf and his Company, and ſo went on to '*Dofra* (i. e. *Dover*), but when he was within a Mile of this ſide 'thereof, he and his Retinue put on their Breaſt-plates, and ſo entred 'the Town: As ſoon as they were come thither, they took up their 'Quarters in what Houſes they liked beſt; but one of his Followers re-'ſolving to quarter in the Houſe of an Inhabitant there whether 'he would or no, becauſe he told him he ſhould not, he wounded 'him; whereupon the Maſter killed him: At which News Earl *Euſta-'tius* being very much incenſed, mounted to Horſe, with all his Fol-'lowers, and ſetting upon the Good Man of the Houſe, killed him even 'within his own doors; and then going into the Town, they killed 'partly within, and partly without, more than Twenty men. But 'the Townſmen (to be even with them) killed Nineteen of their men, 'and wounded many more.

'Upon this Earl *Euſtatius* making his Eſcape with a few Followers, 'went to the King, and told him what had happen'd, ſo much as made 'to his purpoſe; at which the King being highly provoked with the 'Townſmen, ſent Earl *Godwin*, and commanded him to march to *Dofra* 'in a Hoſtile manner; for *Euſtatius* had only inſinuated to the King, as 'if what had happen'd had been wholly through the Townſmens fault, 'though indeed it was quite otherwiſe: But the Earl was very unwil-'ling to go into *Kent*, becauſe he looked on it as an odious thing for him 'to deſtroy his own people.

For as *William* of *Malmesbury* farther relates, he plainly ſaw the King was impoſed on, and had paſſed ſentence upon them, when he had only heard one ſide: And indeed the Earl was much concerned to ſee Strangers find greater favour with the King, than his own Subjects; for *Euſtatius* had got a Friend near the King, who had very much exaſperated him againſt them; therefore though the King continually preſs'd Earl *Godwin* to go into *Kent* with an Army, to be revenged of the men of *Dofra*, yet he ſtill declined it, which much diſpleaſed the King; yet nevertheleſs the Earl's Propoſal ſeem'd but juſt and reaſonable, That the Officers of the Caſtle (who it ſeems had a hand in this buſineſs) ſhould be firſt ſummoned to anſwer in the King's *Curia* or Court, concerning this Sedition; and that if they could clear themſelves there, they might be diſcharged; but if not, that they might make ſatisfaction to the King and the Earl with their Bodies and Eſtates; for Earl *Godwin* told the King, that it would ſeem very unjuſt to condemn thoſe unheard, whom he ought chiefly to protect and defend.

And

And ſo far no doubt the Earl was in the right, and behaved himſelf like a true *Engliſhman*, in thus declining to execute the King's unjuſt Commands; though not in what he did afterwards. But to return again to our *Annals*. *Anno Dom.* MXLVIII.

'The King hereupon ſummoned all his Chief and *Wiſe Men* to ap-'pear at *Glouceſter*, a little after the Feaſt of St. *Mary*; for the *Welſh-'men* had in the mean time built a Caſtle in *Herefordſhire*, upon the 'Lands of Earl *Sweyn*, and had done a great deal of miſchief to the 'King's Liege-People in the Neighbourhood: Then Earl *Godwin* '(with *Sweyn* and *Harold*, his Sons) met at *Byferſtane* (i. e. *Beverſton* 'in *Glouceſterſhire*) together with a great many in their Retinue, to 'attend on the King their Natural Lord, and all the Chief and *Wiſe 'Men* that waited on him, whereby they might have the King's Con-'ſent and Aſſiſtance, as alſo that of his Great Council, to revenge the 'Affront and Diſhonour which had been lately done to the King and the 'whole Nation: But the *Welſhmen* getting firſt to the King, highly 'accuſed the Earls, inſomuch that they durſt not appear in his preſence, 'for they ſaid they only came thither to betray him: But then there 'came to the King the Earls *Syward* and *Leofric*, with many others 'from the *North* parts, being (as *William* of *Malmesbury* relates) al-moſt all the Nobility of *England*, who had been ſummoned by the King to come thither: But whilſt (according to our *Annals*) it was 'told Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, that the King and thoſe that were with 'him were taking Counſel againſt them, they on the other ſide ſtood 'reſolutely on their own defence; though it ſeem'd an hard thing for 'them to act any thing againſt their Natural Lord.

But *William* of *Malmesbury* adds farther, That Earl *Godwin* commanded thoſe of his Party not to fight againſt the King; yet if they were ſet upon, that they ſhould defend themſelves; ſo that there had then like to have happen'd a Cruel Civil War, if calmer Counſels had not pre-vailed.

By this you may ſee the great Power of Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, who could thus withſtand the King, and all the Nobility that were with him. But to proceed with our *Annals*:

'Then it was agreed by the chief men on both ſides, that they ſhould 'deſiſt from any further violence; and thereupon the King gave them 'God's Peace, and his own Word.

'After this, the King and his Great Men about him reſolved a ſecond 'time to ſummon a *Witena Gemot*, or Great Council at *London*, at the 'beginning of *September*: He alſo commanded an Army to be raiſed, as 'great as ever had been ſeen in *England*, both from the *North* and *South* 'ſide of *Thames*. When this Council met, Earl *Sweyn* was declared 'outlaw'd, and Earl *Godwin* and Earl *Harold* were cited to appear at 'the Council with all ſpeed. As ſoon as they were come there, they 'deſired *Peace* (i. e. *Security*) and alſo Pledges to be given them, 'whereby they might have ſafe ingreſs and regreſs to and from the 'Council: But the King required all the Earl's Servants to deliver them 'up into his hands; after which the King ſent to them, commanding 'them to come with Twelve men to the Great Council; but the Earl 'again demanded Securities and Pledges to be given him, and then he 'promiſed to clear himſelf from all Crimes laid to his charge: But the 'Pledges were ſtill denied him, and there was only granted him a five

'days

Anno Dom. MXLVIII.

'days Peace (or Truce) in which he might depart the Land: Then 'Earl *Godwin*, and Earl *Sweyn* his Son, went to *Bosenham* (in *Sussex*) 'and their Ships being brought out of the Harbour, they sail'd beyond 'the Seas, and sought the Protection of Earl *Baldwin*, staying with him 'all that Winter; but Earl *Harold* sailed *Eastward* into *Ireland*, and there 'took up his Residence, under that King's Protection: Soon after 'this the King sent away his Wife, who had been crown'd Queen, and 'suffer'd all her Money, Lands, and Goods, to be taken from her, and 'then committed her to the Custody of his Sister, at the Nunnery of '*Werwell*.

But note, that *Florence* of *Worcester* places this Quarrel with Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, three years later, *viz.* under *Anno* 1051; and farther adds, That the reason why Earl *Godwin* fled thus privately away, was, that his Army had forsook him, so that he durst not plead the matter with the King, but fled away the night following with his five Sons, carrying away all their Treasure with them into *Flanders*.

This is the Relation which *Florence* and the Printed Copy of these *Annals* give us of this great difference between the King and Earl *Godwin* and his two Sons; in the carriage of which both Parties are to be blamed; the King in yielding so easy an ear to the false Accusations brought against them, and they in refusing to stand to the Determination of the Great Council of the Kingdom, without Pledges first given them by the King, which is more than any Subject ought to require from his Prince: But certainly the King shewed himself a very Weak Man, in being perswaded to deal thus severely with his Innocent Queen, for the Faults of her Father and Brothers, which it was not in her power to help.

But to conclude the Affairs of this unhappy year; our *Annals* proceed to tell us, That

'About the same time the Abbot *Sparhafoc* was deposed from the Bi-'shoprick of *London*, and *William* the King's Chaplain ordained to that 'See. Also Earl *Odda* was appointed Governor of *Defenascire*, *Somer-'setscire*, and *Dorsetscire*, and of all the *Welsh*; and the Earldom which 'Earl *Harold* lately held, was given to *Ælfgar* the Son of Earl *Leofric*.

Anno Dom. MXLIX.

About this time the Bishoprick of *Credington* in *Cornwal*, was (as we find in the * *Monasticon*) at the Request of Pope *Leo* removed from thence to *Exeter*, where the Monastery of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* was made a Bishop's See, the Monks being removed from thence to *Westminster*, and Secular Chanons placed in their stead: Which shews that the humour of Monkery did not so much prevail now, as in the days of King *Edgar*. And this year *Leofric* Bishop of that Dioceſs was enthron'd at *Exeter*, after a solemn Procession, where the Bishop walked to Church between King *Edward*, and Queen *Editha* his Wife.

* Vol. 2 p. 222.

Anno Dom. MLI.

This year, according to *Florence* of *Worcester*, the King releas'd the Nation from that cruel Burthen of *Danegelt*, under which it had for so many years groaned; but I will not pass my word for the truth of the occasion why he did it, though related by *Ingulph*; *viz.* That King *Edward* going into his Treasury, where this Tax had been laid up, saw the Devil capering and dancing upon the Money-bags (which it seems no body else could see but himself); at which he was so concerned, that he ordered all the Money to be restored to the right Owners, and forbad its being gathered any more.

Not

Not long after, according to the ſame Author, *William* Duke of *Normandy*, the King's Couſin, coming over into *England*, was honourably received here, and had Noble Preſents made him; and as ſome relate too, that King *Edward* promiſed to make him his Succeſſor in the Kingdom. *Anno Dom.* MLI.

This year alſo, according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*, *Alfric* Archbiſhop of *York* deceaſed, and *Kinſing* the King's Chaplain ſucceeded him.

'This year deceaſed *Ælgiva* (alias *Emma*) the Mother of King *Ead-*'*ward* and King *Hardecnute*. *Anno Dom.* MLII.

She hath a various Character given her by our Hiſtorians; *William* of *Malmesbury* repreſents her to be very Covetous, and Unkind to her firſt Husband's Children; which ſeems to have been true enough: But then ſhe was very Devout, and had a great Reſpect for the Biſhops and Monks, from whom ſhe was ſure to have their good word; yet however ſhe did not eſcape Scandal, for ſhe had ſeveral Enemies that incenſed the King againſt her, but eſpecially Archbiſhop *Robert* the *Norman*, who had accuſed her ſome years before her death, of being too familiar with *Alwin* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: Whereupon ſhe was ſent to the Abby of *Werewell*, having firſt of all her Goods taken from her, whilſt the Biſhop was committed to Priſon, Archbiſhop *Robert* crying out, That ſuch Villany ought not to go unpuniſhed, for fear it ſhould be an encouragement for others to do the like; but ſhe not being kept very ſtrictly, wrote to all the Biſhops of *England* whom ſhe knew to be her Friends, profeſſing that ſhe was more troubled at the Diſgrace offered to the Biſhop, than that which was done to her ſelf; and that ſhe was ready to clear his Innocency by the Fire *Ordeal*.

Upon this the Biſhops met, and had eaſily prevailed with the King to put up the buſineſs, had not Archbiſhop *Robert* ſtifly oppoſed them, demanding of his Brethren, "How they could have the confidence to take "upon them the Defence of that Beaſt rather than Woman, (meaning "the Queen Mother) who had ſo detracted from the King her Son, and "yet had called her Paramour, *The Anointed of the Lord?* But (ſaid "he) this Woman will purge the Biſhop, but who ſhall purge her that "conſented to the Death of her Son *Alfred*, and prepared Poyſon for "his Brother (now King) *Edward?* But if ſhe deſires to be acquit-"ted, let her accept of her own Propoſal, and walk barefoot over Nine "Red-hot Plowſhares, four for her ſelf, and five for the Biſhop, and "then if ſhe eſcape untouch'd, let her paſs for Innocent.

Upon this the Day for Trial was appointed, and ſhe having the night before at his Shrine earneſtly invoked the Aſſiſtance of St. *Swithin*, ſhe came to the place, where the King and all the Biſhops (except *Robert*) were preſent; and there paſſed unhurt over all the Red-hot Plowſhares, to the great Joy and Wonder both of her ſelf and all the Spectators, eſpecially of the King her Son, that ſhe had ſo well cleared her ſelf; then he was very ſorry that he had been ſo credulous as to admit thoſe Calumnies againſt his own Mother, whoſe Pardon he now begged, as alſo the Biſhops; and (as divers of the Monkiſh Writers relate) received Penance from them on his bare back.

Queen *Emma* for this ſignal Deliverance gave to St. *Swithin* Nine Mannors, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* as many, the Innocency of them both being hereby abſolutely cleared. Moreover the King is ſaid to have beſtowed on the Church of *Wincheſter* the whole Iſle of *Portland*, and other Poſſeſſions.

The

Anno Dom. MLII.

The ſubſtance of this Story is both delivered by *John Bromton* and *Henry de Knighton*; but Dr. *Harpesfield* hath embelliſhed it with divers other trivial Circumſtances, whilſt our more Ancient Authors, as *Malmesbury* and others, ſay nothing of it. But methinks that which follows ſpoils all the reſt, *viz.* That Archbiſhop *Robert* (whom ſome will have Biſhop, and others Archbiſhop at this time) thereupon fled out of the Land; whereas indeed he continued here much longer, and fled out of *England* upon another occaſion, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter. But to return again to our *Annals*:

'The ſame year it was alſo decreed by the King and his Chief Men, 'That Ships ſhould be ſent to *Sandwich*, and that Earl *Rolfe* and Earl 'Odda ſhould command them; in the mean time Earl *Godwin* departed 'from *Brycge* with his Ships to *Yſera* (a place we know not), and then 'landing the next day but one to *Midſummer-Eve*, he came to the Head 'or Point lying on the *South* ſide of *Rumenea* (now *Rumney* in *Kent*) 'which when it was told the Earls at *Sandwic*, they immediately ſail'd 'out in purſuit of him, and alſo commanded the Land-Forces to 'be in a readineſs to join them: But it ſeems Earl *Godwin* had timely no-'tice of it, and ſo he fell back to *Pevenſea* (i e. *Penſey* in *Suſſex*); and 'then ſo violent a Tempeſt aroſe, that the Earls could not inform them-'ſelves which way *Godwin* was gone; but afterwards he returned 'and came to *Brycge*, and the King's Ships went to *Sandwic*, and from 'thence they were order'd back to *London*, and other Captains to com-'mand them; but the matter was ſo long delay'd, that all the Seamen 'left their Ships, and returned to their own homes.

'As ſoon as Earl *Godwin* heard this, he ſet out his Fleet again to Sea, 'and ſail'd directly *Weſtward* to the Iſle of *Wight*, where his men going 'aſhore, plundered ſo long till at laſt the people would give them what 'Contributions ſoever they demanded. Then they ſail'd further *Weſt-'ward* till they came to the Iſle of *Portland*, and there going again on 'ſhore they did all the damage they could to the Inhabitants. In the 'mean time *Harold* return'd from *Ireland* with Nine Ships, and landed 'at *Portloc* Bay (in *Somerſetſhire*) where much people were got toge-'ther againſt him; but he not being at all afraid of them, marched out 'to ſeek Proviſions, and there killed all before him, taking Men, Cat-'tel, and Money, whatſoever he met with. From thence he ſail'd 'Eaſtward towards his Father, whom having met, they went together 'to the Iſle of *Wight*, and there plunder'd whatſoever was left; and 'thence coaſted to *Pevenſea*, where they took all the Ships that were in 'that Harbour; afterwards they went to the *Næſſe Point*, and carried 'away all the Ships that were in *Rumenea*, *Hythe*, and *Folceſtane*, (now 'Folcſton in *Kent*). Thence they ſail'd *Eaſtward* again to *Doſra*, and 'going on ſhore, took there as many Ships and Hoſtages as they could; 'and then went to *Sandwic*, where alſo they did the like; ſo that they 'had Hoſtages and Proviſions given them where ever they came, as 'much as they required; then again they ſail'd to *Northmuthe* (ſuppo-'ſed to be that which we call now the *Buoy in the Nore*) and thence up 'towards *London*; they alſo ſent ſome Ships to *Scepige*, and there did 'a great deal of miſchief; then they turn'd to *Middle-tune*, a Town of 'the King's (in *Eſſex*) and burnt it down to the ground; and after-'wards the Earls went towards *London*, but when they came thither, they 'found the King with all his Great Men ready to receive them with Fifty

'Sail

'Sail. Then the outlaw'd Earls ſent to the King, beſeeching him, that 'they might be reſtor'd to their Eſtates, of which they had been un-'juſtly deprived; but for a long time the King would not hearken to 'them by any means, till at laſt the men who were with the Earl were 'ſo enraged againſt him and his people, that the Earl had much a-do 'to appeaſe them. *Anno Dom.* MLII.

'Then were aſſembled by God's aſſiſtance Biſhop *Stigand* and other 'Prudent Men, as well within the City as without, and there they agreed 'upon a Peace to be made, Hoſtages being firſt given on both ſides; 'which when Archbiſhop *Rodbert* and the other *Frenchmen* underſtood, 'they took Horſe, and fled ſome *Weſtward* to *Pentecoſt*'s Caſtle, (but 'where it was we do not now know) and others *Northward* to a Caſtle 'of Archbiſhop *Rodbert*'s, who together with Biſhop *Ulf* and all their 'Party, going out at the *Eaſt* Gate (I ſuppoſe of *London*) kill'd and 'wounded many young men (who I ſuppoſe went about to ſeize them); 'thence they went directly to *Ealdulphe*'s-*Naſe* (now the *Neſſe-Point* 'in *Eſſex*) where the Archbiſhop going on board a ſmall Veſſel, left his 'Pall and Biſhoprick behind him (as God would have it) ſince he had 'attain'd that Honour without God's Approbation.

From all which Tranſactions we may draw theſe Obſervations, That all this Conteſt between the King and Earl *Godwin*, ſeems to have been chiefly from the two great Factions, that of the *Normans* whom the King brought over with him, and that of his *Engliſh* Subjects; and which happening under a Weak and Eaſy King, that had neither the Prudence nor Courage to keep the Balance even, it produced this Pyratical War, made by Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, to force the King to reſtore them to their Eſtates. All which not only ſhews the great Power of this Earl and his Partizans, but alſo that thoſe who have the Command at Sea, may force a King of *England* to what Terms they pleaſe. It is alſo evident, that theſe *Annals* were wrote by ſome Monk of the *Engliſh* Party, who was wholly of Earl *Godwin*'s ſide. But to return again to them.

'Then was appointed a Great Council without *London*, where all 'the Earls and Chief Men then in *England* were preſent; and there 'Earl *Godwin* pleaded for himſelf, and was acquitted before the King 'and the whole Nation; and affirmed that he and *Harold* his Son, with 'the reſt of his Children, were innocent of the Crimes whereof they 'ſtood accuſed: Whereupon the King received the Earl and his Sons, 'with all thoſe of his Party, into his full Grace and Favour, reſtoring 'him to his Earldom, and whatſoever elſe he before enjoyed, as like-'wiſe to every one his own again. And then too the King reſtored to 'the Queen his Wife (who had been before ſent away) whatſoever ſhe 'had been poſſeſſed of; but Archbiſhop *Rodbert* and all the *Frenchmen* 'were outlaw'd and baniſh'd, becauſe they were thoſe who had been 'the chief Incendiaries of this Quarrel between the King and the Earl; 'and Biſhop *Stigand* was then made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Though our *Annals* are in the Relation of what paſſed at this Great Council much more particular than moſt of our Hiſtorians, yet in the Account of this War between the King and Earl *Godwin*, there are ſome things to be further taken notice of; as what *Simeon* of *Durham* relates, That Earl *Harold* when he came out of *Ireland*, firſt entred the Mouth of *Severne*, and there ſpoiled the Coaſt of *Somerſetſhire*, plun-

Anno Dom. MLII. dering both the Towns and Countrey round about; and then coming back to his Ships loaden with Prey, he presently sail'd round *Penwithsteot* (*i. e.* the *Land's-End*) and met his Father, as you have heard before; and when it was told King *Edward* that Earl *Godwin* was come to *Sandwic*, he commanded all those who had not revolted from him, to make haste to his Assistance; but they delay'd so long their coming up, that in the mean while *Godwin* with his Fleet sail'd up the River *Thames* as far as *Southweork*, and there lay till the Tide, but yet not without sending Messengers to some of the chief Citizens of *London*, whom he had before drawn over to his Party by fair Promises, and so far prevailed with them, that they absolutely engaged themselves to be at his service, and do whatever he would command them: Then all things being thus prepared, the next Tide they weighed Anchor, and sail'd *Southward* up the Stream, no body opposing them on the Bridge. From whence we may observe, that those Ships he had, were only small Galleys, with Masts to be taken up and down at pleasure, much like our Huoys at this day.

Then came the Earl's Land-Army, and flanking themselves all along the side of the River, made a very thick and terrible Body, insomuch that he turned his Fleet toward the *Northern* Shore, as if he were resolved to have encompassed that of the King's (which it seems then lay above-Bridge, over-against *London*): And though He had at that time both a Fleet, and a Numerous Land-Army of Foot-Soldiers, yet they being all *English*, abhorred to fight against their own Kinsfolks and Countreymen; and therefore the wiser sort of both sides laid hold on this Opportunity, and became such powerful Mediators between the King and the Earl, as made them mutually to strike up a Peace, and so dismiss their Armies.

The next day the King held a Great Council, and restored Earl *Godwin* and his Sons to their former Honours and Estates, except *Sweyn*; who, being prick'd in Conscience for the Murther of his Cousin *Beorn*, was gone from *Flanders* barefoot as far as *Jerusalem*, and in his return homeward died in *Lycia* of a Disease contracted through extreme Cold.

A firm Concord and Peace being thus concluded, both the King and the Earl promised right Law (*i. e.* Justice) to all people, and banished all those *Normans* that had introduced unjust Laws, and given false Judgments, and committed many Outrages upon the *English*; though some of them were permitted to stay, as *Robert* the Deacon, and *Richard Fitzscrob*, his Son-in-Law, as also *Alred* the Yeoman of the King's Stirrup, *Anfred* sirnamed *Cocksfoot*, and some others who had been the King's greatest Favourites, and always faithful to him and the People; all the rest were sent away, and amongst them was also *William* Bishop of *London*; but he being a good honest man, was called back again in a short time: *Osbern*, sirnamed *Pentecost*, (from whom the Castle above-mention'd was so called) and his Companion *Hugh*, surrender'd their Castles; and by the License of Earl *Leofric*, passing through his Earldom of *Mercia*, went into *Scotland*, and were there kindly received by King *Macbeth*.

* P. 525. Mr. *Selden* in his * Titles of Honour refers that Relation in *Bromton*'s Chronicle, to this Great Council held this very year; in which the manner of King *Edward*'s Reconciliation with Earl *Godwin* is more particularly

ticularly ſet down; *viz.* That the King having ſummoned a Great Council, as ſoon as he there beheld Earl *Godwin*, immediately accuſed him before them all, of having betrayed and murthered his Brother Prince *Alfred*, in theſe words; "Thou Traytor *Godwin*, I accuſe thee "of the Death of *Alfred* my Brother, whom thou haſt traitorouſly "murthered; and for the Proof of this, I refer my ſelf to the Judg- "ment of *Curiæ Veſtræ*, (*i. e.* your Court.) Then the King proceeded thus, "You, moſt Noble *Lords*, the *Earls* and *Barons* of the Kingdom (where note, That by *Barons* are to be underſtood *Thanes*, for they were one and the ſame before the Conqueſt) "You who are my Liege-men, "being here aſſembled, have heard my Appeal, as alſo the Anſwer of "Earl *Godwin*; I will that you now give a Right Sentence between us "in this my Appeal, and afford due Juſtice therein. Then the *Earls* and *Barons* having maturely debated this matter among themſelves, ſome were for giving Judgment for the King; but others differed from them, ſaying, That Earl *Godwin* had never been obliged to the King by either Homage, Service, or Fealty, and therefore could be no Traytor to him; and beſides, that he had not kill'd the Prince with his own hands. But others replied, That no *Earl*, *Baron*, nor any other Subject of the King, could by Law wage Battel againſt him in his Appeal, but ought upon the whole matter to ſubmit himſelf to the King's Mercy, and offer him reaſonable Amends. Then *Leofric* Earl of *Cheſter*, who was an upright and ſincere man both with reſpect to God and the world, ſpoke thus: Earl *Godwin*, who next to the King is indeed a Perſon of the beſt Quality in *England*, cannot deny but that by his Counſel *Alfred* the King's Brother was killed; and therefore my opinion is, That both he himſelf and his Sons, and Twelve of us Earls that are his Friends and Kinſmen, ſhould appear humbly before the King, each of us carrying as much Gold and Silver as he can hold in his Arms, and offering it to him, moſt humbly ſupplicate for his Pardon; and then the King ſhould remit to the Earl all Rancor and Anger whatſoever againſt him, and having received his Homage and Fealty, peaceably reſtore him to all his Lands. To this the Aſſembly agreed; and thoſe that were appointed, loading themſelves with Treaſure after the manner aforeſaid, went unto the King, ſhewing him the order and manner of their Judgment, which he being unwilling to contradict, complied with, and ſo ratified whatever they had before decreed.

Anno Dom. MLII.

This, tho written a long time after the Conqueſt, as appears by the Words there uſed, *viz.* *Parliament*, *Baron*, *Homage* and *Fealty*; yet it might be true in the main, as being tranſcribed out of ſome Ancient Records of the Great Councils of thoſe times, which are now loſt; and if ſo, would be a Notable Precedent of the large Authority of the *Witena Gemot*, or Great Council of the Nation, not only in aſſenting to new Laws, but alſo of their Judicial Authority in giving Judgment upon all Suits or Complaints brought before them, as well in Appeals between Subject and Subject, as alſo where the King himſelf was a Party; and if Authentick, would alſo ſhew, not only that this Tenure of the King by Homage and Fealty was in uſe before the Conqueſt, but alſo (according to the Judgment of this Great Council) that there was no Allegiance due by Birth, nor until a man had actually performed his Homage, or ſworn Fealty to the King; and laſtly, that a ſatisfaction made by Money, was looked upon as ſufficient for the Death even of the

Anno Dom. MLII.

King's own Brother. Yet to deal ingenuously with the Reader, notwithstanding this fair story, *Bromton* himself seems to doubt the truth of it; for after he hath there told us from some nameless Author, that Earl *Godwin* (out of fear of some of the *English* Nobility, who had sworn to be revenged of him for the murther of Prince *Alfred*) retired into *Denmark*, during the Reign of King *Hardecnute*; but returning in the beginning of King *Edward*'s Reign, he appeared at a Parliament at *London*, where the King impeached him of the Death of his Brother in the manner as you have already heard; and if so, this could not fall out as Mr. *Selden* supposes in this Great Council, after this last return of Earl *Godwin*, which happen'd not in the beginning, but the middle of this King's Reign. With which Relation also agree two Ancient Chronicles in *French*, written in the time of *Edward* the Third, and are both in the *Cottonian* Library.

And *Bromton* himself acknowledges, that according to most Authors Earl *Godwin* never went into *Denmark* at all, nor left *England* during the Reign of King *Hardecnute*; so that this Transaction (if it ever happen'd at all) seems most likely to have fell out in the Reign of King *Hardecnute*, when that King charged Earl *Godwin* with his Brother's Death, and made him redeem it with a great Present, as we have above told you.

But to conclude this year; From the *Peterburgh* Copy of these *Annals*, it appears that about this time *Arnuy* Abbot of *Burgh* resigned his Dignity, by reason of his bad Health, and conferred it with the King's License, and the Consent of the Monks, upon *Leofric* a Monk of that Abby: But Abbot *Arnuy* lived eight years after: During which time Abbot *Leofric* so adorned that Monastery with rich Guildings, that it was called the *Golden Burgh*; he also endowed it very much with Lands, as well as other Treasures.

This year, according to *Florence* of *Worcester*, *Griffyn* Prince of *Wales* entring *England*, spoiled great part of *Herefordshire*; against whom many Inhabitants of that County marched, together with the *Norman* Garison of *Hereford* Castle; but Prince *Griffyn* meeting with them, killed a great many, and putting the rest to flight, carried away a great deal of Booty.

Anno Dom. MLIII.

'This year Earl *Godwin* deceased (17th *Kal.* of *May*) and was buried in the Old Monastery of *Winchester*.

Of the manner of whose Death, though our *Annals* are silent, yet I shall here set down what I find concerning it by almost all our Historians, and it is thus; That King *Edward* celebrating the Feast of *Easter* at *Winchester* (or at *Windsor*, as some will have it) Earl *Godwin*, as his Custom was, sitting at Table with him, was suddenly seized with so violent a Distemper, that it struck him speechless, and made him fall off from the Chair on which he sate; and his Three Sons *Harold*, *Tosti*, and *Gyrth*, being present, they immediately removed him into the King's Chamber, hoping it was but a sudden Fit, and would be speedily over; but he lay in that languishing condition four days, and died on the fifth. This is the account of his Death; to which the *Norman* Monks, and such as write in favour of them, add other Circumstances, which shew either his Guilt, or their Malice; since they relate, That mention being made by somebody at the King's Table, of *Alfred* his late Brother, he thereupon looked very angrily at Earl *Godwin*, when he

he to vindicate himſelf told King *Edward*, He perceived that upon the leaſt mentioning of that Prince, he caſt a frowning Countenance upon him; *But* (ſaith he) *let not God ſuffer me to ſwallow this Morſel, if I am guilty of any thing done either toward the taking away his Life, or againſt your Intereſt:* After which words, being preſently choaked with the Bit he had juſt before put into his Mouth, he ſunk immediately down, and never recovered more. But let the manner of his death be as it will, he was a Man of an Active and Turbulent Spirit, not over-nicely conſcientious either in getting or keeping what he could; not to be excuſed for his too much forcing his Sovereign to whatever he liſted: But had he not been ſo great a Lover of his Countrey, and an Enemy to Strangers, thoſe that wrote in the *Norman* times (and who durſt not write any thing but what they knew would pleaſe their Maſters) would have paſſed him over without this Story, and have given him a fairer Character. *Anno Dom.* MLIII.

His firſt Wife was the Siſter of King *Cnute*, by whom he had a Son; but in his Infancy happening to mount an unruly Horſe that was preſented him by his Grandfather, he was run away with into the *Thames*, and there drowned. His Mother was kill'd by Thunder, which (as then was believed) fell upon her as a Judgment, on the account of her great Cruelty; for ſhe made a Trade of ſelling handſome *Engliſh* Boys and Girls into *Denmark*.

After her Death Earl *Godwin* married another Wife, and by her had Six Sons, *viz. Harold*, *Sweyn*, *Wined*, *Toſti*, *Gyrth*, and *Leofwin*: His Earldom of *Weſt-Sexe* was given to his Son *Harold*; and the Earldom that *Harold* had before, viz. *Eſſex*, was conferred on *Alfgar* the Son of *Leofric*, Earl of *Mercia*; which is alſo confirmed by our *Annals*.

And the ſame year, according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, *Rees* the Brother of *Griffyn* King of *South-Wales*, being taken Priſoner, for the many Inſolences he had committed againſt the *Engliſh*, was by the Command of King *Edward* put to death at a place called *Bulendun*, and his Head ſent to the King then lying at *Glouceſter*, on the Vigil of *Epiphany*: But this is omitted in the *Welſh* Chronicles, as commonly every thing is that makes to the diſadvantage of their own Nation.

'This year *Leo*, that Holy Pope of *Rome*, deceaſed, and *Victor* was 'elected in his ſtead. And there was alſo ſo great a Murrain of all ſorts 'of Cattel in *England*, that none could ever remember the like. *Anno Dom.* MLIV.

And now, according to the *Welſh* Chronicles, *Griffyth* the Son of *Rutherch ap Juſtin*, raiſed a great Army both of Strangers and others, againſt *Griffyth* Prince of *North Wales*, who delaying no time, but getting all the Forces of that Countrey together, and meeting the other, *Griffyth* fought with him and ſlew him on the place, though none of theſe Chronicles have told us where that was. This was the laſt Rebellion or *Welſh* Civil War that happened in this Prince's Reign.

The ſame year (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Roger Hoveden*) *Siward*, that Valiant Earl of *Northumberland*, at the Command of King *Edward*, being attended with a powerful Army and a ſtrong Fleet, marched into *Scotland*, to reſtore *Malcolm* the Right Heir to the Crown of that Kingdom, where joining Battel with *Macbeth*, the then Uſurping King of *Scots*, many both of that Nation, and of the *Normans* who took their part, were ſlain, and the Earl put the Uſurper to flight. But in this Battel the Earl's Son, and ſeveral of the *Engliſh* and *Danes* were ſlain.

H. Hun-

Anno Dom. MLIV.

H. Huntington further adds, That when the News was brought to the Earl, of the Death of his Son, he presently asked, *Whether he had received the Wound behind or before?* And being told it was *before*, he only replied, *I am glad to hear that, for so it became my Son to dye.* He says also, That this Son of his (whom he does not name) had been sent into *Scotland* before his Father, and was there killed; and that Earl *Siward* did not subdue *Macbeth* till the second Expedition; in which he differs from all the rest of the *English* and *Scotish* Historians.

Buchanan indeed acknowledges, that this Prince *Malcolm* having taken Refuge in the Court of *England*, obtain'd of King *Edward* the Assistance of Ten thousand men under the Conduct of Earl *Siward*, and that the rest were raised for him by *Macduf* and others of his Party that took Arms on his behalf. But *John Fordun* in his History writes much more improbably; and though he allows that King *Edward* offered *Malcolm* an Army sufficient to place him on the Throne, yet that he refused it with Thanks, and only took Earl *Siward* of all the *English* Lords along with him; as if this Earl's single Might, though he was a Man of great Strength and Stature, signified any thing against the Forces of *Macbeth*, unless he had also brought a powerful Army along with him.

Mat. Westminster also adds, That *Scotland* being thus conquered by the Forces of King *Edward*, he bestowed it upon King *Malcolm*, to be held of himself: But since this is not found in any of our Ancient Historians, and this Author does not acquaint us from whence he had it, I do not look upon it as worthy of any great Credit.

About this time (according to *Simeon*) *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester* was sent Ambassador to the Emperor with Noble Presents; and being received with great Honour by him, as likewise by *Herman* Archbishop of *Cologne*, he staid in *Germany* a whole year, to prevail with the *Emperor* on the King's behalf to send Ambassadors into *Hungary*, to bring back Prince *Edward* the King's Cousin, Son of King *Edmund Ironside*, into *England*.

The same year also, according to the *Latin* Copy of the *Annals*, 'Was a Battel at *Mortimer* in *Normandy*.] But though they do not tell us by whom it was fought, yet from others we learn it was between *William* Duke of *Normandy*, and the King of *France*; where the former obtain'd a most signal Victory.

Anno Dom. MLV.

'This year *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland* deceased; and the King 'gave that Earldom to *Tostig*, Son of Earl *Godwin*.

Of this *Siward*'s death, our Historians give us divers remarkable Circumstances; That being near his End by a Bloody-Flux, he said, He was asham'd to dye thus like a Beast; so causing himself to be compleatly Armed, and taking his Sword in his hand (as if he would have fought even Death it self) he in this Posture expired, as he supposed, like a Man of Honour.

'King *Edward* not long after this summoned a *Witena Gemot* (or 'Great Council) seven days before *Midlent*, wherein Earl *Ælfgar* was 'outlaw'd upon a Charge of being a Traytor to the King and the 'whole Nation; and of this he was convicted before all there assembled. 'Then Earl *Ælfgar* went to the Castle of Prince *Griffyn* in *North-Wales*; 'and the same year they both together burnt the City of *Hereford*, with 'the Monastery of St. *Æthelbert*, (once King of the *East-Angles*, 'whose Bones were here enshrin'd.)

This

This Earl had the greater reaſon to do what he did, having been unjuſtly baniſh'd, as moſt of our Hiſtorians write. *Simeon* of *Durham* is ſomewhat larger in his account of this Affair; and ſays, That this Earl *Ælfgar* firſt went into *Ireland*, and there procuring Eighteen Pyrate-Ships, ſail'd with them into *Wales* to aſſiſt Prince *Griffyn* againſt King *Edward*, where joining with the *Welſhmen*, they laid waſte the Countrey about *Hereford* with Fire and Sword; againſt whom was ſent that Cowardly Earl *Rodolph*, King *Edward*'s Siſter's Son; who gathering an Army, and meeting with the *Welſhmen* about two miles from that City, he commanded the *Engliſhmen* (contrary to their cuſtom) to fight on Horſeback; but ſo ſoon as they were ready to join Battel, *Rodulph* with all his *Frenchmen* ran away; which the *Engliſh* ſeeing, quickly followed: By which you may ſee, that it is no new thing for a Cowardly General to make Cowardly Soldiers. *Anno Dom.* MLV.

The Victory being thus eaſily obtained, the Prince and the Earl entred *Hereford*, and having killed ſeven of the Chanons that defended the doors of the Church, they burnt it, together with the Monaſtery above-mention'd, with all the Reliques of St. *Æthelbert*, and the Rich Ornaments that were in it; and ſo having ſlain divers of the Citizens, and carried away great Numbers of them Priſoners, they returned home laden with Booty: But as ſoon as the King was acquainted with it, he preſently commanded an Army to be raiſed through all *England*; which being muſtered at *Glouceſter*, He appointed the Valiant Earl *Harold* to be Commander in chief; who obeying the King's Orders, immediately purſued Prince *Griffyn* and Earl *Ælfgar*, and entring the Borders of *Wales*, pitched his Camp beyond *Stratdale*, as far as *Snowdon*; but they who knew him to be a Brave and Warlike Commander, not daring to engage him, fled into *South-Wales*; which *Harold* perceiving, left there the greater part of his men, with Orders to fight the Enemy if they could come at them; and with the reſt he returned to *Hereford*, which he fortified by drawing a new Trench about it. But whilſt he was thus employed, the two Captains on the contrary ſide thinking it beſt for them to make Peace, ſent Meſſengers to him, and at laſt procuring a Meeting at a place called *Byligeſeage*, a firm Peace and Friendſhip was there concluded; in purſuance whereof Earl *Ælfgar* ſent his Ships to *Cheſter* till they could be paid off, and he himſelf went up to the King, from whom he received his former Earldom.

'*Henry* Emperor of the *Germans* now died; and *Henry* his Son ſuc-
'ceeded him.] This is only mentioned in the *Latin* Copy of theſe
'*Annals*. *Anno Dom.* MLVI.

But the ſame year (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *R. Hoveden*) *Leofgar*, who was lately ordained Biſhop of *Hereford* in the room of Biſhop *Athelſtan*, deceaſed, being together with his Clerks and the Sheriff *Agelnoth* ſet upon by *Griffyn* Prince of *Wales*, at a place called *Glaſtbyrig*, and was there ſlain with all his followers; after which *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* (to whom the King had committed the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*), as alſo the Earls *Leofric* and *Harold*, mediated a Peace between King *Edward* and the ſaid *Griffyn*.

'This year *Edward Ætheling*, Son to King *Edmund*, returned into
'this Kingdom (together with his Children) and ſhortly after deceа-
'ſed, whoſe Body lies buried in St. *Paul*'s Church at *London*. Alſo Pope
'*Victor* now dying, *Stephanus* Abbot of *Mountcaſſin* was conſecrated in
'his *Anno Dom.* MLVII.

Anno Dom. MLVII. 'his ſtead.] But the *Cottonian* Copy of theſe *Annals*, as alſo *Florence* of *Worceſter*, place the death of this Pope under the year preceding. 'Earl *Leofric* alſo deceaſed, and *Ælfgar* his Son received the Earldom 'which his Father enjoyed.

This is that *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia*, who together with his Wife *Godiva* built the rich and ſtately Monaſtery of *Coventry* (as hath been already related) in which Church he was buried: He died this year in a good Old Age; whoſe Wiſdom and Counſel was often profitable to *England*.

Anno Dom. MLVIII. 'This year Pope *Stephanus* deceaſed, and *Benedict* was conſecrated in 'his ſtead: This Pope ſent the Pall to Archbiſhop *Stigand*.

Upon whom *William* of *Malmesbury* is here very ſharp, ſaying, That *Stigand* was ſo intolerably Covetous, that he held both the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* and that of *Canterbury* at the ſame time; but could never obtain the Pall from the Apoſtolick See, until this *Benedict*, an Intruder, (as he calls him) ſent it to him, either as firſt being brib'd by Money, or elſe becauſe (as is obſerved) evil men love to favour one another.

'The ſame year alſo (according to the *Annals*) deceaſed *Heacca* Biſhop 'of the *South Saxons*, (*i. e.* of *Chichester*) and Archbiſhop *Stigand* 'conſecrated *Ægelric* a Monk of *Chriſt-Church*, Biſhop of that See; 'as alſo *Syward* the Abbot, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

Alſo this year, according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Florence* of *Worceſter*, Earl *Ælfgar* was the ſecond time baniſhed by King *Edward*, but by the help of *Griffyn* Prince of *Wales*, and of a *Norwegian* Fleet which came to his aſſiſtance, he was ſoon reſtored to his Earldom again, though it was by force.

In ſo deplorable a condition was this poor King *Edward*, that thoſe of his Nobility who were ſtrong enough to make any Reſiſtance, were ſure to be pardoned.

The ſame year alſo (according to the above-mentioned Authors) *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, having newly rebuilt the Church of St. *Peter* in *Glouceſter*, went on Pilgrimage through *Hungary* to *Jeruſalem*, (as ſays *Simeon* of *Durham*); which no *Engliſh* Archbiſhop or Biſhop was ever known to have done before.

Anno Dom. MLIX. 'This year *Nicholaus* Biſhop of *Florence* was made Pope; and *Bene-* 'dict was expell'd, who was Pope before him.

Anno Dom. MLX. 'Kynſige Archbiſhop of *York* deceaſed, the xi. *Kal. Jan.* and Biſhop 'Ealdred ſucceeded in that See: (This was that *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who had been lately at *Rome*.) 'Alſo *Walter* was now made 'Biſhop of *Hereford*.] And in the *Latin* Copy of the *Annals* it is related, 'That *Henry* King of *France* now dying, *Philip* his Son ſucceeded 'him.

Anno Dom. MLXI. 'This year alſo deceaſed *Duduc* Biſhop of *Somerſetſhire* (i. e. *Wells*) 'and *Giſa* was his Succeſſor. The ſame year alſo deceaſed Biſhop *God-* 'win at St. *Martins* (vii. *Id. Martii.*) Alſo *Wulfrick* Abbot of St. *Au-* 'guſtine's in *Canterbury*, deceaſed in the *Eaſter* Week (xiv. *Kal. Maii.*) 'Which News being brought to the King, he appointed *Æthelſige* a 'Monk of the old Church at *Wincheſter*, to be Abbot, who was conſe- 'crated by Archbiſhop *Stigand* at *Windleſore* (i. e. *Windſor*) at the 'Feaſt of St. *Auguſtine*.

And this year (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York* went with Earl *Toſtige* to *Rome*, and there received his Pall from

from Pope *Nicholaus*: But in the mean time *Malcolm* King of *Scots* entred *Northumberland*, and depopulated the Earldom of *Toſtige*, formerly his ſworn Brother.

'This year (according to the *Latin* Copy of our *Annals*) the City 'of *Man* was taken by *William* Duke of *Normandy*. *Anno Dom.* MLXII.

Alſo about this time Earl *Harold*, afterwards King of *England*, founded the Abby of the *Holy Croſs* at *Waltham* (in *Eſſex*), ſo called from a certain Crucifix ſaid to be found (by a Viſion to a Carpenter) at a place called *Montacute*; which Crucifix being brought to *Waltham*, and many Miraculous Stories told there of it, one *Tovi* ~~the~~ *Stallere*, or Chief Standard-Bearer to King *Cnute*, built here a Church for two Prieſts to keep it; which place coming into the hands of Earl *Harold*, he built this Church anew, together with a Noble Monaſtery for a Dean and Twelve Secular Chanons (which in the time of *Henry* the Second were turned to Chanons Regular): This Abby being richly endow'd, the Foundation was confirmed by King *Edward*; as may be ſeen by his Charter, bearing date *Anno* 1062. All which appears from an Ancient *Manuſcript* Hiſtory of the Foundation of this Abby, now in the * *Cottonian* Library. * *Julius, D 6.*

'This year (according to our *Annals*) Earl *Harold*, and Earl *Toſtige* 'his Brother, marched with a great Army both by Land and Sea into '*Brytland* (i. e. *Wales*) and ſubdued that Countrey; ſo that the Inha'bitants giving them Hoſtages, became ſubject [to King *Edward*.] 'Afterwards marching farther, they ſlew King *Griffyth*, and brought 'his Head to *Harold*, who placed another King there. *Anno Dom.* MLXIII.

All this, though done in the two following years, is here related all at once: But *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Florence* of *Worceſter*, are much more large in their Account of theſe *Welſh* Affairs, which they give us under the following year, *viz.*

Griffyn Prince of *Wales* having by his frequent Inroads highly exaſperated King *Edward*, being then at *Glouceſter*, he after the *Chriſtmas* Holidays from thence diſpatch'd Earl *Harold* againſt him with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, if poſſible, to ſurprize him; yet he got timely notice of his coming, and by that means made a ſhift to eſcape, but left behind him moſt of his Ships, which the Earl taking, commanded to be burnt, and ſo returned into *England*: But about *Rogation* Week, *Harold* having got a Fleet in readineſs, he ſet ſail from *Briſtol*, and compaſſing the greateſt part of *Wales*, joined himſelf to the Horſe, with which his Brother *Toſtige* met him, and did ſo much miſchief in *Wales*, that tho Prince *Griffyn* had muſtered up an Army to oppoſe them, yet the *Welſhmen* being thus hard put to it, at laſt yielded themſelves to Earl *Harold*, delivering up Hoſtages, and conſented to pay him Tribute, and abſolutely renounced *Griffyth* their Prince. So that not long after, Prince *Griffyth* being betrayed by his own People, was by them murthered; and his Head being cut off, was ſent to Earl *Harold*, together with the Gilded Stern of his Ship; all which the Earl immediately cauſed to be carried to the King. *Anno Dom.* MLXIV.

Thus fell *Griffyth ap Lhewelyn*, to whom the *Welſh* Chronicles give a Noble Character, of a Valiant and Generous Prince, who had been hitherto for the moſt part victorious in all his Undertakings, till now he periſhed by the Treachery of his own Servants.

Anno Dom. MLXIV.

After this, King *Edward* (as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates) made *Blechen* and *Rithwalla* (whom the *Welsh* Chronicles call *Blethyn* and *Rithwallen*) Joint-Princes of *North-Wales*, being Half-Brethren to *Griffyth* the last Prince on the Mother's side, as being Sons to *Angharat* Daughter to *Meredyth* Prince of *Wales*.

Florence of *Worcester* also adds, That these *Welsh* Princes abovementioned, when they received from the King this Grant of *North-Wales*, swore Fealty not only to Him, but also to Earl *Harold*, who it seems delivered it to them; swearing to perform their Commands both by Sea and Land, and to pay those Tributes which had been formerly paid to King *Edward*'s Predecessors. Which, if true, shews that Earl *Harold* was already adopted and declared Heir of the Crown. But this being not found in our Annals, nor in any other Historian, I cannot pass my word for the Truth of it.

'This year also (according to the *Annals*) the *Northumbers* took 'Arms against *Tostige* their Earl, and slew as many of his Servants as 'they could lay hold on, as well *English* as *Danes*; they also seized upon 'all his Arms that were in *York*, and his Treasure where ever they could 'find it, and then sent for Earl *Morchar*, the Son of Earl *Ælfgar*, and 'chose him for their Earl; who then marched *Southward* with all that '*Province*, as also all the men of *Snotingaham*, *Deorbie*, and *Lincolnar-* 'scires, till they came even to *Northamtune*, where his Brother *Eadwin* 'with all his Company met him.

'But there Earl *Harold* came against them, to whom they sent a Mes- 'sage, which they desired might be conveyed to the King, as also the 'Messengers, by whom they besought to let them have *Morchar* for their 'Earl: The King hereupon granting their Request, afterwards sent 'Earl *Harold* to them to *Hamtune*, at the Feast of St. *Simon* and *Jude*, 'farther assuring them of it; and he also at their request confirmed and 'renewed the Laws of King *Cnute*. But the *Northern* men had done 'much damage to the Countrey about *Hamtune*, whilst their Message 'was thus transacting; for they slew their Men, and burnt the Houses 'and Corn, and took away several Thousand Head of Cattel, toge- 'ther with some Hundreds of Men, whom they carried Captives into 'the *North*-Parts; so that this Country, and the others adjacent, felt the 'damage for many years after. But Earl *Tostige*, with his Wife and as 'many as were of their Party, went over to Earl *Baldwin*, where 'they tarried all that Winter.'

The occasion of which Insurrection (as *Florence* and *Simeon* of *Durham* inform us) was this; There was one *Gospatrick* a great Officer in *Northumberland*, with whom Earl *Tostige* having a Quarrel, his Sister Queen *Edgitha* caused him to be murthered at Court the *Christmas* before; though this seems very unsuitable to the Meek and Pious Temper of this good Queen: Yet however, so much is certain, That this *Gospatrick* being slain, the Earl also killed in his own Lodgings two of his Friends, *viz.* *Gammel* the Son of *Orne*, and *Ulf* the Son of *Dolphin*, having treacherously drawn them thither; and had besides laid intolerable Impositions on the People; all which so incensed them against him, that three or four of the principal *Thanes* of that Countrey, *viz.* *Gammelbearne*, *Dimstan* the Son of *Agelnoth*, and *Gloincorn* the Son of *Eardulf*, with Four hundred (*Florence* says Twenty thousand) men in Arms, entred *York* a little after *Michaelmas*, and there first slew two

of

of the Earl's *Huiſceorles* (*i.e.* Domeſtick Servants) *Amund* and *Ravenſheart*, though fled out of the City; and the day following above Two hundred more of his men, on the *North*-ſide of the River *Humber*: *Toſtige* hereupon made loud Complaints to the King, and at his Requeſt *Harold* his Brother and others were appointed to take up the buſineſs; but as they were going down into the *North* for this purpoſe, the whole Countrey in a manner roſe, and met them at *Northampton*, where (as alſo afterwards at *Oxford*) they ſtrenuouſly refuſed to receive Earl *Toſtige*, and by no means would admit of a Reconciliation: And ſo violent were they, and reſolute, that after the Feaſt of *All-Saints*, they cauſed both him and his Adherents to be baniſhed the Land. *Anno Dom.* MLXIV.

William of *Malmesbury* alſo adds the reaſon which the *Northumbers* gave to juſtify this their Riſing, *viz. That they were Freemen born, and as freely educated; and that they would not endure the Inſolence of an Earl; for they had learned from their Anceſtors to chuſe either Liberty or Death.* In ſhort, if the King meant to have them ſtill his Subjects, he ſhould ſet Earl *Morchar* over them, and then he ſhould ſoon find they could, if kindly uſed, willingly ſubmit.

This was the moſt probable occaſion of *Toſtige*'s Baniſhment: Tho *H. Huntington* (who lived after the Conqueſt, and had heard many Tales of the Hatred which Earl *Godwin*'s Sons bore to each other) tells us another ſtory of this matter; *viz.* That as the King ſate at Dinner at *Windſor*, he commanded Earl *Harold* to ſerve him with the Cup: *Toſtige* his Brother being preſent, and not able to endure that his younger Brother ſhould be preferred before himſelf, in the King's very preſence flew in his face, and catching him by the hair, flung him on the ground: The Scuffle being ended, the King foretold that their Deſtruction was nigh, and that the Wrath of God would not much longer be deferred: For, ſays this Author, they were come to that height of Barbariſm and Cruelty, that if they but liked the Houſe or Poſſeſſions of any one, they would by night procure the Owner to be murthered, with all his Children, to get his Eſtate; and theſe were at that time the chief Juſticiaries of the Kingdom. But this ſeems to have been a ſtory invented long ſince out of hatred to the Memory of *Harold*, afterwards King, for he hath the Character of a Valiant and Worthy Prince; and who (as *William* of *Malmesbury* relates) in this Quarrel with the *Northumbers*, preferred the Peace of his Countrey to his Brother's private Intereſts.

But *Toſtige* in a great Rage leaving the Court, went to a Houſe at *Hereford*, where at that time he heard his Brother *Harold* had order'd mighty Preparations for the Entertainment of the King, and there made a moſt terrible havock of his Servants; divers of whom being killed, he flung their mangled Members into all the Veſſels of Wine, Mead, Ale, and other Liquors, and then ſent word to his Brother, That he need take no care for Pickled Meats, but as for all other ſorts he might bring them down along with him: And it was therefore for this moſt horrid Villany, that the King commanded him to be baniſhed; which the *Northumbers* underſtanding, for this as well as ſeveral other Murthers he had committed, they expell'd him their Countrey, as hath been already ſhewn. But this does not well agree with what *Simeon* of *Durham* hath already with more probability related of him; for if Earl *Toſtige* had been found guilty of ſo great an Inſolence, and that he was there-

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upon baniſhed the Kingdom, it had certainly been very needleſs for the *Northumbers* to have roſe up againſt him, and to have driven him out of the Countrey, or at leaſt to have deſired another Earl in his room; ſince the King would have appointed them a new one, without giving them ſo juſt an Occaſion for a Rebellion againſt him.

To this year alſo we may refer Earl *Harold*'s going over into *Normandy*, which ſome of our Hiſtorians place a year or two ſooner; but they differ much more about the manner and occaſion of it, ſome making it to be a meer Caſualty, others ſaying it was on purpoſe: But *William* of *Malmesbury*'s account of it is thus; That *Harold* being at his Houſe at *Boſenham* in *Suſſex*, near the Sea-ſide, he for his Recreation with ſome of his Retinue, took a Fiſher-boat, meaning only to row up and down; but ſailing a little further to Sea than they were aware, a Tempeſt roſe and carried them croſs the Channel to the *French* Coaſt, where (glad to be ſafe any where) they were forced to land in the Territories of the Earl of *Ponthieu*; the men of that Countrey (according to their cuſtom, and that barbarous practiſe which is in uſe in moſt places, to make a Prey of the diſtreſſed and ſhipwrack'd) preſently fell upon them, and being many and well arm'd, they eaſily ſeiz'd upon Earl *Harold* and his Followers, who were without Weapons; ſo that they not only took them Priſoners, but alſo fetter'd them. Then *Harold* conſidering with himſelf what was to be done, hired a Meſſenger to go to Duke *William*, and acquaint him how he was ſent over by the King of *England*, by his Word and Preſence to confirm what other leſſer Envoys had only whiſpered; but that he was kept Priſoner, and hinder'd from the diſcharge of his Meſſage by *Gwido* Earl of *Ponthieu*; and that it would become a man of ſo great Honour as himſelf, not to ſuffer a Villany ſo derogatory to his Authority, to go unpuniſhed, ſince he had appealed to his Juſtice: But if his Liberty was to be purchaſed with Money, he would willingly pay the Price to Earl *William*, but not to ſuch a mean-ſpirited man as *Gwido*. Upon this *Harold* by the Command of Duke *William* was ſoon ſet at liberty, and ſent to Court; where being honourably received, he was alſo invited to an Expedition into *Little-Britain*, where at that time the *Norman* Duke made War: But by his Wit and Valour he ſo well approved himſelf to the Duke, that he was very much taken with him; to whom, that he might alſo the more endear himſelf, he promiſed by Oath, That in caſe King *Edward* died, he would deliver up to him the Caſtle of *Dover*, which was then under his Command, and procure him to ſucceed in the Kingdom of *England*: Hereupon the Duke's Daughter, as yet too young for Marriage, was betrothed to him; and ſo he was ſent home with very rich Preſents.

This is *William* of *Malmesbury*'s, and divers other Hiſtorians Relation of it; but *Bromton*'s Chronicle, as he is ſingular in many things, ſo he is in this, and relates the Cauſe of *Harold*'s Voyage into *Normandy* thus; *viz.* That he had asked leave of King *Edward* to go over to Duke *William*, to procure him to ſet his Brother *Wulnoth*, and his Nephew *Hacune* free, who were there detain'd as Hoſtages; whereupon the King told him he might go with his Leave, but not by his Advice; for (ſaid he) I foreſee that nothing but Damage and Ruin can happen to *England* thereby; for I know Earl *William* will not be ſo ignorant and impolitick as to grant their Delivery, unleſs it ſhall tend to his own advantage;

vantage: So *Harold* going on Shipboard, and intending for *Normandy*, was driven by a Tempeſt on the Coaſt of *Picardy*, and there ſeized by the Earl of *Ponthieu*, and by him at laſt was ſent to Duke *William*, as hath been already related. The reſt of the Story is much the ſame with the former, and needs no Repetition; only this is added, That Earl *Harold* at his Return home, having told the King all that had happened to him in *France*, the King is ſaid to reply thus, *Did not I tell thee that this Voyage would prove neither for thy Profit, nor that of the Kingdom.* But one may plainly perceive this Story to have been feigned by one of the later Monks, to prove that King *Edward* had the Spirit of Prophecy, and would not have been omitted by *William* of *Malmesbury*, if he had known it, or thought it to have been true. *Anno Dom.* MLXIV.

This year alſo, as *Florence* of *Worceſter* tells us, *Harold* Earl of *Weſt-Saxony*, having built a Houſe in *South-Wales*, at a place called *Portaſcith*, and made great Preparations for the King's Entertainment, who was to come thither a hunting; when *Caradoc*, or *Cradoc*, Son to *Griffyn* Prince of *South-Wales* (whom *Griffyn* Prince of *North-Wales* had ſlain ſome years before) came to this place about St. *Bartholomew-day*, and there not only ſlew all the Workmen and Servants, but carried away all the Goods that had been brought thither. *Anno Dom.* MLXV.

'This year was conſecrated the Monaſtery of *Weſtminſter*, on the 'Feaſt of the *Holy Innocents*. *Anno Dom.* MLXVI.

This Church, as the Abbot of *Rievalle* (in his Life of King *Edward*) informs us, had been begun ſome years before, in performance of a Vow the King had formerly made, to go to *Rome*; but being diſſuaded from it by the Chief Men of his Kingdom, he ſent thither *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Herman* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to obtain Pope *Leo*'s Diſpenſation from that Journey, who by the ſaid Biſhops returned it him upon theſe terms, That he ſhould beſtow the Money he would have ſpent in that Voyage, in building a Stately Church and Monaſtery in Honour of St. *Peter*: Whereupon the King choſe out a place near his own Palace, where had anciently ſtood a Church and Monaſtery, built by *Sebert* King of the *Weſt Saxons*, and *Mellitus* Biſhop of *London*, but it being deſtroyed by the *Danes*, had ever ſince lain in Ruins.

But an Ancient Epitome of *Engliſh* Chronicles, written by a Monk of *Weſtminſter*, and now in the * *Cottonian* Library, relates, That Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* had here before erected a ſmall Monaſtery for Twelve Monks, which was vaſtly augmented by King *Edward*: Though whether this were ſo or no, is as uncertain, as it is incredible what theſe *Monkiſh* Writers tell us, of its being anciently conſecrated by St. *Peter* himſelf; which not being mentioned by *Bede*, looks like a Fable invented only to gain a greater Veneration for that Place. * *Otho, D. 7.*

Here alſo, in the Author above-mentioned, follows the King's Letter to Pope *Nicholaus*, That he would pleaſe not only to confirm what his Predeceſſor had done, but alſo grant him new Privileges for the ſaid Monaſtery; and then comes the Pope's Bull or Privilege for that purpoſe, in which is recited this Legend of that Church's having been anciently conſecrated by St. *Peter*.

But though *Simeon* of *Durham* places the Conſecration of this Church on the day above-mentioned, yet he refers it to the end of the year 1065, and perhaps with more Exactneſs; ſince the *Engliſh-Saxon* year began

Anno Dom. MLXVI. began then not at *Lady-day*, as it does now, but *New-years-tide*: And after this Author farther adds, That upon *Chriſtmaſs-day* preceding, the King held his *Curia*, or Great Council, at *Weſtminſter*; where were preſent King *Edward*, and his Queen *Edgitha*, and *Stigand* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, with the other Biſhops and Abbots of *England*, together with the King's Chaplains, Earls, *Thanes*, and Knights: Which Council (* as Sir *H. Spelman* informs us) was ſummoned to confirm the King's Charter of Endowment of the ſaid Monaſtery; but though it be there imperfect, yet you may find it at large in *Monaſt. Anglican.*; wherein, after the Recital of the Bull of Pope *Leo*, follows this Clauſe, *viz.* "That the King, for the Expia-"tion of his own Vow, and alſo for the Souls of the Kings his Prede-"ceſſors, as well as Succeſſors, had granted to that place (viz. *Weſt-"minſter*) all manner of Liberty, as far as Earthly Power could reach; "and that for the Love of God, by whoſe Mercy he was placed in the "Royal Throne, and now by the Counſel and *Decree* of the Arch-"biſhops, Biſhops, Earls, and other of his Great Men, and for the Be-"nefit and Advantage of the ſaid Church, and all thoſe that ſhould belong "to it, he had granted theſe Privileges following, not only in preſent "but for future times: Then follows an Exemption from all Epiſcopal "Juriſdiction; as alſo another Clauſe, whereby he grants it the Privi-"lege of Sanctuary; ſo that any one, of whatſoever condition he be, "for whatſoever cauſe, that ſhall fly unto that *Holy Place*, or the "Precincts thereof, ſhall be free, and obtain full Liberty. And at laſt "concludes thus, *I have commanded this Charter to be written and ſeal'd, "and have alſo ſigned it with my hand*, with the Sign of the Croſs, and "have ordered fit Witneſſes to ſubſcribe it for its greater Corroboration: "Then immediately follows the King's Subſcription, in theſe words, "*Ego Edwardus, Deo largiente, Anglorum Rex, ſignum venerandæ Crucis "impreſſi.* Then follows the Subſcription of Queen *Editha*, with thoſe "of the two Archbiſhops, ſeven of the Biſhops, and as many Abbots; "and ſo comes on the Subſcriptions of the Laity, *viz.* of *Raynbald* the "Chancellor, and of the Earls *Harold* and *Edwin*, who write themſelves "*Duces*, and ſix *Thanes*, beſides other of inferior Order. This Charter bears date on St. *Innocents* day, *Anno Dom.* 1066. which how it could be ſo dated four days before *New-years-day*, when the year then began, I do not underſtand.

**Vid. 1 Vol. Concil. ſub hoc Anno.*

Here alſo follows a Third Charter, which is much the ſame with the former, only it contains the King's Letter to Pope *Nicholaus*, and his Bull, reciting the Privileges granted to the ſaid Church; all which are there at large inſerted. Then follows the Subſcriptions of the King, Queen, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, *&c.* almoſt in the ſame order as the former; only *Osbald* and another of the King's Chaplains do here ſubſcribe before any of the Lay-Nobility; and beſides the *Thanes*, there are ſeveral who ſubſcribed with the Title of *Milites* added to their Names.

I have been the larger upon this Foundation, not only becauſe it was the Greateſt and Nobleſt of any in *England*, but alſo for that it ſtill continues, though under another Title, to be a Collegiate Church for a Dean and Eight Prebends, with an excellent School belonging to it, which hath hitherto furniſhed both the Church and State with as great a number of Learned and Conſiderable Perſons, as any in the whole Nation.

But

But to return again to our History (as it is related by the aforesaid Abbot of *Rievalle*); King *Edward* having at this Great Assembly of the Estates of his Kingdom appeared solemnly with his Crown on his Head according to custom, was a day or two before *Christmass* in the night-time, taken with a Feaver, which very much damped the Jollity of that Festival; yet he concealed it as much as he could for two or three days, still sitting down at Meals with his Bishops and Noblemen, till the third day perceiving the time of his Dissolution drew near, he commanded all things to be got ready for the Consecration of his New Church, which he resolved should be solemnized the next day, being the Feast of the *Holy Innocents*; whereat all the Bishops and Great Men of the Kingdom assisted, and the King as far as his Health would permit; but presently after, the King growing worse and worse, he was forced to take his Bed; the Queen, Bishops, and the Nobility, standing weeping about him; and whilst he lay speechless, and almost without life for two days, and the third awakening as if it were from a Trance, both *William* of *Malmesbury* and the Abbot above-mentioned, relate, That after a devout Prayer he told them, That in a Vision he had lately seen two holy Monks, whom he had in his youth known in *Normandy* to be men of meek and pious Conversation, and whom he therefore had very much loved, and now appeared to him as sent from God, to tell him what should happen to *England* after his decease, shewing him, "That the Iniquity of the *English* "being now full, had provoked the Divine Vengeance; for that the "Priests despising God's Law, treated Holy Things with corrupt hearts "and polluted hands; and not being true Pastors, but Mercenaries, ex-"posed the Sheep to the Wolves, seeking the Wool and the Milk more "than the Sheep themselves: That the Chief Men of the Land were In-"fidels, Companions of the Thieves and Robbers of their Countrey; "who neither feared God, nor honoured his Law; to whom Truth was "a Burthen, Justice a Maygame, and Cruelty a Delight: And that "therefore since neither the Rulers observed Justice, nor the Ruled "Discipline, the Lord had drawn his Sword, and bent his Bow, and made "it ready, for that he would shew this People his Wrath and Indigna-"tion, by sending Evil Angels to punish them for a year and a day, "with Fire and Sword. But when the King replied to them, That he "would admonish his People to repent them of the evil of their ways "and doings, and then he hoped God would not bring these dread-"ful Judgments upon them, but would again receive them into his "Mercy: To this they answered, That now it could not be, because "the hearts of this people were hardened, and their eyes blinded, and "their ears stopped, so that they would neither hear those that would "instruct them, nor be advised by those that should admonish them, "being neither to be terrified by his Threatnings, nor melted by his Be-"nefits. And the King asking them when there would be an end of all "these Judgments, and what comfort they might be like to receive un-"der all these great afflictions? those holy men only answered him in a "Parable of a certain Green Tree, that should be cut down, and remo-"ved from the Root about the distance of Three Acres; and when "without any human hand the Tree should be restored to its Ancient "Root, and flourish and bear Fruit, then, and not till then, was there "any Comfort to be hoped for.

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But

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But this Author's application of the Tree that was to be cut down, to the *Engliſh-Saxon* Royal Family's being for a time deſtroyed; and its Separation to the diſtance of three Acres, to *Harold* and the two firſt *Norman* Kings; and its Reſtitution again, to King *Henry* the firſt, by his marrying of Queen *Mathildis*, and its flouriſhing again in the Empreſs her Daughter; and then its bearing Fruit, to the Succeſſion of *Henry* the ſecond; do ſufficiently ſhew that great part of this Viſion was made and accommodated for the Reigns of theſe Princes. *William* of *Malmesbury* indeed recites the ſame Viſion, though in fewer words, but without any Interpretation of the Parable. But be this Viſion true or falſe, I think we may have reaſon to pray to God that neither our Clergy nor Laity, by falling into the like wicked and deplorable ſtate above deſcribed, may ever bring the like Judgments upon this Nation.

But when the Queen, *Robert* the Lord Chamberlain, and Earl *Harold*, who are ſaid to have been preſent at the Relation of this Viſion, ſeemed very much concern'd, Archbiſhop *Stigand* received it with a Smile, ſaying, That the good Old Man was only delirous by reaſon of his Diſtemper; *But* (ſays *Malmesbury*) *we have too dearly tried the Truth of this Viſion*, England *being now made the Habitation of Strangers, and groaning under the Dominion of Foreigners; there being* (ſays he) *at this day* (*i. e.* at the time when he wrote) *no* Engliſhman *either an Earl, a Biſhop, or an Abbot; but Strangers devour the Riches, and gnaw even the very Bowels of* England; *neither is there a proſpect of having any End of theſe Miſeries.*

This, it ſeems, was written in the beginning of the Reign of *Henry* the *Firſt*, and before he had ſeen the more Happy Times that ſucceeded in that of *Henry* the *Second*; when the Abbot above-mentioned tells us, *That* England *had then a King of the Ancient Blood-Royal, as alſo Biſhops and Abbots of the ſame Nation, with many Earls, Barons, and Knights, who as being deſcended both from the* French *and* Engliſh *Blood, were an Honour to the One, and a Comfort to the Other.*

But to come to the Death and Laſt Words of this moſt Pious King: The Abbot above-mentioned gives us an Excellent Diſcourſe which he made before his Death, recommending the Queen to her Brother, and the Nobility there preſent, and highly extolling her Chaſtity and Obedience; who though ſhe appeared publickly his Wife, yet was privately rather like a Siſter or Daughter; deſiring of them, That whatſoever he had left her for her Jointure, ſhould never be taken from her. He alſo recommended to them his Servants who had followed him out of *Normandy*, and that they ſhould have their free choice either of returning home to their own Countrey, or ſtaying here. After which he appointed his Body to be buried in St. *Peter*'s Church at *Weſtminſter*, which he had ſo newly dedicated; and ſo having received the Bleſſed Euchariſt, and recommended his Soul to God, he quietly departed this Life, having reigned Three and twenty Years, Six Months, and Seven and twenty Days.

It is very obſervable, That this Abbot does not tell us that he ſaid any thing concerning who ſhould be his Succeſſor; whereas many of the Monks of thoſe Times make him to have bequeathed the Crown at his Death to his Couſin *William* Duke of *Normandy*; and *Ingulph* further ſays, That King *Edward* ſome years before his Death had ſent *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* as an Ambaſſador to him, to let him know that

that he had design'd him his Successor, both because he was of his Blood, and also Eminent for his Virtue. *Anno Dom.* MLXVI.

What Pretences the Duke might have to the Crown by the latter, I know not, but it is certain the former could give him no Title to it, since all the Relation that was between King *Edward* and Duke *William*, was by Queen *Emma*, who was Mother to the King, and Aunt to the Duke; so that it is evident on the score of this Relation, that Duke *William* could have no pretence by Blood to the Crown of *England*.

But it is very ~~suspicious~~ certain, that this Story of Archbishop *Robert*'s being sent into *Normandy* upon this Errand, was but a Fiction, since he sate but three years in that See before his Expulsion, and that happened near ten years before; after which King *Edward* sent over for his Cousin *Edward*, sirnamed *The Outlaw*, to make him his Heir.

King *Edward* being dead, they made great haste to bury him, for his Funerals were performed the next day with as great Solemnity as the shortness of that time would admit of; but it was sufficient that all the Bishops and Nobility of the Kingdom attended his Body to the Grave in the Church aforesaid, where his Tomb is at this day to be seen behind the Altar; and his Body was afterwards preserved in a Rich Shrine of Gold and Silver, till the Reign of *Henry* the *Eighth*.

As for the Character which the Writers of the following Age give this Prince, it is such as they thought was due to One whom they took to be a Saint, yet they give him the Title of *Confessor*, which had been in the Primitive Times bestowed only on those who suffered for Christ, though not unto death: but how he could claim that Title upon this Account I know not, unless his resisting the ordinary motions of the Flesh, may be looked upon as such a kind of suffering; having been (as is already related) so chaste, that he never knew his own Wife, though a very Beautiful Lady; for which, as well as his other Virtues, and particularly his Charity to the Poor, he is commonly stiled St. *Edward the Confessor*.

But he was indeed but a Weak and Easy Prince, and so the more liable to be drawn away by the false suggestions of those about him; as may be observed in his severe proceedings against his Mother and his Wife: though that very Weakness and Easiness of Nature is in him reckoned for a Virtue, as you may see by this Story, which is related by Abbot *Ailred*; (*viz.*) That this King *Edward* being one Afternoon laid down upon his Bed to repose himself, and no body left in the Chamber with him, and the Curtains close drawn round about him, there came in by chance a Boy that was employed in the meaner Offices of the House, who seeing no body in the room, and finding there a certain Chest open, in which the Chamberlain kept the Money for the King's ordinary Expences, and which had been through negligence forgot to be lock'd, the Boy ran hastily to it, and filling his Pockets, went away with the Money; But the King perceiving him through the Curtains, said nothing, but let him go. The Boy finding he had sped so well, resolved to go again to make the best of his time, and having laid by the Money he had stolen, came again to fetch more; whereupon the King thinking him then a little too bold, called out to him, saying, *Sirrah, you had best be contented with what you have got, for if* Hugolin *come* (for so was the Chamberlain call'd) *he will not only whip you soundly, but likewise take away all you have purloined already*. The Boy hearing a Voice, but seeing no body, ran

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away in a great fright, and the King concerned himself no further about it; but *Hugolin* coming in not long after, and finding both the Chest open, and a good deal of Money taken out of it, was in a great Passion; which the King taking notice of, bid him rest contented; *For*, said he, *the Poor Rogue that hath it, wants it more than we do.*

So that, upon the whole, I think we may safely rely upon *William* of *Malmesbury*'s Character of this Prince; That if you consider his Simplicity, he seemed very unfit for Government; yet by reason of his Virtue, and Piety towards God, he was so directed by him, that the most Politick and Couragious Kings have scarce ruled more happily: For during his Reign the Kingdom was never invaded by Foreign Enemies; nor were there any Civil Disturbances, but what were immediately suppressed.

But though the Abbot of *Rievalle*, who hath wrote his Life, hath also given us a long Bed-roll of his Miracles, which I shall not take upon me to relate, yet cannot but take notice of one or two of them; how it is said, that he cured some Blind People, by only washing their Eyes with fair Water, in which his own Fingers had been first dipped; and that he also healed a Woman who had been grievously over-run with those Swellings we now call the *King's-Evil*, by his bare washing the Sores with his own hands; and from whose Blessing, or Example (I will not dispute) the Touch of our Kings of *England* have ever since been thought very effectual for curing the *King's-Evil*. But among these Miracles, this seems not the least, That this Author makes him to have been *Elected* King by his Father's Command, and that in a Great Council, whilst he was yet in his Mother's Belly.

As for his private Recreations, he loved Hawking and Hunting above all the rest; and would be in a Passion, if he had been crossed in his Game: For a Countrey Clown once spoiling his Sport, the King riding up to him, as if he would have beat him, only said, *By God's-Mother, I would be even with you if I could.* He is said not to be excessive at his private Meals, nor at solemn Festivals was he at all elated with the Costly Robes he wore, which his Queen curiously embroidered for him with Silk and Gold. And being thus Mild, Charitable, and Beneficent to all his People, it was no wonder if his Death was so deeply lamented by all his Subjects. But this they grant to be his Fault, that he brought too many *Normans* over with him into *England*; and they having great Offices and Preferments bestow'd upon them, soon corrupted the then *English* Simplicity by their *Norman* Customs: So that as *Ingulph* well observes, the *English* Nobility growing as it were ashamed of their own, began to imitate the *French* Manners; the generality of the Noblemen speaking the *French* Tongue in their Houses, (as being then most modish) and made their Charters and other Writings after the *French* way; and this humour still more and more prevailed, till at length they became as it were Slaves and Vassals to those they before so extremely admired. So true a Maxim is it, generally speaking, that where a Foreign Tongue prevails, it is reckoned half a Conquest.

As for this King's Person, he is described to be Tall and Comely, of a very Fair and Ruddy Complexion; and in his latter years Venerable for his long and white Beard, as you may see in his Seals and Pictures: And which is most remarkable, he was the first *English* King whose Seals we can find affixed to his Charters, as you may see in Mr. *Speed*:

Yet

Yet perhaps other Kings might have Seals to their Charters before him, however they are now defaced. *Anno Dom.* MLXVI.

But though this King made many excellent Laws, which being wrote in the *Saxon* Tongue, are now almoſt quite loſt; yet ſince ſome Heads or Extracts of them are to be found in *R. Hoveden*, and Mr. *Lambard*'s Collections, I ſhall give you ſuch of them as are neceſſary for the clearing of our Ancient Conſtitution, and for ſhewing what liberty the *Engliſh* Subjects enjoyed before the Conqueſt; which Laws were alſo confirmed by King *William* the *Firſt*, in the Fourth Year of his Reign; but they not ſpecifying any time when they were made, I have referr'd them to this place.

"The firſt of theſe Laws eſtabliſhes the Goods and Poſſeſſions of all "Clerks and Scholars.

"The ſecond appoints the times and days of the King's Peace; "making it more Penal to violate it from the *Advent* of our Lord, to the "Octaves of the *Epiphany*; and in like manner from *Lent* to the Octaves "of *Eaſter*, (*i.e.* eight days after that Feaſt); and from our Lord's "*Aſcenſion*, to the Octaves of *Penteco*ſt; and alſo on all *Saturdays*, "from Nine a Clock, to the *Monday* morning following; likewiſe on "the Vigils of all Holidays, as well as on the Holidays themſelves; as "alſo in Pariſhes, when the Feaſt of the Saint (to whom the Church "is dedicated) is kept; ſo that if any one come devoutly to the Cele-"bration thereof, he was to have ſecurity in going, ſtaying, and re-"turning home; and beſides in many other caſes, too long here to ſet "down.

From whence we may obſerve the Antiquity of thoſe Pariſh Feaſts, called in ſeveral parts of *England*, *Wakes*.

"The fourth appoints, That where ever the King's Juſtice, or any "other Perſon ſhall hold Civil Pleas, if the King's Deputy or Attorney "comes thither to open any Cauſe concerning Holy Church, that ſhall "be firſt determined; for it is juſt God be ſerved before all others.

"The fifth ordains, That whoſoever holds any thing of the Church, "or hath his Manſion on the Church's Land, he or they ſhall not be "compell'd to plead out of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, for Contumacy or "otherwiſe (nay, though he forfeit) unleſs Juſtice be wanting in "thoſe Courts, which (ſays the Law) God forbid.

By which all the Tenants of the Church were exempted from pleading or appearing at the King's Courts; which though a ſtrange and unreaſonable Privilege, yet (it ſeems) it continued in the time of *William* the *Firſt*.

"The ſixth confirms the Laws of Sanctuaries, ordaining, That no "man ſhall be taken out of any Church to which he hath fled for any "offence, unleſs it be by the Biſhop or his Officers: The like Privi-"lege is alſo allowed to the Prieſt's Houſe, provided it ſtand upon the "Ground of the Church; but if a Thief went out of the Sanctuary to "rob, he was to forfeit that Privilege.

"The ſeventh leaves thoſe to the Juſtice of the Biſhop who violate "the Peace of Holy Church; and if any Offender ſhall deſpiſe his Sen-"tence, either by flying or contemning it, and Complaint thereof be "made to the King after forty days, he ſhall give Pledges to reconcile "himſelf to God, the King, and the Church; and if he cannot be "found, he ſhall be outlaw'd; and if then he be found, and can be laid

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"hold on, he ſhall be delivered up to the King; if he defends himſelf, "he ſhall be ſlain: For from the day of his Outlawry he is ſaid in *Engliſh* "to have *Wulfsheofod* (i.e. a Wolfs-head), or as we now commonly ſay in "*Latin, gerere Caput Lupinum*: This is the common Law of all Outlaws.

"The eighth and ninth appoint what things ſmall Tythes ſhould be "paid out of; and recites, that they had been granted long before, *a Rege, "Baronibus, & Populo*, that is, by the *King*, the *Barons*, and the *Peo-"ple*: And though the word *Barons* was not commonly uſed till the time of King *William* the *Firſt*, when theſe Laws were drawn up in the form we now have them, upon an Inquiſition granted to the Ancient and Wiſe Men of all the Counties in *England*, as *Roger Hoveden* informs us; yet is this but a Recital of the Ancient Law of *Tythes* in the Dialect of thoſe times, when the word *Baron* came to be uſed inſtead of *Thane*.

"The tenth appoints after what manner the *Ordeal*, or Judgment by "Fire or Water, ſhould be executed by the Biſhop's Officer, and the "King's Juſtice, upon thoſe that deſerved it.

From which you may obſerve, that this Law of *Ordeal* was in force ſome time after the coming in of the *Normans*. This Law alſo ordains in what Caſes, and over what Perſons, the Courts Baron ſhould have Juriſdiction, but it being ſomewhat large, I refer you to it.

"The Eleventh again reinforces the payment of *Romeſcot*, or *Peter-"pence*, which if denied, the King's Juſtice ſhall compel the payment, "becauſe it is the King's Alms.

From whence we may obſerve, how much thoſe *Romiſh* Writers are miſtaken, who will needs make theſe *Peter-pence* to have been a Tribute from the Kings of *England* to the *Pope*.

"The twelfth ſhews what *Danegelt* was, and on what occaſion it "was firſt impoſed: That the payment of *Danegelt* was firſt ordained "becauſe of the frequent Invaſions of the *Daniſh* Pyrates; to repreſs "which, there was Twelvepence impoſed upon every Hide of Land "throughout *England*, to be paid yearly: Which alſo ſhews us about "what time theſe Laws were collected into the form we now have "them by this Clauſe, *viz.* That the Church was excuſed from this pay-"ment until the time of *William Rufus*, who (as is here recited) "asking an Aid of his *Barons* for the obtaining *Normandy* from his Bro-"ther then going to *Jeruſalem*, there was granted to him (not by any "ſtanding Law, but only for the preſent neceſſity) Four Shillings "upon every Hide of Land, the Church not excepted.

"The thirteenth ſets forth, That the Peace of the King is manifold, "as ſometimes it is given by his own hand, which the *Engliſh* call *Cy-"ninges honde ſealde gryth*.

This Protection was granted not only to Perſons, but Places alſo, by way of Privilege, as likewiſe to Churches or Churchmen within their own Walls, as appears by the League betwixt King *Edward* and *Guthrum*, in which it is termed *Cyninges honde gryth*.

"Another ſort of Peace was on the Coronation-day, which laſted "eight days; that at *Chriſtmaſs*, which held alſo eight days; and ſo on "the Feaſt of *Eaſter* and *Whitſuntide*. Another ſort was given by his "Brief or Letters; and another there was belonging to the Four great "Highways, *viz. Watlingſtreet*, *Foſs*, *Hickenildſtreet*, and *Erming-"ſtreet*; whereof two are extended to the Length, and two to the "Breadth of the Kingdom. Another ſtill there was belonging to the

"the Rivers of Note, which conveyed Provisions to Towns and "Cities. *Anno Dom.* MLXVI.

From whence it appears, that this Peace of the King was a Privilege or Exemption granted to Persons, not to be sued or answer at Law, in any Action brought against them, during certain solemn and stated Times, and in certain of the most famous and frequented Highways of the Kingdom.

"The fourteenth declares, That all *Treasure trove* should be the King's, "unless it were found in a Church or Church-yard; in which case, if "it were Gold, it was all the King's; but if Silver, one half was to go to "him, and another to the Church.

"The fifteenth treateth of Murther, and declares if any one was "murthered, the Murtherer should be enquired after in the Village or "Town where the Body was found; and if he was discovered, to be "delivered up to the King's Justice within eight days after the Fact "committed; and in case he could not be found, a month and a day "was allowed for search after him; within which term, if he could "not be seiz'd on, forty six Marks were to be collected out of that "Town; and if it was not able to pay so much, then the Hundred "was liable to make it good: And forasmuch as this Payment could "not be made in the Towns, and great inconveniences arose; the *Barons* "(*i.e.* the Freeholders of the County) took care that six and forty "Marks should be paid out of the Hundred; which being seal'd up "with the Seal of some one Baron of the County, they were to be sent "to the Treasurer, and by him so kept seal'd up for a year and a day; "within which time if the Murtherer was found out, upon his being "delivered to the King's Justice, they were to be repaid; but in case "within that time he could not be discovered, then were the Kindred of "the Murthered Party to have six of the said Marks, and the King "the other forty; if he had no Kindred, his Lord was to receive it; "and if he had no Lord, then his sworn Friend and Companion; but "if there were none of these, then the King should have the whole "Sum to himself.

"The sixteenth Article shews us, how this way of discovering Mur-"ther, and punishing the Hundred, came to be in use where the Mur-"therer could not be found; *viz.* That King *Cnute*, when he had gotten "*England*, and settled it in Peace, and at the request of the *English* Ba-"rons had sent back his Army into *Denmark*, those Barons became "Sureties, that all the *Danes* that staid behind with him, should in all "things enjoy perfect Peace; so that in case an *Englishman* kill'd any of "them, if he could not clear himself by the Judgment of God, (that "is, by Water or Iron, meaning the *Ordeal*) Justice was to be execu-"ted upon him; and in case he ran away, Payment was to be made as "is aforesaid.

This Law, to prevent the killing of the *Normans*, was likewise continued by King *William* the *Conqueror*; for in case a man were found slain, he was to be taken for a *Norman*, and his Death to be more grievously punished than that of an *Englishman*, unless the *Englescherie* of him that was killed could be made out before the King's Justices; that is, that he was an *Englishman*, as *Bracton* hath particularly shewn us. But I shall reserve the speaking further of this Law to the next Volume.

"The

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"The ſeventeenth declares the Office of a King in theſe words; "The King, who is the Vicegerent of the Supreme King, is appointed "to this very end, That he may Govern and Defend his Earthly King- "dom, and the People of the Lord, and above all things ſhould reve- "rence his Holy Church, and extirpate evil doers out of it; which un- "leſs he ſhall do, not ſo much as the Name of a King ſhall remain to "him, but he ſhall utterly loſe it, as Pope *John* witneſſes.

Then follows the occaſion of this opinion of Pope *John*'s, *viz.* His having given it in anſwer to the Letter which *Pepin* and *Charles* his Son wrote, concerning a fooliſh King of *France*, whether they ſhould ſtill continue him on the Throne, or not; which being no material part of the Law, I omit.

And then there is ſomewhat concerning Barons, which have Courts and Cuſtoms of their own, in theſe words, "The Archbiſhops, Bi- "ſhops, Earls, Barons, and all thoſe who have *Sac*, *Soc*, *Thol*, "*Team*, and *Infangtheof*, ſhall have their Knights, Servants, and all "other ſorts of Dependants under their *Friburg*; that is, ſhould either "have them forth-coming (or elſe ſhould anſwer for them), that if they "ſhall forfeit to any one, and a Complaint be made by the Neighbours "againſt them, they muſt bring them forth to have Juſtice done them in "their own Court.

The eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, and one and twentieth, are explanations of the *Saxon* terms in the above-mentioned Law; which being explained already in the Introduction, I thither refer you.

"The two and twentieth declares all *Jews* that were in the Kingdom "to be under the Protection of the King, ſo that none of them could put "himſelf in the ſervice of any great man without the King's leave; for "that the *Jews* and all that are there, are the King's.

"By the three and twentieth King *Edward* forbad all Uſurers to con- "tinue in his Kingdom; and if any one were convicted that he exacted "Uſury, he ſhould forfeit his Goods, and be looked upon as out- "law'd.

"After which follows in Mr. *Lambard*'s Copy another Law, decla- "ring the King's Power by Virtue of his Royal Dignity, to pardon "Life and loſs of Member, but with this Proviſo, That the Male- "factor make ſatisfaction to ſuch as he hath injured, according to his "power; and beſides, find Sureties for his good Behaviour, which if "he did not, he was to be baniſhed.

From whence you may obſerve, That this Prerogative of pardoning in the King, was not to extend to the prejudice of the Party injured, or his Kindred, to whom an Appeal was hereby reſerved.

"Concerning which, The nineteenth in like manner declares his Royal "Prerogative to be ſuch, that the King may ſet at liberty any Captive or "Priſoner, whenever he comes in any City, Borough, Caſtle, *&c.* or if he "meet him in the way, by his mere Word or Command. Yet was he that "was thus ſet at liberty, bound to make ſatisfaction to the injured Party: "But a Murtherer, Traytor, or one guilty of ſuch like Crimes, altho "the King ſhould pardon him as to Life and Member, according to "Law, he ſhall in no wiſe ſtay in the Countrey, but ſhall ſwear that he "will depart to the Sea-coaſt within a ſtated time ſet him by the Ju- "ſtice, and paſs over as ſoon as he can get opportunity of a Ship and "Wind; and in caſe any ſuch prove perjured, and ſhall ſtay in the Land

"beyond

" beyond the time, any one that meets them, may do Juſtice upon them, *i. e.* take away their lives. *Anno Dom.* MLXVI.

From whence you may obſerve the Antiquity of the Law for abjuring the Realm for ſuch great Offences to which the King's Pardon did not then abſolutely extend. The reſt of this Law, which only recites the Penalties for the harbouring or favouring ſuch Malefactors, I omit.

" The twenty ſeventh Article gives leave to harbour a Stranger or " Foreigner (whom in *Engliſh* they termed *Couth*, or *Uncouth*, that is, " known or unknown) as a Gueſt for two nights; in which ſpace if " he tranſgreſs, he that harboured him ſhall not be anſwerable for him; " but if any one be injured, and complaint is made, that it was by the " Counſel and Advice of him that lodged him, he ſhall with two honeſt " Neighbours by Oath purge himſelf as to the Advice and Fact, or " otherwiſe ſhall make ſatisfaction.

The reaſon whereof was, becauſe after the third night the Law then was ſuch, that this ſtranger was to be looked upon as one of the Family, and the Maſter of it was to anſwer for him if he tranſgreſſed.

" The twenty eighth appoints how Money or Cattel brought into a " Town (and ſaid by him who brought them, that they were found) " ſhall be diſpoſed of, and who ſhall have the Cuſtody of them.

" The thirtieth enjoins, That thoſe who have the King's Peace either " by his Hand or Letters, ſhall take care not to injure others, under a " double Penalty.

" The thirty firſt declares the particular Mulcts or Penalties of thoſe " who ſhall violate the King's Peace above-mentioned, and eſpecially " that of the eight days of his Coronation, or of any of the Feaſts " aforeſaid, and who ſhould have the Forfeitures ariſing from thence; " how much the King, and how much the Earl, and how much the " Dean or the Biſhop in whoſe Deanry the Peace was broken.

" The thirty ſixth Article directs, how that after a man is killed as a " Thief or a Robber, if any Complaint be made by his neareſt Relation, " to the Juſtice, that the man was wrongfully put to death, and lies bu- " ried among Thieves, and that ſuch Relations offer to make it good, in " ſuch caſe they ſhall firſt give ſecurity for ſo doing; and then it follows " in what manner the Party ſlain may be cleared in his Reputation, and " what ſatisfaction ſhall be made to his Friends for it, in caſe it appears " he was killed unjuſtly.

Theſe are the Laws which bear the Name of *Edward* the Confeſſor, though they are not properly ſo, becauſe many of them were made long before his time, and there are ſo many things in the *Latin* Original which are rather Explanations of Laws, than Laws themſelves, that they more truly ſeem to have been collected and written by ſome ignorant *Scioliſt*, or pretender, about *Henry* the *Firſt*'s time: For though *Roger Hoveden* hath given us this Collection of thoſe Laws which we now have, yet it is plain that there was no Original of them extant at the time when *Hoveden* wrote, nor long before; or elſe he need not have told us that King *William* the Conqueror in the fourth year of his Reign ſummoned ſo many Noble and Wiſe Men of the *Engliſh* Nation, only to enquire into, and acquaint him what thoſe Laws were. But *Bromton*'s *Chronicle* gives us a ſhort Hiſtory of the ſeveral Laws that had been uſed in *England*; and tells us of three ſorts of Laws then in uſe, viz *Merchenlage*, *Weſt-Saxonlage*, and *Danelage*; and that King *Edward*

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ward made one Common Law out of them all, which are called the Laws of King *Edward* to this day; yet of these he gives us no more than the bare Explanation of some Words or Terms frequently used in them, but without setting down any of the Laws themselves; which whether he did out of ignorance, or on purpose, I will not determine; though the former is most likely, seeing he had before given us all the Laws he could meet with of the precedent *English-Saxon* Kings. So that when the Reader hears the Laws of St. *Edward*, so much talked of, and so much contended for after the Conquest, he must not understand these here set down to have been the only Laws above-mentioned; For those are but some parts of them recited and commented upon by after-Writers. And indeed these Laws were first said to be the Laws of *Edward* the *Confessor*, after the *Normans* coming over, not because King *Edward* made them, but renewed the observance of them; as *William* of *Malmesbury* expresly tells us of one of those that King *Cnute* also revived, being in substance the same with that formerly ordained by King *Alfred*; Commanding every one above Twelve years old, to be entred into some *Decenary*, Tything, or Hundred: But *Bracton* also ascribes it to King *Edward*: So likewise this Interpolator or Noter himself tells you, That those Laws of St. *Edward* so much desired, and at length obtained from *William* the *Conqueror*, were ordained in the time of King *Edgar* his Grandfather, but after his death were laid aside for sixty eight years; but because they were just and honest, King *Edward* revived them, and delivered them to be observed as his own.

By these and other circumstances we may gather, That the whole Body of these Laws we have now recited, were such as were approved and confirmed by King *Edward*, who was a Prince of great Mercy and Indulgence to his People; so that such written Laws as were in force in his time, and such Customs as had been all along observed in the *Saxon* times, and had been still kept on foot in his days, were after the *Norman* Conquest (when both the People of the *Norman* as well as *English* Extraction so earnestly contended for their Liberties) called by the name of the Laws of St. *Edward*, thereby being indeed meant the *English-Saxon* Laws, which then received Denomination from him, being in effect the last King of that Race, and one whose Memory the People reverenced in an especial manner for the high Reputation he had gained for his great Sanctity and Clemency to his Subjects.

King HAROLD.

'KING *Edward*'s Funerals being over, our Annals proceed to 'tell us, how that Earl *Harold* ſucceeded in the Kingdom, as 'King *Edward* had appointed, and that the People elected 'him to that Dignity; as alſo that he was anointed King on 'the Feaſt of *Epiphany*; but he held the Kingdom only forty weeks 'and one day. *Anno Dom.* MLXVI.

Thus the *Laudean* or *Peterburgh* Copy relates it; being written by ſome Monk that favour'd King *Harold*'s Title to the Crown.

But *R. Hoveden*, with other of the *Engliſh* Writers, tell us expreſly, That King *Edward* being buried, Earl *Harold*, whom the King had before his deceaſe declared his Succeſſor, being by all the Chief Men of *England* elected to the Throne, was the ſame day anointed King by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*: Which is alſo confirmed by the Manuſcript Chronicle of one *Henry de Silgrave*, who wrote about the Reign of King *Edward* the *Firſt*, and is now in the * *Cottonian* Library. And the relation of this Affair being found no where elſe, I ſhall here recite, leaving the Credit thereof to the Reader's Judgment; which is thus: That King *Edward* lying on his Death-bed, Earl *Harold* came to him, and deſired him to appoint him for his Succeſſor; to which the King replied, That he had already made Duke *William* his Heir: But the Earl and his Friends ſtill perſiſting in their Requeſt, the King turning his Face to the Wall, replied thus, *When I am dead, let the* Engliſh *make either the* Duke *or the* Earl *their King*: Which, if true, ſhews that it was but a Conſent in part, and was alſo extorted from him. But this Relation being found in no other Author, I ſhall not paſs my word for the Truth of it.

* *Cleopatra*, A. 12.

But *William* of *Malmesbury*, and ſuch Writers as prefer the Title of King *William*, tell another ſtory, and ſay, That King *Harold* on the very day of the King's Funeral having extorted an Oath of Fidelity from the Chief Men, ſnatch'd up the Crown of his own accord; although the *Engliſh* ſay it was bequeathed him by King *Edward*; which yet he ſays he believes to be rather aſſerted by them out of partiality, than by any true judgment or knowledge of the thing.

H. Huntington does not mention any ſuch Election of *Harold*, but ſays on the contrary, that divers of the *Engliſh* would have advanced *Edgar Ætheling* to be King. But *Ingulph* is more cautious, and does not determine one way or other of this matter; only ſays in general, That the day after the King's Funeral, *Harold* wickedly forgetting his Oath which he had formerly made to Duke *William*, intruded himſelf into the Throne, and was ſolemnly Crowned by *Alred* Archbiſhop of *York*.

As for *Edgar Ætheling*, the only ſurviving Male of the Ancient Royal Family, he was but Young, and being a Stranger born, had neither Friends nor Intereſt ſufficient to oppoſe ſo great a Party as *Harold* had amongſt the Lay-Nobility, and eſpecially among the Biſhops, who were all to a man for him.

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And that which made more againſt Prince *Edgar*, was, That he wanted the Nomination of King *Edward* to recommend him to the Election of the *Wittena Gemot*, or Great Council of the Kingdom, which either Duke *William* or *Harold* certainly had, and perhaps both of them, though at different times, according as they had the opportunity of making their Intereſt with that Eaſy King, who certainly was very much to blame, not to have better aſcertained that great Point of the Succeſſion to the Crown in his own life-time; for had he declared either Duke *William* or *Edgar* his Heir, and procured the Eſtates of the Kingdom to confirm it in his life-time, he might have prevented that Calamity which afterwards fell upon the *Engliſh* Nation from Duke *William*, when he came to be King.

But to return to our Hiſtory; *Harold* being thus advanced to the Throne, took that courſe which all Wiſe Princes who can claim no Right by Blood, but only by Election of the People, have always taken; and that was, The aboliſhing of all unjuſt Laws, and the making good ones in their ſtead; the ſeizing upon and puniſhing all Thieves, Robbers, and Diſturbers of the Publick Peace, and indeed wholly made it his buſineſs to defend the Kingdom from Foreign Invaders both by Sea and Land; and that he might become truly popular, he was a great Patron of the Churches and Monaſteries, yielding much Reverence to the Biſhops and Abbots, ſhewing himſelf humble and affable to all that were virtuous and good, as he was ſevere to all others of a contrary Character.

On the 24th day of *April*, after his Coronation (as *Simeon* of *Durham* tells us) appeared a Dreadful Comet, which was viſible in all theſe parts of the world; not long after which, followed the Invaſion of *Toſtige*, who having been baniſh'd chiefly by his Brother's procurement, and now no longer able to digeſt the Preferment of his Younger Brother to the Royal Dignity, in excluſion to him, was moved with ſo much Envy and Indignation as to endeavour all ways poſſible to dethrone him; for which purpoſe he ſailed to Duke *William*, and thence out of *Flanders* with ſome Ships to the Iſle of *Wight*, where after he had forced Money from the Inhabitants, he departed, and played the Pyrate upon the Coaſts till he came to *Sandwich*.

King *Harold* being then at *London*, upon notice thereof got in readineſs both a ſtrong Fleet and a good Party of Horſe, with which he reſolved in Perſon to go to *Sandwich* and fight him: But *Toſtige* having intelligence of it, took along with him all the Seamen he could find, and went to the Coaſt of *Lindiſſe*, where he burnt ſeveral Villages, and killed a world of men: But *Edwin* Earl of *Mercia*, and his Brother *Morcar* Earl of *Northumberland*, haſtening to thoſe parts with an Army, ſoon forced him to quit that Countrey. And, as *Florence* relates, not being able to return into *Normandy* by reaſon of contrary Winds, he ſail'd into *Norway*, and there join'd his Fleet with that which King *Harold Harfager* was now preparing for the Invaſion of *England*.

In the mean time King *Harold* lay at *Sandwich*, expecting his Fleet, which when it was got together, he ſail'd to the *Iſle of Wight*; and becauſe *William* Duke of *Normandy* was now expected to invade *England* with an Army, he waited his coming over all that Summer and the Autumn following, lining all the Sea-Coaſts with Land-Forces, in order the better to receive him. This ſeems indeed more probable, than what

William

William of *Malmesbury* relates, That King *Harold* did not believe Duke *William* would undertake ſo hazardous an Expedition, being at that time engaged in Wars with his Neighbouring Princes, and had now wholly given himſelf up to his Eaſe and Pleaſure; ſo that had it not been for his hearing that the King of *Norway* likewiſe threaten'd an Invaſion, he would never have raiſed any Army at all; which ſeems a very improbable ſtory, ſince he was (as you have already heard from *Simeon* of *Durham*) forced to get out his Fleet and raiſe an Army, to prevent the Incurſions of his Brother *Toſtige*. *Anno Dom.* MLXVI.

But it is fit we now give you ſome account of the Reaſons of theſe great Preparations made by Duke *William* to invade *England*; for *Ingulph* and the Author laſt mentioned both aſſure us, That ſo ſoon as he had heard of King *Harold*'s taking upon him the Crown of *England*, contrary to the Oath he had given him, and that he was actually crowned, he ſent over Ambaſſadors to put him in mind of the breach of his word; threatning to force him to perform it, if he would not do it by fair means, and that before the year came about.

Harold's Anſwer to theſe Ambaſſadors (as *William* of *Malmesbury* relates it) was very plauſible, being to this effect, "That what he had "promiſed concerning marrying the Duke's Daughter, ſhe being dead, "it could not now be performed; but that if he had promiſed him any "thing concerning the Kingdom, it was very raſhly done of him, to "have given away that which was not his own, *without the General "Conſent and Decree of the Great Council of that Kingdom*; therefore "that a raſh Oath was to be broken; for if the Oath or Vow of a Vir-"gin, made without the conſent of her Parents, was by the Law of "God declared void, how much more ought that Oath to be accounted "ſo, which he being then under the Authority of his King (but com-"pell'd by neceſſity) had made concerning the Kingdom, who was at "that time wholly ignorant of what had been tranſacted? And that "the Duke was very unjuſt in requiring him to reſign that Crown "which he had ſo lately received by the General Favour and Conſent of "the *People*.

Bromton's Chronicle further adds, That Duke *William* ſent another Meſſage to King *Harold*, whereby he acquainted him, That although he had not obſerved his Faith in other things, yet if he would marry his Daughter, he would paſs by all the reſt; or otherwiſe would vindicate his Succeſſion by force of Arms. All which is very improbable, ſince moſt Hiſtorians relate the young Lady to be then dead; and it is very unlikely, that a Man of King *William*'s Ambition would quit his Pretentions to the Kingdom, for ſo ſlight a ſatisfaction as the Marriage of his Daughter.

But this Author does with more probability reduce the Duke's Quarrel againſt *Harold*, to theſe Three Heads.

Firſt, To revenge the death of Prince *Alfred* his Couſin, who had been long ſince murthered by Earl *Godwin* the Father of *Harold*.

Secondly, To reſtore Archbiſhop *Robert*, Earl *Odo*, and the reſt of the *Normans*, who had been unjuſtly baniſhed in the late King's life-time.

Thirdly, Becauſe *Harold* had contrary to his Oath poſſeſſed himſelf of the Kingdom, which as well by the Right of Conſanguinity, as by that of a Double Promiſe, ought to be his.

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But the Ambaſſadors of Duke *William* being return'd without any ſatisfactory Anſwer from King *Harold*, the Duke employed the reſt of the year in preparing all things neceſſary for his Expedition, hiring Soldiers out of his own Countrey with large Pay, and inviting Strangers from abroad with greater Allowances; ſo that upon the Muſter of his Forces he found that they did not only excel in ſtrength of Body, and height of Stature, but alſo the chief Commanders and Captains of them were as remarkable for their Valour as for their Experience and Conduct: Alſo his Biſhops and Abbots ſtrove with the Nobility, who ſhould by their liberal Contributions moſt advance this Enterprize. But that the Duke might not prejudice the Equity of his Cauſe by precipitation, he ſent Ambaſſadors to Pope *Alexander*, who did with great Eloquence ſet forth the Juſtice of the War which their Prince was going to undertake; and that *Harold* not only had broken his Oath with him, but refuſed to give him any Satisfaction, either becauſe that now he was a Crown'd Head, or elſe that he diſtruſted his Cauſe: Whereupon the Pope taking into his ſerious conſideration this weighty matter, approved of the Enterprize, and ſent the Duke a Conſecrated Banner, as an Omen of Victory; which when the Duke had received, he called a Great Council of his Nobility at *Lillebone*, to ask all their Opinions in this great Affair; and when they had all encouraged his Undertaking by great Promiſes of Aſſiſtance, he appointed an Aſſeſsment for his Fleet and Army, according to their ſeveral reſpective Eſtates; and ſo they departed home, till the time appointed for a General Rendezvouz.

Vid. *Introduct. ad Britan.*

But Mr. *Cambden*, from the Authority of ſome Ancient *Norman* Writers I have not yet met with, makes this Enterprize much more difficult than our Hiſtorians commonly do; as, that though he found his Chief Officers, to whom he communicated his Deſign, very chearful and reſolute to follow him, yet all the Skill lay how to bear the Charge of ſo great a War; for when in an Aſſembly of all the States of *Normandy* a Subſidy was propounded; their Anſwer was, "That in the late War "againſt the *French*, their Wealth was ſo much exhauſted, that if a "new War ſhould happen, they ſhould ſcarce be able to hold and de"fend their own; and therefore that they were more obliged to look "after the Defence of their own, than to think of Invading the Terri"tories of others: That this intended War, though never ſo juſt, yet "did not ſeem ſo neceſſary at that time, as it was apparently hazar"dous; and that beſides, the *Normans* were not by their Allegiance "bound to Military Service in Foreign Parts: Neither could they by any means be brought to grant a General Tax, although *William Fitzosbern*, a man in high favour with the Duke, and as gracious among the People, endeavoured what he could to effect it; and to draw in others by his own example, promiſed to ſet out forty Ships at his own proper Charges. Duke *William* then perceiving he could not bring this about in a Publick Meeting, went another way to work; and therefore ſends for the wealthieſt men of his Dutchy ſeverally one by one, to come to him; then he ſpeaks them fair, and deſires them to contribute ſomewhat toward this War: Whereupon, as if they had ſtrove who ſhould moſt largely aſſiſt their Prince, they promiſed him liberally; and he cauſing to be preſently regiſtred whatſoever they had promiſed, it amounted to a vaſt Sum, more than moſt men could reaſonably ever have believed. This Affair being thus diſpatch'd, he next craves Aid of

of the Princes his Neighbours; to wit, of the Earls of *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Maine*, and *Bretaigne*; unto theſe he promiſed large Tracks of Land, and great Poſſeſſions in *England*. *Anno Dom.* MLXVI.

But how much each of theſe Princes contributed to this Expedition, is not known; tho as for *Alan* Earl of *Bretaigne*, he certainly was ſo great an Aſſiſtant to Duke *William*, that he was after this Conqueſt of King *Harold*, made Earl of *Richmond*, and had great part of the Country thereabouts given him by *William* when he came to be King, to be held by Knights Service.

And for the reſt of the Princes above-mentioned, it is certain that they permitted Duke *William* to raiſe great ſtore of men in their Territories, who being headed by divers Noble Volunteers of thoſe Countries at their own Charges, afterwards enjoyed great Poſſeſſions in *England* as a Reward of their Services.

Duke *William* alſo made his Addreſſes to *Philip* King of *France*, and went in Perſon to ſolicite his Aſſiſtance in this intended War againſt *Harold*, voluntarily offering that King, that in caſe he would aſſiſt him, and that he thereby became victorious, to hold *England* of him as his Vaſſal; which King *Philip* refuſed to accept, thinking it againſt the intereſt of *France* to make the Duke of *Normandy* greater than he was already, who now began not to be ſo pliant to his Intereſts, as he thought the many Obligations which Duke *William* owed the King his Father, required: Therefore as the growing Greatneſs of a Neighbouring Prince was then, is, and will ever be ſuſpected by him who is his Rival in Power and Empire; ſo King *Philip* was ſo far from giving the Duke any Aſſiſtance, that he wholly diſſuaded him from this Enterprize, which nevertheleſs he vigorouſly purſued, notwithſtanding this diſcouragement.

But leaving Duke *William* to his Warlike Preparations, we will return into *England*, where our *Annals* tell us, 'That Earl *Toſtige* had 'been met upon the *Northern* Coaſt with three hundred *Norwegian* 'Ships (commanded by *Harold* King of *Norway*); to whom when he 'had joined thoſe he had with them, they all ſail'd up the *Humber* till 'they came as far as *York*; where the Earls (Brothers) *Morcar* and '*Eadwin* met and fought them; but it ſeems the King of *Norway* gain'd 'the Victory. *Ingulph* is more expreſs in this affair, and ſays that *Harold* King of *Norway* ſail'd up the River *Ouſe* as far as *York*, where the Fleet being left under a ſtrong Guard, they landed, and ſtormed *York*, and ſoon plundered it, and ſlew many of the poor Inhabitants: But the two Earls abovementioned having gotten together a ſmall Recruit of ill-arm'd Countreymen, were eaſily routed; and (according to our *Annals*) 'when King *Harold* heard of it, he immediately marched againſt the 'King of *Norway*, and meeting him at *Stanford-bridge* in *Yorkſhire*, there 'fought, and ſlew that King, with Earl *Toſtige*, his own Brother. *Ingulph* adds, That the *Norwegians* made a very ſtout reſiſtance, great multitudes of them being ſlain, together with their Chief Commanders; ſo that King *Harold* obtain'd an entire Victory; only Prince *Olave*, Son to *Harold* King of *Norway*, and *Paul* Earl of *Orcades*, were permitted quietly to return home with twenty Ships.

But before I diſmiſs this Relation, I cannot omit a remarkable Example of one ſingle *Norwegian*, who ſtanding upon the Bridge abovementioned, killed more than forty *Engliſhmen* with his Battel-Axe, making

Anno Dom. MLXVI. making good his Poſt againſt the whole Army, till three a Clock in the Afternoon, and then one going in a Boat under the Bridge, wounded him to death in the lower parts through a hole that it ſeems he found there.

But King *Harold* returning to *York*, had no long time to enjoy his Victory; 'for immediately after the News being brought him that Duke '*William* was landed at *Pevenſey* near *Haſtings* upon *Michaelmas* day, he 'made all the haſte he could to march towards him, leaving the Earls '*Edwin* and *Morchar* behind him with great part of the Forces. But ſince our *Annals* are very ſhort in the relation of all theſe Affairs between the *Duke* and King *Harold*, I ſhall give you a larger account of it from *William* of *Malmesbury* and other Authors, who tell us, That Duke *William* with all his Nobility being met in *Auguſt* at St. *Walleries* (a Port-Town in *Normandy*) lay there a long while waiting for a Wind, but that continuing contrary for ſeveral days, the Soldiers at laſt began thus to murmur in their Camp, (as it is ordinary for ſuch men when they lye long ſtill and have nothing to do), ſaying among themſelves, *That the man was mad who would go to take away another man's Territories againſt God's Will, which it was plain this was, ſince he had now ſo long withheld the Wind.* This being ſpread abroad, one would have thought it had been enough to have diſcouraged any one leſs valiant than the *Duke*; who thereupon conſulting with his Chief Officers what was beſt to be done, the wiſeſt of them adviſed him to bring forth the Body of St. *Wallerie*, to try if by that means they could obtain a fair Wind; however, perhaps it might put ſome ſtop to his Soldiers Diſcontents. What effect the Saint's Body wrought, I cannot tell; but ſo much is certain, that not long after a freſh Gale offering, the Duke immediately ſet ſail for *England*; and his Ship being firſt got out to Sea, caſting Anchor, lay there till the reſt of his Fleet could come up to him, who all following the ~~King's~~ Ship (which then rid Admiral) they in the Afternoon with an eaſy and gentle Breeze reached *Haſtings*, near which the Duke going on Shore, his foot by accident ſlipping he fell down, which a Soldier ſtanding by immediately turned into a good Omen, ſaying, *Sir, you have only taken Seiſin of that Land of which you will ſhortly be King.*

As ſoon as ever his Army had landed, he ſtrictly charged them to commit no Outrages, nor plunder, ſaying, *They ought to ſpare thoſe things which would ſhortly be their own:* So the Duke lying ſtill for fifteen days, and having ſtrongly fortified his Camp with certain *Paliſadoes* which he had brought over along with him, ſeemed to mind nothing leſs than War.

But King *Harold*, precipitated by his own bad Fortune, marched againſt the Duke with but part of his Forces; for beſides thoſe that had been killed in the late Engagement, a great many of his beſt Soldiers had already deſerted him, being diſcontented that they had been denied their ſhare of the *Norwegian* Plunder; yet thoſe Forces which ſtill remained with him, he thought ſufficient, becauſe he heard the Duke was landed but with a ſmall Army; ſo that notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt and moſt valiant of his Army were either ſlain in the late Battel with the *Norwegians*, or elſe gone from him, he yet reſolved to fight.

King

King *Harold* being now arrived near *Haſtings*, pitched his Camp upon a Hill about Nine Miles from that place, and immediately ſent out Spies, to give him what Account they could of the Number and Forces of the Enemy; ſome of whom being taken within Duke *William*'s Camp, though he might have executed them by the Laws of War, yet he only commanded them to be led round about it, and then having well fed them, he ordered them to be ſent back to their Lord; and being returned, King *Harold* asked them, What news they could tell him? They hereupon having ſet forth the generous Behaviour of the Enemies General, ſeriouſly added, That all their Army ſeemed to be Prieſts, becauſe they had all their Faces with both their Lips cloſe ſhaven, for the *Engliſh* then wore long Beards: But the King laughing at their ſimplicity, ſaid, He too well knew thoſe they had ſeen were no Prieſts, but brave Soldiers; then *Gyrth* his youngeſt Brother (being a very young man, but of an Underſtanding and Courage far above his years) taking the words out of the King's mouth, ſaid thus; "Sir, if you can "ſo far allow the Valour of the *Norman* Duke, I think it is then indiſcreet "for you to enter the Field againſt him, leſt you ſhould be found infe- "rior to him either in Strength or Juſtice of your Cauſe; for you can "no ways deny but that voluntarily or involuntarily you have ſworn "to him: Therefore in my opinion you would do more prudently to "withdraw your ſelf from the preſent Danger, and leave to us the De- "ciſion of the Day; who being free from all Oaths and Promiſes, can "with a ſafe Conſcience draw our Swords in defence of our Countrey; "for it is to be feared, that if you your ſelf ſhould engage, either your "Death or more ſhameful Flight may enſue; whereas if we alone en- "gage with him, your Cauſe will be every where ſafe, for you may "either aſſiſt us if we ſhould be put to fly, or elſe bury us if we ſhould "happen to be ſlain. *Anno Dom.* MLXVI.

But the King's immoderate Pride and Raſhneſs made him deaf to the wholeſome Advice of his Brother; and he thought it Inglorious, and a Diſhonour to his paſt Life, to ſeem afraid of any Danger: Therefore being puſh'd on by his unlucky Fate, he haſtily ſent away the Monk that was newly before come from Duke *William* to him with theſe Propoſals, *viz.* That either he ſhould quit the Throne; or hold it, and reign under him; or elſe try the Juſtice of his Cauſe by their two ſingle Swords in the ſight of both Armies; or in caſe *Harold* ſhould refuſe all theſe, that he was ready to ſubmit it to the Judgment of the Apoſtolick See: I ſay, he haſtily ſent him away with only this ſhort Anſwer, That he would leave it to God to determine the matter between them.

So that the Monk being returned with this Anſwer, it added freſh Courage to the *Normans*; whereupon the Generals on both ſides immediately drew up their Armies, in order to a Battel, each according to his Countrey faſhion: The *Engliſh* had ſpent the night in drinking and roaring; and being thus heated, marched early out the next morning againſt the Enemy: The Pikes and Bill-men, mingled with a ſtrong Detachment of Targetiers, made up the Front and Main Body of the *Engliſh* Army, and by their cloſe Order render'd it ſo impenetrable, that nothing but their being outwitted by the *Norman* Duke could ever have broke it, as you will ſee by and by: But King *Harold*, together with his Brethren, being all on foot, placed themſelves near the Royal Standard,

Anno Dom. MLXVI. Standard, that by thus being all of them in equal danger with the meaneſt Soldier, no man ſhould ſo much as think of Flight.

Whilſt in the mean time the *Normans* had ſpent the night in Prayers and Confeſſions, and having alſo received the *Euchariſt*, were now drawn out againſt the *Engliſh*; the Foot being armed with Gleaves, Bows, and Arrows, made up the Main Body of their Army; and the Horſe being placed a little more backward in two Diviſions made the Wings: But (as *Will. Pictavienſis* relates) the Pope's Conſecrated Banner was placed in the Front of the Army, as well to encourage the *Normans*, as to diſhearten the *Engliſh*.

Then the Duke mounting on Horſeback, with an unconcern'd Countenance and loud Voice encouraged his men, and openly declared, *He doubted not but that God would favour the Juſtice of his Cauſe.* And *Bromton*'s Chronicle here brings him in making a long Speech to his Army; which becauſe not ſuiting with the Genius of thoſe blunt times, and being alſo omitted by all other Authors, I ſhall paſs by.

Then the Duke calling for his Armour, and either through haſte or incogitancy his Eſquire having put on his Breaſt-plate behind inſtead of before, he turned off that ſeeming Ill Omen with a Jeſt, ſaying, His Dukedom would ſhortly be changed into a Kingdom: And then the old Ballad of *Roland* being begun by the Army, that his Martial Example might excite their Courage, and the Divine Aſſiſtance being alſo implored, the Battel begun, which was valiantly fought on both ſides, neither Party giving ground, tho it continued till it was late; which when Duke *William* perceiving, and that the *Engliſh* Ranks were not otherwiſe to be broken, he gave immediate Orders to his men to feign a Retreat, and make as if they fled out of the Field, by which Stratagem the Main Body of the *Engliſh* Foot being broken in purſuing the Enemy, (whom they thought to be really now put to flight,) it turned to their own deſtruction; for the *Normans* rallying, and falling upon the *Engliſh* when they were diſperſed, quite routed them; and thus being outwitted, though they loſt their Lives valiantly in fighting for their Countrey, yet were they not wanting in their Revenge, for often turning again, they ſlew whole heaps of their Purſuers; and the Foot gaining a Riſing Ground, drove back the *Normans* into the adjoining Valley, and throwing great ſtore of Darts and Stones down upon them, put them to flight, and paſſing over a certain ſteep Trench, left there ſo many Carkaſſes of their Enemies, that they levelled the inequality of the ground with heaps of dead bodies. Thus for a while ſometimes the *Engliſh* and ſometimes the *Normans* prevailed, neither ſide having much the better, ſo long as King *Harold* continued alive; but when at laſt he fell by an Arrow ſhot into his Brains, the *Engliſh* preſently fled, till night parted them: Inſomuch that the Valour of both Generals was very remarkable; for *Harold* was not contented only with performing the office of a General, but he did alſo act the part of a common Soldier, killing all thoſe that came in his way, that none could approach him without great hazard of being ſlain, till ſuch time as that Unfortunate Shot above-mentioned put an end to his Life; and a Soldier afterwards giving his dead Body a Wound in the Thigh, he was for that baſe cowardly Action diſcarded by Duke *William*, who never ceaſed encouraging his Men both by his Voice and Preſence, marching foremoſt againſt the thickeſt Ranks; ſo that whilſt he thus ſhewed his Valour,

Valour, he had no leſs than three brave Horſes ſlain under him, the Duke all the while remaining with an undaunted Courage in the greateſt dangers, though he was often gently admoniſhed by thoſe who had the guard of his Perſon, not to be ſo forward. *Anno Dom.* MLXVI.

Thus he continued till the Night coming on left him at laſt entirely Victorious; and without doubt the Divine Hand did that day protect him, for he was not ſo much as wounded, though aimed at by ſo many Darts and Arrows.

This is the Account which *William* of *Malmesbury* gives us of this Fight; to which there needs little to be added out of other Authors, ſeveral of them writing from him, and only repeating his Relation in other words. But I cannot omit taking notice of ſome Paſſages which *Radulph de Diceto* gives us of this Battel; *viz.* That it was fought upon a *Saturday*, (being St. *Calixtus*'s day) the 2^d^ of the *Ides*, that is, the 14^th^ of *October*; That the *Engliſh* being drawn up in a narrow place, many of them withdrew themſelves from the Battel, as having not room to fight, ſo that but few remained with the King: That Duke *William* marched againſt the Enemy in the Head of Five Regiments of Horſe, which being all drawn up, a certain *Norman* called *Tailefer* came forth before both Armies, and there brandiſhed his Sword in the face of the *Engliſh*, and whilſt they ſtood gazing at him, he ſlew an *Engliſh* Enſign, who (it ſeems) came out to fight with him, and did the like to another who engaged him, but in the third Encounter with a freſh man was ſlain himſelf.

Then began the Fight with a thick Shower of Arrows on the *Norman*'s ſide, which Duke *William* commanded them not to ſhoot directly at the Enemy, but rather upward, that ſo they might fall upon the Heads of the *Engliſh*; which Stratagem proved fatal to them; for by one of theſe Arrows King *Harold* himſelf was ſlain: There were about twenty Valiant *Norman* Horſemen, who had engaged to each other, that breaking the *Engliſh* Army, they would ſeize upon the King's Standard; in compaſſing which, tho many of them periſhed, yet the reſt preſſing on with their Swords, at laſt carried it off. This Standard, after the Victory, Duke *William* ſent to the Pope, wherein the Figure of an Armed Combatant was curiouſly embroidered with Gold and Precious Stones.

But concerning the Battel, a Manuſcript Chronicle called *Brutus*, in the Archbiſhop's Library at *Lambeth*, farther relates, That Earl *William* (for ſo he ſtiles him) having made a freſh Aſſault upon the *Engliſh* with a Detachment of about a Thouſand Horſe, tried once more to break their Ranks, which not ſucceeding, the Earl immediately commanded that feign'd Retreat above-mention'd; by which the Order of the Main Body of the *Engliſh* being broken, the *Normans* thereupon rallying again, preſently charged through the *Engliſh* Army, and gave them an entire Defeat.

Some Writers alſo mention, That the *Normans* in their feigned Flight fell into a deep Trench which the *Engliſh* had made and covered over on purpoſe; tho this ſeems not at all likely; for how could they tell that they ſhould put the *Normans* to flight, and make them fall into that Trench? But Mr. *Holingſhed* from a Manuſcript Chronicle of *Battle-Abby*, which he had ſeen, gives us a much more probable account of this Circumſtance; *viz.* That the *Normans* too earneſtly purſuing the Chaſe

Anno Dom. MLXVI. when the *Engliſh* began to retreat, many of the *Norman* Horſe fell by chance into a certain deep Ditch, overgrown with Reeds, where moſt of them being preſſed to death or ſtifled, periſhed.

This is the beſt Account I can give you of this Great and Deciſive Battel, which yet is very imperfect, ſince no Hiſtorians that I know of either *Engliſh* or *Normans*, have given us the Number of the Armies on both ſides, or how many were ſlain; perhaps, becauſe both had a mind to conceal what they thought did not make for their Credit: Only it is acknowledged on all hands, that they were ſo many on the *Normans* ſide as well as the *Engliſh*, that nothing but the over-ruling Providence of God by the Death of their King, could have given it away from them to their Enemies.

In this Battel King *Harold* and his two Brothers, *Gyrth* and *Leofwin*, with moſt of the *Engliſh* Nobility, were ſlain; and an Ancient Manu-
* *Julius, D. 6.* ſcript in the * *Cottonian* Library farther relates, That the King's Body was hard to be certainly known by reaſon of its being ſo much diſfigured by Wounds, yet was at laſt diſcovered by one who had been formerly his Miſtreſs, and that by the means of certain private Marks known only to her ſelf; and being taken up and waſh'd by two of the Chanons of *Waltham* (which Monaſtery he had founded) was ordered by Duke *William* to be delivered to his Mother, and that without any Ranſom, though ſhe would have given a conſiderable Sum for it; but it was not long after buried in the Abby-Church of *Waltham*.

Yet notwithſtanding, *Henry de Knyghton* from *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, gives a quite different account what became of this Prince; for he ſays that he was not ſlain in this Battel, but retiring privately out of it, lived and died an Anchoret in a Cell near St. *John*'s Church in *Cheſter*, as was owned by himſelf at his laſt Confeſſion, when he lay a dying; and farther, that in memory thereof they ſhewed his Tomb when that Author wrote. But the concurrent Teſtimony of ſo many *Engliſh* Writers concerning his being ſlain, and buried at *Waltham*, is certainly to be preferred before one ſingle Evidence; not but that it might be true, that ſomebody might thus perſonate *Harold*, and have his Tomb afterwards ſhewn as his.

But where or however he died, he was certainly a Prince of a Noble Preſence, and of as Great a Mind; and had he not by a prepoſterous Ambition of gaining a Kingdom to which he had no Right, as well as by a Notorious Violation of his Solemn Oath, given Duke *William* a juſt Occaſion of making War upon him, wherein he not only loſt his own Life, but alſo was the occaſion of the Ruin of ſo many of his Countreymen, he might have had as great a Character in Hiſtory, as any Prince of his time.

He had two Wives, the firſt he buried long before he was King; but none of our Writers mention her Name. His ſecond was *Algithe*, Widow of *Griffyth ap Lhewelyn*, King of *North-Wales*, Siſter of *Edwi* and *Morchar*, Earls of *Yorkſhire* and *Cheſter*.

By the former it is recorded that he had Children then of ſuch an Age, that they waged War againſt K. *William* in the ſecond year of his Reign.

The firſt was *Godwin*, who with his Brother *Edmund* after his Father's Death and Overthrow, fled into *Ireland*; but returning again into *Somerſetſhire*, ſlew *Ednoth* (one of his Father's Ealdormen) who encounter'd him, and then making great ſpoil in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal*, departed. The next year fighting with *Beorne* an Ealdorman of *Corn-*

wal,

wal, he afterwards returned into *Ireland*, and from thence went to *Denmark* to King *Sweyn*, where he continued the Reſidue of his Life. *Anno Dom.* MLXVI.

The ſecond was *Edmund*, who engaged with him in all his aboveſaid Brother's Invaſions and Wars, depending abſolutely upon him whilſt he lived and died (as he did) in *Denmark*.

Magnus his third Son went with his two Brothers into *Ireland*, and came back with them the firſt time into *England*; but we find nothing of him after this, unleſs he was that *Magnus* who afterwards became an Anchoret.

Wolfe his fourth Son ſeems to be born of Queen *Algithe*, and probably at King *William*'s Entrance here, he was but an Infant; yet after his Death he is named among his Priſoners; but by *William Rufus* was releaſed, and by him honoured with the Order of Knighthood.

Gunhilde, a Daughter of *Harold*'s, is mentioned by *John Capgrave* in the Life of *Wolſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and that ſhe was a Nun, but where, is not mentioned; and being in moſt mens opinion's wholly blind, this *Wolſtan* (if you will believe it from *Capgrave*) by a Miracle reſtor'd her abſolutely to her Eyeſight.

Another Daughter of *Harold*'s is mentioned by *Saxo Grammaticus*, in his *Daniſh* Hiſtory, to have been well received by her Kinſman King *Sweyn* the younger, and afterwards married to *Waldemar* King of the *Ruſſians*, and to have had a Daughter by him, who was the Mother of *Waldemar* the firſt King of *Denmark* of that Name, from whom all the *Daniſh* Kings for many Ages after ſucceeded. This Account I have borrowed from Mr. *Speed*, who is very exact in the Pedigrees of our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings.

We find no Laws made in this King's time, only this, mentioned by *Ingulph*, *viz.* That King *Harold* made a Law, that whatever *Welſhman* were found without leave on this ſide *Offa*'s Ditch, he ſhould have his Right-hand cut off by the King's Officers: Which Law, I ſuppoſe, was made to reſtrain the pilfering Incurſions of the *Welſh*, who were wont to come in ſmall Companies into the *Engliſh* Borders, to rob, and carry away Cattel.

But as for the Earls, *Syward* of *Mercia*, and *Morchar* of *Northumberland*, Brothers, it is ſaid they withdrew themſelves out of the Battel, with their Followers, almoſt as ſoon as it began, either becauſe they liked not the ſtreightneſs of the Place where they were drawn up, or elſe were diſcontented with the King's Conduct; ſo marching immediately up to *London*, they there met with *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Edgar Atheling*, with divers other Noblemen and Biſhops, and conſulted whom they ſhould make King; divers of them were for *Edgar Atheling*, as the only remaining Branch of the *Saxon* Blood-Royal, under whom they reſolved to renew the War; but he being young and unexperienced, and the Major Part of the Biſhops being againſt it, nothing was done. *William* of *Malmesbury* relates, That the two Earls above-mentioned ſolicited the *Londoners* to make one of them King, which when they found they could not prevail upon them ſo to do, taking their Siſter, the Widow of King *Harold* along with them, and leaving her for ſecurity at *Cheſter*, they retired into *Northumberland*, ſuppoſing that Duke *William* would never march ſo far that Winter.

But how much they were miſtaken, and how they were forced to ſubmit themſelves to him, when the City of *London* and all the reſt of the King-

Anno Dom. MLXVI.

Kingdom had acknowledg'd him, must be reserved for the next Volume.

In the mean time the Nobility and Clergy being thus divided in their sentiments, all their designs came to nothing: Thus (as the same Author well observes) that as the *English*, if they had been all of one mind, might have prevented the Ruin of their Countrey; so since they could not agree to have one of their own Nation to reign over them, they were thereby brought under the subjection of Strangers.

Indeed *Guilel. Gemeticensis* and *Ordoricus Vitalis* relate, That the Noblemen and Bishops who had retired to *London*, actually chose *Edgar Atheling* King; but this seems not at all probable, since none of our own Writers mention it; and had *Edgar* been once elected, it is not likely that King *William* would have been so easily reconciled to him, and have not only given him his Liberty, but preferred him.

Having from our *Historians* of best Credit given you this Account of our *English* Monarchs, most of whom mixing Piety with Civil Prudence reigned gloriously for many Generations, it will not be amiss for a Conclusion, to let the Reader see how, not long before this sad Catastrophe, all sorts and degrees of men were now much degenerated from the Simplicity and Sobriety of their Ancestors: And first, as for the state of Religion in this Island, for some ~~Ages~~ before the coming in of the *Normans*, *William* of *Malmesbury* observes, that Piety and all good Literature were commonly grown so much out of fashion even amongst the Clergy, that resting content with a very small share of Devotion as well as Learning, they could scarce read Divine Service; nay, the very Monks were clad in fine Stuffs, and made no difference of Days and Meat; which tho perhaps no fault in it self, yet to them who were under other Principles, it was certainly much otherwise.

Also, that the Great Men being given up to Gluttony and a dissolute Life, oppressed and made a Prey of the Common People, debauching their Daughters whom they had in their Service, and then turning them off to the Stews.

Whilst the meaner sort sat tipling night and day, and spent all they had in Rioting and Drunkenness, and those attended with other Vices which effeminate men's minds: Therefore it came to pass through the just Judgment of God, that King *Harold* and those of his Party being carried away with Rashness and Fury, rather than any True Valour or Military Experience, gave Duke *William* this great Advantage over them, as hath been but now set forth. Not (says he) but that some few of the Clergy as well as Laity were much better; yet for the most part they were, as hath been here described.

But as the long-suffering of God often permits the Bad as well as the Good to enjoy the like Prosperity; so likewise his Justice in punishing oft-times does not exempt even Good Men from partaking in the common Calamities of their Countrey. Therefore I shall conclude this Volume with the like Admonition as Mr. *Milton* does his *Saxon* History; viz. *That if these were (in all probability) the Causes of God's heavy Judgments on our Ancestors, surely every man ought in this corrupt Age to take care to avoid them, lest in the height of a seeming Security, their long continuance in a course of Vice and Luxury should without a speedy Amendment meet with as severe, if not much worse Punishment.*

FINIS.

A TABLE of the Succeſſion of the remaining *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings in
Chronicles of *Mailroſſe*; and the *Welſh* Princes are taken from *Caradoc*'s C

Anno Dom.	*Kings of* Kent.
	Cuthred eight Years.
805	*Baldred* eighteen Years. He being the laſt King of *Kent*, was expelled his Kingdom by King *Egbert*.
838	*Athelſtan*, natural Son to K. *Ethelwolf*, made K. of *Kent*, *Eaſtſex* and *Surry* by his Father; he died without Iſſue, after which it was again united to the reſt of King *Ethelwolf*'s Dominions.

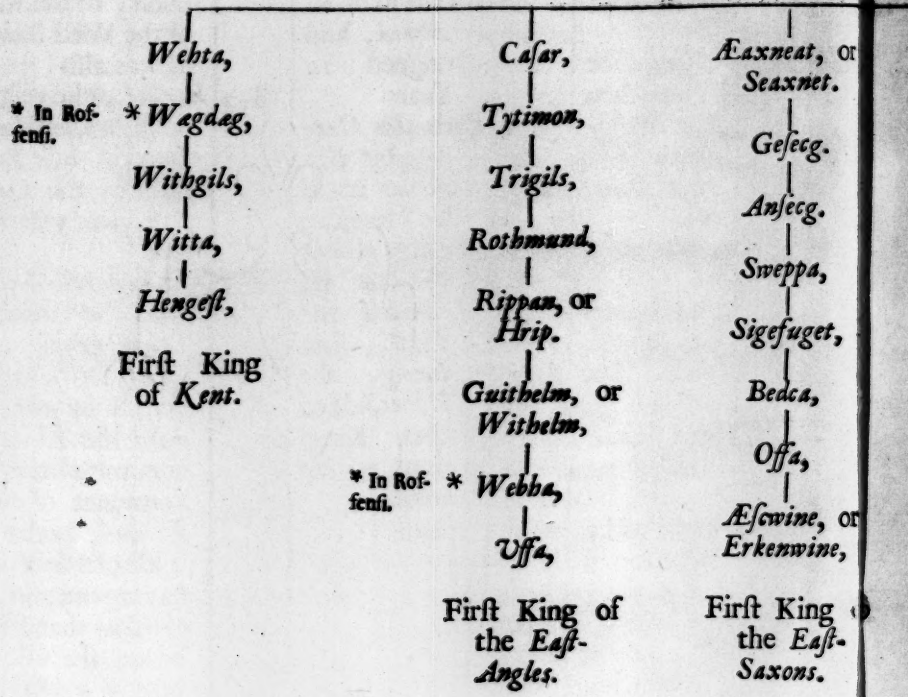
Anno Dom.	*Kings of* England.
802	*Ecgbert* reigned 36 Years.
837	*Ethelwolf* his Son 18 Years and an half.
857	*Ethelbald* his Son two Years and an half.
860	*Ethelbert* his Brother, reigned five Years and an half.
866	*Ethered* his Brother, five Years.
871	*Alfred* his Brother reigned 29 Years and an half.
901	*Edward* his Son, ſir-named the Elder, 24 Years.
925	*Athelſtan* his Son 16 Years.
941	*Edmund* his Brother five Years.
946	*Edred* his Brother 9 Years.
955	*Edwi* Son to *Edmond*, two Years.
957	*Edgar* his Brother 16 Years.
973	*Edward* his Son, ſir-named the Martyr, reigned 5 Years.
978	*Ethelred* his Brother 38 Years.
1016	*Edmund*, ſir-named *Iron-ſide*, reigned 9 Months.
1017	*Cnute* King of *Denmark*, reigned 19 Years.
1036	*Harold* his Son three Years.
1039	*Hardecnute* his Brother, two Years and an half.
1042	*Edward* the Confeſſor reigned 24 Years.
1066	*Harold* Son to Earl *Godwin*, reigned 9 Months.

Anno Dom.	*Kings of* Northumberla
	Eardulf was expelled his King *Dom.* 806. then ſucceeded
806	*Ælfwold*, who reigned two Yea
808	*Eanred*, Son of *Eardulph*, reigned
840	*Ethelred* his Son reigned 9 Ye
849	*Osbert* 13 Years, who was driven
862	*Ælla*, an Uſurper; but both thei ing ſlain by the *Danes*, they that Kingdom, and made
866	*Egbert* King, who was ſoon them, and then they made
	Ricſig a *Dane* their King, w 10 Years; then
872	Another *Egbert* was by them who dying, the *Danes* & remained without any King,
883	*Guthred*, a poor Slave, was choſe reigned over *Yorkſhire* about 11
894	King *Alfred* ſeized his ſhare of dom, whilſt in the more No reigned at the ſame time *Osb* who was expelled his Kingd
902	*Ricſig* another Daniſh King, ſlain, was ſucceeded by
903	*Reginald* and *Niel* both *Danes*, at once, they having after K Death taken the whole King *Niel* being ſlain by
914	*Sihtric* his Brother, he reigned in
919	*Inguald* another Daniſh King, re the ſame time, as did alſo
926	*Guthfert* Son to *Sihtric*; he was K. *Athelſtan*, after which *An Norway* ſeized this Kingdom but being expelled by the *No*
	Another *Anlaf* Son to *Sihtric*, w made King: He was alſo expel
944	*Edmund*, and reſtored for two
945	then was again driven out by
947	yet after this the *Northumbers*
948	of Daniſh Race their King, b again deſerted by them, the to K. *Edred*'s Allegiance, who added that Kingdom to his ow
952	From which time the Kings of *berland* failing, it was ever afte by Earls,
953	*Oſwulf* being by K. *Edred* mad Earl; but King *Edgar* divided Earldoms.

ngs in this laſt Period. The *Northumbrian* Kings being ſupplied from *Simeon* of *Durham*, and the *adoc*'s Chronicle, and the old Annals at the end of the leſſer Volume of *Domes-day* Book. *Tab.* 3.

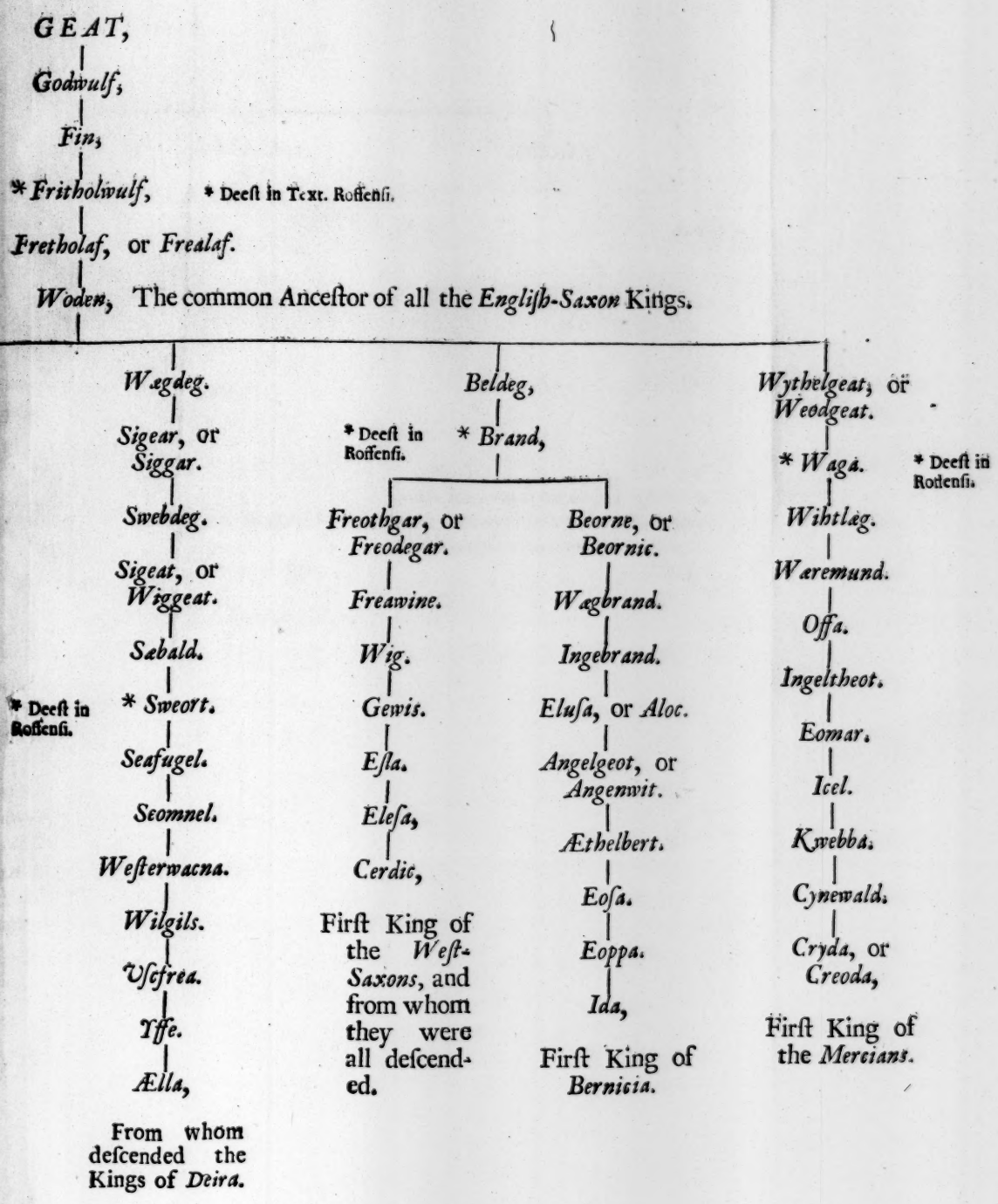
humberland.	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of the Eaſt-Angles.*	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of the* Mercians.	*Anno Dom.*	*Kings of* Wales.
				Kenwulf 22 Years.		*Caradoc* King of North *Wales.*
is Kingdom, *Anno*	859	St. *Edmund* reigned 11 Years, who being	819	*Kenelm* (a Child) his Son, murdered by his Aunt *Quendrida:* then	806	*Conan Tyndaethwy* King of South *Wales*, and afterwards King of North *Wales.*
ceeded						
two Years, then						
, reigned 32 Years.						
ed 9 Years.	870	martyr'd by the *Danes*, that Kingdom	820	*Ceolwulf* his Uncle reigned one Year.	817	*Mervyn-wrych*, and *Eſylht* his Wife the Daughter of *Conan.*
was driven out by						
both theſe Kings be-		remain'd without a King,	821	*Beornwulf* 3 Years.	843	*Rodoric* the Great, Son, or Grandſon, to *Mervyn* laſt mentioned.
es, they ſeized upon			824	*Ludican* one Year and an half.		
made					877	*Anarawd*, Son of *Rodoric* Prince of North *Wales.*
s ſoon expelled by		until	825	*Wiglaf* 14 Years.	913	*Edwal Voel* Son to *Anarawd.*
made	878	*Guthrum* the *Dane* was made King by the Conceſſion of K. *Alfred*, and reigned 12 Years.	839	*Bertwulf* 13 Years.	940	*Howel-Dha* King of South *Wales*, and after the Death of *Edwal* he took upon him the Government of all *Wales.*
King, who reigned				Theſe four laſt Kings were all of them tributary to the Kings of the Weſt Saxons, as was alſo		
by them made King,						
anes & *Northumbers*						
ny King, till						
was choſen King; he						
e about 11 Years, then			852	*Burhed*, who reigned 22 Years, and being expell'd his Kingdom by the *Danes*, they then gave it to one	948	*Jevaf* and *Jago* Sons of *Edwal Voel*, Princes of North *Wales* whilſt the Sons of *Howel-Dha* ruled South *Wales* at the ſame time.
s ſhare of that King-						
more Northern Parts						
time *Osbert* a *Dane*,					973	*Howel ap Jevaf.*
his Kingdom.					984	*Cadwalhon ap Jevaf*, Brother to *Howel.*
n King, who being						
d by					986	*Meridith ap Owen*, Grand-ſon to *Howel-Dha.*
n *Danes*, who reigned					992	*Edwal ap Meryc.*
g after King *Alfred*'s					1003	*Aedan ap Blegored*, not of the Blood of the Welſh Princes.
whole Kingdom: but						
					1015	*Lhewelyn ap Sits-ſylht* in right of *Angerat* his Wife (the Daughter of Prince *Merydith*).
reigned in his ſtead.						
h King, reigned about						*Jago ap Edwal.*
d alſo					1022	*Gryffith ap Lhewelyn*, whilſt *Howel ap Edwin* reigned in South *Wales* at the ſame time.
; he was expelled by						
which *Anlaf* King of						
Kingdom for a time,						
by the *Northumbers*,						
Sihtric, was by them						
s alſo expelled by King						
ed for two Years, but						
ven out by K. *Edred*;						
orthumbers made *Eoric*						
ir King, but he being						
them, they returned						
ance, who thereupon						
m to his own.						
e Kings of *Northum-*						
s ever after governed						
			920	ded it to the reſt of his Dominions.		
Edred made the firſt						
gar divided it into two			956	*Edgar* Brother to K. *Edwi*, choſen King of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, reigned there one Year before his Brother's Deceaſe.		
						Princes of *Wales*, after *Gryffith* their Brother was ſlain.

Having hitherto omitted the Genealogies of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings (as they a
altogether, as they are derived from *GEAT*, who is ſuppoſed to have been t
this *Geat* they are ſo extreamly uncertain. *Note*, Theſe are extracted not o
that Pedegree in the *Textus Roffenſis*, publiſhed by the Reverend Dr. *Gale*, at t
the *Textus Roffenſis* in many Particulars.



The reſt that

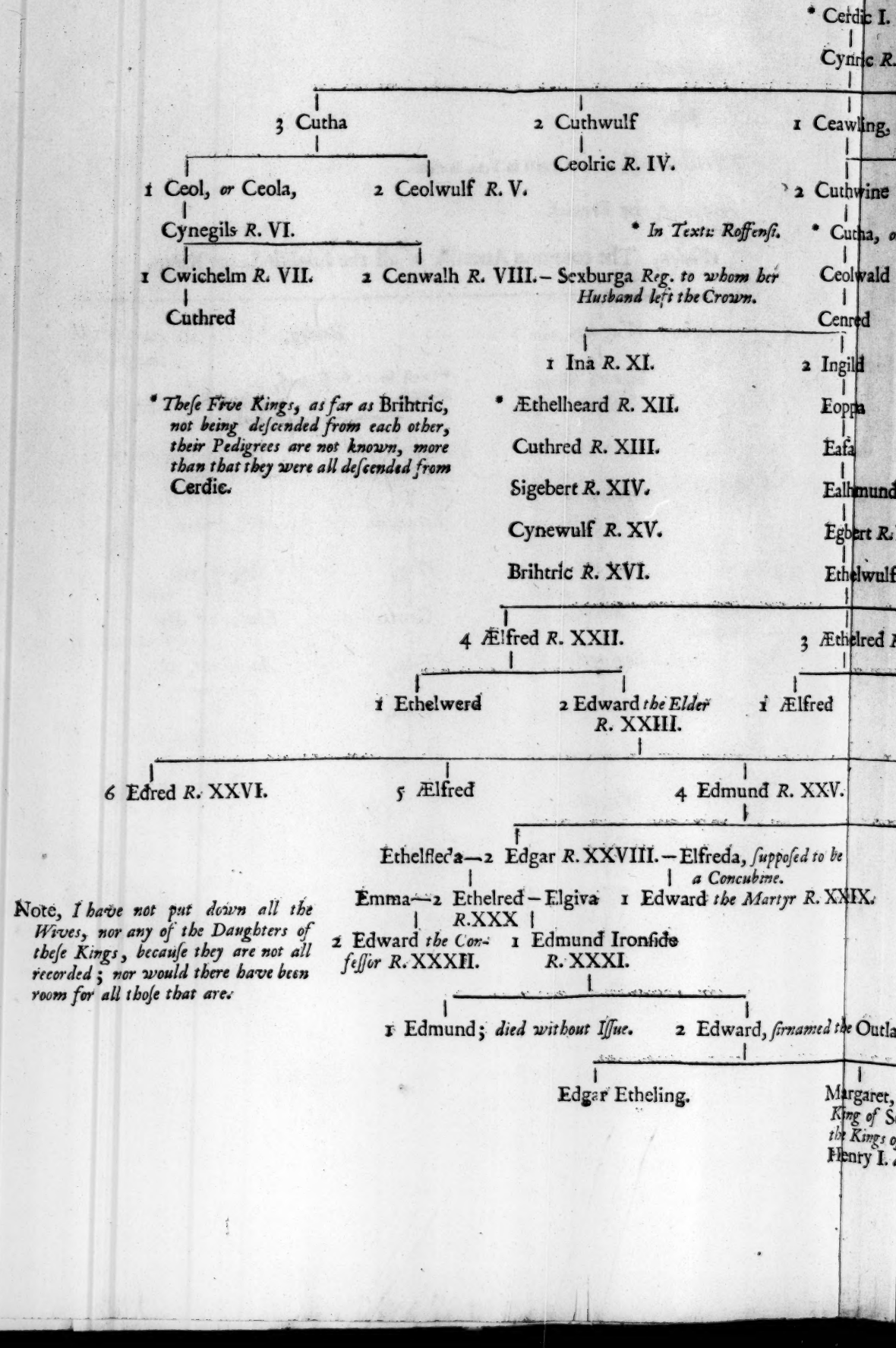
ey a[re] be found in the Annals) I thought it beſt to refer them to this Table, where you may view them
en th[e] ommon Anceſtor of the *Getæ*, or *Gothes:* and I could have carried it very much higher, but that before
ot o[n]ly from the Annals, but from three choice Manuſcript Copies of *Florence* of *Worceſter*, compar'd with
at th[e] nd of his laſt Volume; but it muſt be acknowledged, that the Genealogies in *Florence* differ from thoſe in



reſt that follow you may ſee in the former Tables of the Kings.

That the Succeſſion of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings may be the better
before and ſince the Conqueſt) are deſcended, I have here a
have taken from the *Saxon* Annals, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and

Note, *That* R. *ſignifies* Rex, *and the Number following is in what Ord*



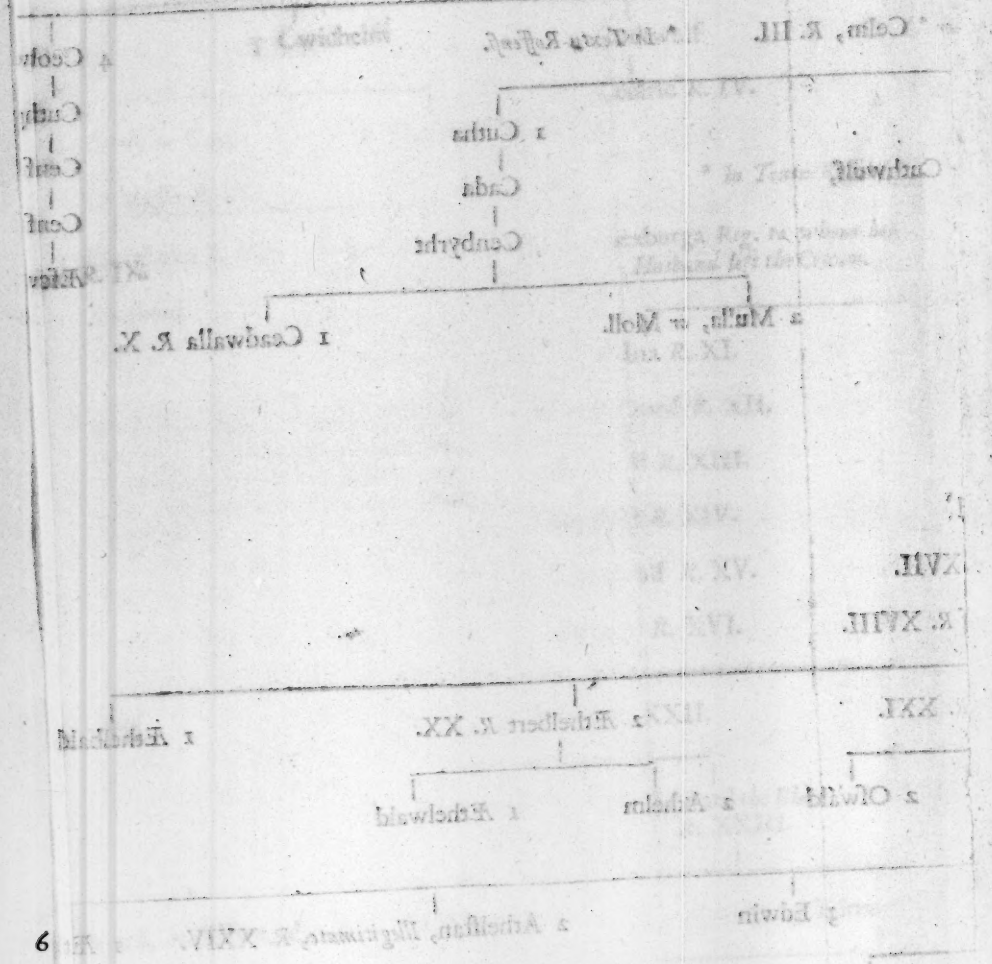
Note, *I have not put down all the Wives, nor any of the Daughters of theſe Kings, becauſe they are not all recorded; nor would there have been room for all thoſe that are.*

better understood, as being those from whom all the Kings of *England* (both
here added their Pedigree down as low as King *Edward* the Confessor; which I
, and other Authentick Authors. *Tab. Ult.*

hat Order that King reigned. * Note, *That* C *in the* Saxon *Tongue is pronounced like* K.

Cerdic I. *King of the* West-Saxons.
Cynric *R.* II.
Ceawling, *or* * Celm, *R.* III. * *In Textu Roffensi.*
4 Ceolwulf
5 Cwichelm
Cuthwine
1 Cutha
Cutha, *or* Cuthwulf,
Ceolwald
Cenred
Ingild
Eoppa
Eafa
Ealhmund
Egbert *R.* XVII.
Ethelwulf *R.* XVIII.
Cuthgils
Cenferth
Cenfus
Æfcwine *R.* IX.
Cada
Cenbyrht
2 Mulla, *or* Moll.
1 Ceadwalla *R.* X.
Æthelred *R.* XXI.
2 Æthelbert *R.* XX.
1 Æthelbald *R.* XIX.
ed
2 Oswald
2 Athelm
1 Æthelwald
XV.
3 Edwin
2 Athelstan, *Illegitimate*, *R.* XXIV.
1 Æthelward, *or* Ælfweard,
to be
1 Edwie *R.* XXVII.
Kings of the Danish *Race, who reigned between King* Edmund Ironside, *and* Edward *the* Confessor.
. XXIX.
Cnute, *King of* England, Denmark, *and* Norway,
1 Harold, *firnamed* Harefoot, *esteemed Suppositious.*
2 Hardecnute *succeeded his Brother* Harold: *He was Son to Queen* Emma.
ned *the* Outlaw;
Harold, *Son of Earl* Godwin, *the* XXXIII^d *and Last of the* English Saxon *Kings.*
Margaret, *married to* Malcolm *King of* Scots; *from whom all the Kings of* England *since King* Henry I. *are descended.*
Christina *a Nun at Wilton.*

That
be
ha



Note, *I have*
Wives, nor
these Kings,
recorded; n
room for all

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Note, *The Numbers ſignify ſo many of the ſame Name.*

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Married to Alswitha, *the Daughter of* Æthelred *the Ealdorman of the* Gaini, l. 5. p. 269.

He with his Brother Ethelred *made a great slaughter of the* Danes, Id. p. 275.

By the general Consent of the whole Kingdom is advanced to the Throne, Id. p. 276.

Fights with the Danes, *and the various success of his Fortune,* Ibid.

Fights at Sea against seven of their Ships, and takes one, the rest escaping, Id. p. 277.

Is forced to make Peace with them, and what Hostages they give him to depart the Kingdom; but upon breach of Oath he puts them all to death. The Danes *make another Peace with him, but did not long observe it,* Id. p. 278.

Leads an uneasy Life upon their account, being forced to hide, and lurk among the Woody parts of Somersetshire, Id. p. 280.

His excessive Charity to a poor man in the midst of his own Extremity, Id. p. 280, 281.

Goes into the Danish *Army in the habit of a Countrey Fidler, discovers their weakness, and by that means obtains a signal Victory over them,* Id. p. 282.

Delivers the Kingdom of the East-Angles *up to* Guthrune, *and the League made between them, setting out the Extent of each other's Territories,* Id. p. 283, 284.

The Subjection or Dependance the Danes *shew'd to this King, by their consenting to the Laws made in a Common-Council of the Kingdom,* Id. p. 285.

Fights against four Danish *Pyrate-ships, takes two, the other two surrender,* Id. p. 285, 286.

Pope Martinus *sends some of the Wood of our Lord's Cross to him; and in return he sends to* Rome *the* Alms *he had vowed,* Id. p. 286.

Setting upon the Danish *Pyrates with his Fleet, takes them all with great Spoils, and kills most of their men; but returning home, and meeting with another Fleet of them, they prove too hard for him,* Id. p. 286, 287.

Takes the City of London *from the* Danes, *(who had kept it long in their Possession) and repairs it; and all the* English *as well as the* West-Saxons *come under his Subjection,* Id. p. 288.

His first founding of Schools at Oxford, *and making it an University, and the quarrel that happen'd upon it between the old Scholars and* Grimbald *the Monk,* Ib. p. 289.

The Alms *of this King and the* West-Saxons *sent to* Rome *by* Ethelelm *the Ealdorman,* Id. p. 291.

Repairs his Cities and Castles, and builds others in the most necessary places of the Kingdom, and minds the Political Affairs thereof, dividing England *into Counties, and those into Hundreds and Tythings, together with his Civil* Oeconomy *of Judges and Sheriffs, insomuch that no Robberies durst be committed on the Highways,* Ibid.

His Laws Civil and Ecclesiastical, when made, and in what Great Council, l. 5. p. 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297.

Builds two Monasteries, the one for men at Athelney *in* Somersetshire, *the other for Nuns at* Shaftsbury, *where* Algiva *his Daughter was Abbess,* Id. p. 298.

Overcomes Hastings *the* Danish *Commander, who was forced to surrender, and accept of Conditions of Peace,* Id. p. 299, 300.

Fights the Danes *near* Fernham, &c. *and puts them to flight, recovering great Prey,* Id. p. 300, 301.

Builds divers Galleys after a new Model, such as he thought more advantagious, Id. p. 302.

His Death, Burial, Character, and Devotion, Id. p. 304, 305, 306, 307.

His Translation of several Books into the English-Saxon *Tongue,* Id. p. 304.

Builds divers Houses with great Magnificence. His division of the Hours both by Night and day, before Clocks were known. The first Inventer of Lanthorns in England, Id. p. 305.

The Biſhops and Prieſts who aſſiſted him in his Learning, and in founding the Univerſity of Oxford, Id. p. 306.
The ſeveral Kings of Wales *that ſought his Protection, and ſubmitted to him. His wonderful Bounty, Generoſity, and Juſtice to his People,* Id. p. 306, 307, 308.
His Laſt Will and Teſtament, Id. p. 308, 309, 310.
His Iſſue, Id. p. 310, 311.
To what place the Bones of this King were removed by his Son, King Edward *the Elder,* Id. p. 312.
Alfred *(Son to King* Ethelred*) ſuppoſed to be Grandfather to* Ethelwerd, *called* Quæſtor *the Hiſtorian,* l. 5. p. 276.
Alfred, *ſome conſiderable Perſon, (with the factious men of his Party) conſpires againſt* Athelſtan's *coming to the Crown, whereby he forfeited his Lands, which the King conferr'd on the Church of* Malmesbury. *He is ſent to* Rome *to purge himſelf of this Treaſon, and dyes there,* l. 5. p. 329, 331.
Alfred, *and* Edward *his Brother, (Sons to King* Ethelred*)* Cnute *agreed with* Robert *Duke of* Normandy, *their Unkle, that they ſhould peaceably enjoy one half of the Kingdom during his life; though they never did, but continued ſtill in Exile,* l. 6. p. 54.
The moſt treacherous and cruel treatment of this Prince and his Followers by King Harold, *(through* Godwin's *Inſtigations), who cauſed his eyes to be put out, ſo that he died ſoon after,* Id. p. 62, 63.
Earl Godwin *accuſed by* Edward *the* Confeſſor *in the Great Council, of being the cauſe of this Prince's Murther,* Id. p. 83.
Alfweard, *or* Ælfweard, *Son of King* Edward *the Elder, deceaſed at* Oxnaford *not long after his Father. His Mother was* Ælfleda *the Daughter of Earl* Æthelem. *His Character,* l. 5. p. 324, 327.
Alfwin, *the Biſhop, deceaſes at* Sutbury *in* Suffolk, *and is buried at* Dunwich, l. 4. p. 242.
Alfwold, *the Son of* Oſwulf, *takes the Kingdom of the* Northumbers, Ethelred *being expelled the Land,* l. 4. p. 231.
Sends to Rome *to demand the Pall for* Eanbald, *Archbiſhop of* York, Id. p. 232.
Is ſlain by Sicga, *one of his chief Noblemen, by treachery at* Cilceaſter, *near the* Picts-Wall, *and where buried. His Character,* Id. 231, 236.
Algithe, *King* Harold's *ſecond Wife, Widow of* Griffyth ap Lhewelyn, *King of* North-Wales, l. 6. p. 114.
Algiva, *or* Æthelgiva, *King* Alfred's *Daughter, Abbeſs of* Shaftsbury, *which Monaſtery her Father built,* l. 5. p. 298, 307, 311.
Alhred, *King of* Northumberland, *when he began (and how he came) to reign: He was of the Offſpring of* Ida, l. 4. p. 229.
Is expelled by the Northumbrians, *who choſe* Ethelred *the Son of* Moll *for their King,* Id. p. 230, 236.
Alred *the Ealdorman, who ſlew King* Ethelred, *killed by one* Thormond, l. 4 p. 242.
Alienation of Lands *by Biſhops, &c. committed to their truſt, in Fee, or for longer than one Life, without the Conſent of the Houſe, forbidden by the Seventh Canon of the Synod at* Calcuith, l. 5. p. 251.
Alkuith, *a City in* Scotland, *delivered up to* Eadbert *King of* Northumberland, l. 4. p. 227, 228.
Allectus *ſlays* Carauſius *by Treachery in* Britain, *and for three years uſurped the Empire. Encounter'd by* Aſclepiodotus, *was overcome and ſlain with little loſs to the* Romans, l. 2. p. 84.
Allegiance, *if due by Birth in the* Saxon *times, or not till a man had actually perform'd his Homage, or ſworn Fealty to the King,* l. 6. p. 83.
Alms, *or* Peter-pence *of King* Alfred, *how rewarded,* l. 5. p. 281.
Alfred *ſends the* Alms *he had vowed to* Rome, *and other* Alms *into* India, Id. p. 286, 291, 298.
Alrich, *King of* Kent; *why neither He nor his Noblemen would be at the Council of* Calcuith, l. 4. p. 235.
Son to Withred, *reigned 34 years, dies, and in him the Race of* Hengeſt *ended,* Id. p. 238.
Alric, *the Son of* Eadbert, *ſlain in the Battel of* Whalie *in* Lancaſhire, l. 4. p. 241.
Alſtan, *or* Æalhſtan, *Biſhop of* Shireburne; *by the Wiſdom of this Biſhop, and St.* Swithune *Biſhop of* Winchester, Ethelwulf *was enabled to ſupport the Calamities the Kingdom ſuffered by the frequent Irruptions of the* Danes, l. 5. p. 266, 267.
After he had held the See fifty years, died, and was buried in the Town, l. 5. p. 268.
Alſwithe, *King* Alfred's *Conſort.* Vid. Ealſwithe.
Alton *in* Hampſhire, *anciently ſuppoſed to be called* Ætheling-gademe, l. 6. p. 28.
Alwin, *Biſhop of* Winchester, *reported to have been too familiar with Queen* Emma, *and committed to Priſon upon that Accuſation,* l. 6. p. 79.
Alwold, *Biſhop of* London, *(before Abbot of* Eveſham*) being unable to perform his Epiſcopal Function, would have retired to his old Monaſtery; but the Monks being againſt it, he reſented it ſo ill, that he goes to the Abbey of* Ramſey, *with all his*

Books

Books and other Ornaments, which he beſtowed on that Abbey, though formerly they had been confer'd on the other, and ſoon after dies, l. 6. p. 73.
Alypius, *a Heathen Lieutenant of* Britain, l. 2. p. 90.
Ambresburg, *or* Ambresburi, *a Town that had ſome relation to* Ambroſius, l. 3. p. 131.
A Monaſtery in Wiltſhire; *to whom it was granted by King* Alfred, l. 5. p. 307.
A great Synod or Council held there, l. 6. p. 17.
A Nunnery there built by Ethelfreda, Id. p. 20.
Ambroſius. *Vid.* Aurelius.
Amiens *in* Picardy, *anciently called* Embenum, l. 5. p. 286.
Ammianus Marcellinus, *the firſt* Roman *Author that mentions the* Scots, l. 2. p. 91.
Anarawd, *the Eldeſt Son of* Rodoric *the Great, when he began his Reign over* North-Wales, l. 5. p. 280.
Makes War upon his Brother Cadelh, *Prince of* South-Wales, *and deſtroys his Countries,* Id. p. 299.
Submits himſelf and all his Subjects to King Alfred's *Dominion,* Id. p. 306, 307.
His Deceaſe and Iſſue, Id. p. 316.
Pitying the diſtreſſed condition of the Northern Britains, *gave them great part of* Cheſhire *to dwell in, if they could beat out the* Saxons *thence,* Id. p. 317.
After a bloody Fight with the Saxons, *obtains a compleat Victory over them,* Ibid.
Andate, *the Goddeſs of Victory among the* Britains, l. 2. p. 48.
Andover, *a Town not far from* Wincheſter *in* Hampſhire, l. 6. p. 10.
Anciently called Andeſer, Id. p. 25.
Andragatius, Maximus *his General, kills the Emperor* Gratian *near the Bridge of* Singidunum, *and eſtabliſhes his Maſter in his uſurped Empire,* l. 2. p. 95.
And hearing of the ill news of Maximus, *caſts himſelf headlong out of a Ship, being then at Sea, and ſo drowns himſelf,* Id. p. 96.
Andredſwood *in* Kent *and* Suſſex, *is in length from* Eaſt *to* Weſt *at leaſt One hundred and twenty Miles, and in breadth Thirty, containing all that which is called the* Wilde of Kent, l. 5. p. 299.
St. Andrew's *Church at* Rocheſter *built by* Ethelbert *King of* Kent, l. 4. p. 160.
Angild, *the Forfeiture of the whole value of a man's Head, and that Hand which ſtole was to be cut off, unleſs redeemed,* l. 5. p. 297.
Angles, *ſuppoſed to be derived from the Ancient* Cimbri, l. 3. p. 123.
Angleſey, *anciently called* Mona, l. 2. p. 46. *and* Manige, l. 6. p. 28.
The whole Iſle ſubdued by Godfred *the Son of* Harold *the* Dane, Id. p. 7, 20.
Deſtroyed by the Danes, Id. p. 23.
And by King Ethelred's *Fleet,* Id. p. 28.
They caſt off Meredyth, *and receive* Edwal ap Meyric *for their Prince,* Id. p. 24.
Anglia Sacra, *publiſh'd by the Learned Mr.* Wharton, l. 4. p. 166.
Anlaff, *Son of* Syhtric, *King of* Northumberland, *flies into* Ireland, l. 5. p. 332.
Suppoſed the Son of Syhtric. *His getting into* Athelſtan's *Camp in the diſguiſe of a Muſician, and the Obſervations he made there,* Id. p. 335.
His ravaging and waſting the Countries where-ever he came; the Battel he had with King Edmund, *and the Agreement between them both at laſt. His marrying* Alditha, *the Daughter of Earl* Orme, Id. p. 343.
Called Olaf, *a* Dane *and* Norwegian *by Extract, who had been expelled (in the time of King* Athelſtan) *the Kingdom of* Northumberland; *but being ſome time after recalled by thoſe Rebels, he was again expelled by King* Edmund, *who added that Countrey to his own Dominions,* Id. p. 343, 344.
Returns again in King Edred's *time, and with joy is reſtored to his Kingdom by the People; three years after they expel him a third time, and ſet up* Eric *for their King,* Id. p. 350.
Another of this Name (Son to the King of Dublin) *comes with a great Fleet into* Yorkſhire *or* Lincolnſhire, *and lands; but he is miſerably beaten by King* Athelſtan, Id. p. 334, 335.
Anlaff (*or* Unlaff) *King of* Norway, *the Ravages he commits, and where,* l. 6. p. 24, 25.
Is brought with great honour to King Ethelred. *After Baptiſm he returned into his own Countrey,* Id. p. 25.
Anna, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *enriches* Cnobsbury *Monaſtery with Noble Buildings and Revenues,* l. 4. p. 180.
Is ſlain in fight by King Penda, *together with his whole Army,* Id. p. 185.
His youngeſt Son Erkenwald *was made Biſhop of* London, Id. p. 196.
Annals Saxon, *firſt collected and written in divers Monaſteries of* England, l. 4. p. 151.
The Cottonian *Copy of them, in the Form we now have them, was wrote after the Conqueſt,* l. 6. p. 56.
Antenor *with his* Trojans *joining* Brute, *their Expedition, and the Accidents that befel them,* l. 1. p. 9.
Anwulf, *Son of* Baldwin, *Earl of* Flanders, *ſent Ambaſſador from* Hugh *King of the* French, *to King* Athelſtan, *to demand his Siſter in Marriage,* l. 5. p. 339.
Aper *kills* Numerianus, *and is killed by* Diocleſian, l. 2. p. 83.

Appeals, *none to the King in Suits, unleſs Juſtice can't otherwiſe be had*, l. 6. p. 13.
Appledore, *anciently called* Apuldre, *or* Apultre, *in* Kent, l. 5. p. 299, 300.
Arbogaſtes, *General to* Eugenius, *ſets him up in the Empire of the* Weſt *againſt* Valentinian *the Second; but his Maſter being overcome by* Theodoſius, *and put to death, he ſoon after made himſelf away*, l. 2. p. 97.
Arcadius, *Emperor of the* Eaſt, *Eldeſt Son to* Theodoſius, Id. ib.
Archbiſhop, *its Title not known here in the time of* Lucius, l. 2. p. 69.
His ancient Power, as Governor of the Church of England, l. 2. p. 210.
None but Monks made Archbiſhops of Canterbury, l. 5. p. 333.
Brythelme *reſigns at the Command of the King and whole Nation*, l. 6. p. 2.
When the Churches of Wales *firſt owned the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury's *Superiority*, l. 6. p. 21.
Archenfield *in* Herefordſhire, *anciently called* Yrcingafield, l. 5. p. 319.
Archigallo, *for his Tyranny is depoſed by his Nobles, but reſtored to it by the kind Artifice of his Brother*, l. 1. p. 14.
Arch-pyrate, *anciently did not ſignify a Robber, but one ſkill'd in Sea-Affairs, or a Seaman; derived from* Pyra, *which in the* Attick *Tongue was as much as Craft, or Art*, l. 6. p. 9.
Arderydd, *a Battel fought there, on the Borders of* Scotland, l. 3. p. 146.
Areans, *removed by* Theodoſius *from their ſtations, but who theſe were is unknown*, l. 2. p. 93.
Ariminum, *the Council called there by* Conſtantius, l. 2. p. 89.
Our Biſhops ſent to it, and what was done there, Id. p. 90.
Arles *in* Gallia, *the Council there, when held, and what* Britiſh *Biſhops were ſent to it*, l. 2. p. 88.
Is made the Imperial Seat of Conſtantine, *and called* Conſtantia; *it was beſieged by* Gerontius, *but he was hinder'd from taking it*, l. 2. p. 103.
Armorica, *now* Britain *in* France, l. 1. p. 13. l. 5. p. 287.
A Fleet prepared for the Armorican *War*, l. 2. p. 25.
The people there refuſe to accept Charles *King of the* Almans *for their King*, l. 5. p. 287.
Armour, *whence aroſe the Cuſtom of hanging up the Armour of Great Men in Churches, as Offerings made to God for the Honour they had gained to themſelves, or Benefit to their Countrey, through his Aſſiſtance and Bleſſing*, l. 6. p. 57.
Army, *a Lawful one raiſed by the King for the Defence of the Nation, called anciently by the name of* Fyrd, l. 6. p. 60.
Arnulf *the Emperor, with the Aſſiſtance of the* French, Saxon, *and* Bavarian *Horſe, put the* Daniſh *Foot to flight*, l. 5. p. 298.
Arnwy, *Abbot of* Burgh, *reſigns his Dignity by reaſon of his ill ſtate of health, and with the King's Licenſe, and the Conſent of the Monks, confers it upon another Monk of that Abbey*, l. 6. p. 84.
Arrian *Hereſy, when it firſt infeſted* Britain, l. 2. p. 106.
Arthur, *what he was King of, who was his Father; and the many conſiderable Victories he gained over the* Saxons; *and when he carried the Picture of* Chriſt's *Croſs, and of the Virgin* Mary, *on his back*, l. 3. p. 134, 135.
He beſieges Glaſtenbury, *and for what reaſon*, Id. Ib.
Commands in Perſon at the great Battel of Badon *Hill, which is ſaid to be the twelfth Battel he had fought with them*, Id. p. 136.
He began his Reign over the Britains *in the tenth year of King* Cerdic, Id. p. 137.
Objections againſt his ever being a King in Britain, *anſwered. His Death, but the manner uncertain; his Burial at* Glaſtenbury. *His Tomb found about the end of the Reign of* Henry *the* Second, *and the many Fables the* Britains *invented of him*, Id. p. 136, 137, 138.
Arviragus, *doubtful whether any ſuch perſon; but if there was, he lived in the Reign of* Domitian, l. 2. p. 56.
Under his Conduct the Britains *receive freſh Strength and Courage*, Id. p. 65.
Is ſuppoſed to have deceaſed towards the end of Domitian's *Reign*, Id. p. 66.
Arwald, *King of the* Iſle of Wight, *his two Sons executed by the Order of* Ceadwalla, *but were firſt made Chriſtians by Baptiſm, by Abbot* Reodford, l. 4. p. 203.
Arwan, *a River, where uncertain; but ſeveral Conjectures about it*, l. 6. p. 46.
Aſaph, *Scholar to* Kentigern, *and his Succeſſor in the See of* Ellwye *in* North-Wales, *now from him called St.* Aſaph, l. 3. p. 149.
Aſclepiodotus, *Præfect to* Conſtantius, *his Slaughter of the* Franks, *and Victory over* London, l. 2. p. 84, 85.
Aſhdown *in* Eſſex, *called in the* Saxon *times* Aſſandun, l. 6. p. 46, 47.
Cnute *builds a Church here, to pray for the Souls that were ſlain in the Battel he had fought there with* Edmund Ironſide; *he conſecrates, and beſtows it*, Id. p. 51.
Aſſault *upon any one, the Puniſhment of it by King* Alfred's *Law*, l. 5. p. 292, 295.
Aſſer, *Biſhop of* Shireburne, *his Deceaſe*, l. 5. p. 286, 315.

Aſſize-

Aſſize-charges, *the Antiquity of them*, l. 6. p. 13.
Aſterius, *Biſhop of* Genova, *ordains* Byrinus *an* Italian, l. 4. p. 179.
Ataulphus *takes* Tholouſe *ſometime after the Death of* Alaric, l. 2. p. 104.
Athelgiva, *Miſtreſs or Wife to King* Edwi *(for it is variouſly reported)*, *the ſtory of her*, l. 5. p. 353.
The Revenge that was taken on her by Odo, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury. *Her being ſent into* Ireland *from the King; with her Return and Death*, Id. p. 354.
Athelm, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *performed the Office of* Athelſtan's *Coronation: His Death*, l. 5. p. 329.
Athelney, *in* Somerſetſhire, *anciently called* Ætheling-gaige, l. 5. p. 282, 298.
That is, the Iſle of Nobles, *where* Alfred *had lain concealed*, Id. p. 298.
A Monaſtery built there by King Alfred *for Monks of divers Nations*, Id. p. 298, 307.
Athelric, *King of all* Northumberland, *reigned two years over* Bernicia; *married* Acca, *Daughter to* Ælla *King of* Deira, l. 3. p. 148.
Athelſtan, *ſlain in fight by* Hungus *King of the* Picts, *with the aſſiſtance of Ten thouſand* Scots, *ſent him by* Achaius *King of that Countrey; all an idle ſtory*, l. 5. p. 250.
Who this Athelſtan *was, 'tis ſuppoſed none knows*, Ibid.
Athelſtan, *ſuppoſed to be Natural Son to King* Ethelwulf, *often mentioned in this Hiſtory, but our Writers are ſilent as to his Death*, l. 5. p. 258.
Fought with the Danes *at Sea, and routed them, taking nine Ships, and putting the reſt to flight*, Id. p. 261.
Athelſtan, *Son to* Edward *the Elder, commanding one Diviſion of his Father's Army againſt* Leofred *a* Dane, *and* Griffyth ap Madoc, *the Succeſs thereof*, l. 5. p. 321.
(The Name ſignifies, The moſt Noble.) *Appointed by his Father's Teſtament to ſucceed him in the Kingdom; not born of the Queen, but of one* Egwinna, l. 5. p. 326, 327.
His Election by the Mercians, *and the manner of his Coronation*, Id. p. 329.
Marries his Siſter Edgitha *to* Sihtric *a* Daniſh *King of* Northumberland; *with an account of him and his Death*, Id. p. 330.
Adds the Kingdom of Northumberland *to his own*, Id. Ib. 331.
His ſeven years Penance on the account of his Brother Edwin's *being drowned*, Id. p. 331, 332.
The great Victory he obtained over the Scots, *and what was the occaſion of his warring with them. He demoliſhes the Caſtle the* Danes *had fortified at* York, *and taking great Booty there, diſtributes it among his Soldiers. Drove the* Welſh *out of* Exeter, *and built new walls about it*, Id. p. 332, 333.
The great Victory he gain'd over the Scotch, Iriſh, *and* Danes, Id. p. 334, 335, 336.
Took Cumberland *and* Weſtmorland *from the* Scots, *and recovered* Northumberland *from the* Danes. *Pawn'd his Knife at the Altar, as he went to make War againſt the* Scots, *promiſing to redeem it at his return with Victory. Founded the Abbey of* Middleton *in* Dorſetſhire, *and upon what account. Reign'd fourteen years and ten months, and then died at* Glouceſter, Id. p. 337.
Is ſaid to be the firſt that reduced all England *into one Monarchy. Impoſeth a Yearly Tribute upon* Conſtantine *King of the* Scots, *and* Howell *King of the* Britains, *of* 20 l. *in Gold, and* 300 l. *in Silver, and* 25000 *Head of Cattel*, Id. p. 337, 338.
The Rich Preſents were ſent to him from divers Kings, Id. p. 339.
Made many good Laws, and ſome of the moſt remarkable may be ſeen in p. 339, 340, 341.
Buried in the Abbey of Malmesbury; *bred up under his Uncle* Ethelred, *Earl of* Mercia. *His Character*, Id. p. 329, 338, 339.
Athelwald, *King of the* South-Saxons, *had the* Iſle of Wight *given him by* Wulfher, l. 4. p. 188.
Is ſlain by Ceadwalla, *who ſeized on his Province*, Id. p. 203.
Athelward. *Vid.* Ethelward.
Athelwold. *Vid.* Ethelwald.
Attacotti, *who theſe were that* Ammianus *joins with the* Scoti, *has very much perplexed the Modern Criticks*, l. 2. p. 91, 92.
Atticus. *Vid.* Aurelius.
Auguſta, *that ancient City, now called* London, l. 2. p. 92.
Auguſtine, *ſent into* Britain *with many Monks to preach the Goſpel*, l. 3. p. 148.
His Arrival in Britain *in the year* 597. Id. p. 149. l. 4. p. 153.
How he came to be ſent, and the Accidents that happen'd to him by the way; with his Landing in the Iſle of Thanet, *on the* Eaſt *part of* Kent, l. 4. p. 152, 153.
Reſidence appointed by King Ethelbert's *Order for him and his Monks at* Canterbury, *which was the* Metropolis *of his Kingdom. How his preaching to him and his Nobles there was received*, Id. p. 154.
Ordained Archbiſhop of the Britiſh *Nation, and by whom; as alſo his ſending to the Pope, to deſire his Opinion about certain Queſtions;*

ſtions: Wherein is ſeen the ſtate of Religion in the Weſtern *Church at his coming over*, Id. p. 155.
Rebuilt an old Church, firſt erected by the Chriſtian Romans, *appointing it a See for himſelf and his Succeſſors*, Id. 154, 157.
Had an Archiepiſcopal Pall ſent him, with power to ordain twelve Biſhops, l. 4. p. 157, 158.
His Legantine Authority *over all the Biſhops of* Britain, Id. p. 160.
Summons a Synod at Auguſtine's Ake *(or Oak) in* Worceſterſhire, Ib. & p. 161.
His miraculous Cure of a Blind Man; upon which the Britains *believed his Doctrine to be true*, Id. Ib.
His Death, and place of his Burial, Id. p. 162, 165.
His Prediction on the Britains *fulfilled*, Id. p. 164.
Suppoſed to be of the Benedictine *Order*, Id. p. 167.
Auguſtine's Ake, *ſcituate on the Confines of the* Wectii, l. 4. p. 160.
Auguſtus Cæſar, *his coming as far as* Gallia *twice, to reduce* Britain *under his Obedience*, l. 2. p. 36. *Vid.* Cæſar.
Avon, *the River, anciently called* Antona, l. 2. p. 41.
Aurelian, L. Domitius, *the Emperor killed by* Mneſtheus, *his Secretary. The Ninth Perſecution under him*, l. 2. p. 82.
Aurelius Ambroſius, *his Succeſs againſt the* Saxons, *when*, l. 3. p. 127.
Elected General of the Britains, Vortigern *being as then King, though only in name ſo*, Id. p. 129, 130.
His mighty victory over the Saxons, *and his ordering the Churches to be repaired, which the* Saxons *had deſtroyed*, p. 130.
Marches up to London, *and going about to repair that, He is crowned at* Stonehenge, *and not long after buried there. At a ſolemn Council he appoints two Metropolitans for the Vacant Sees*, viz. York *and* Caer-Leon, Id. p. 131.
A Rebellion raiſed againſt him in the North, *among the* Britains, *who were put to flight*, Ibid.
Choſen King of the Britains, *and reigned* 19 *years*, Id. p. 132.
Died, being poyſoned by procurement of Paſcentius, *Son to* Vortigern, *who before had rebelled againſt him*, Id. p. 131, 133.
Aurelius Atticus, *Commander in Chief of a* Roman Cohort, *ſlain by the* Britains *in the Battel between* Agricola *and* Galgacus, l. 2. p. 62.
Aurelius Conan, *King of* Powis-Land, *or elſe ſome other* Southern *Province*, l. 3. p. 139, 146.
Aurelius Marcus *ſucceeds* Antoninus Pius *in the Empire; the* Britains *raiſe new Commotions againſt him, but they laſted not long after* Calphurnius Agricola's *Arrival*, l. 2. p. 68.
Auſt *(where is a Ferry to paſs out of* Somerſetſhire *into* Wales) *anciently called* Auſtelin, l. 5. p. 328.
Axanminſter, *now* Axminſter *in* Devonſhire, l. 4. p. 233.

B

BAchſeg, *a* Daniſh *King (whom their Hiſtory calls* Ivor, *the Son of* Reynere) *is ſlain by King* Æthelred, *and* Ælfred *his Brother, in Battel near* Reading, *where moſt of his Troops being cut off, the reſt were forced to fly*, l. 5. p. 275.
Badon-hill, *ſuppoſed to be the ſame with* Baneſdown *near* Bathe, *where the great Battel was fought by Prince* Arthur *againſt the* Saxons, l. 3. p. 136.
Bakewell *in* Derbyſhire, *anciently called* Bedecanwell, l. 5. p. 324.
Balbinus Clodius, *with* Pupienus Maximus, *elected Emperors by the Senate, but were ſoon after ſlain by the* Prætorian *Bands*, l. 2. p. 81.
Baldred, *King of* Kent, *forced to fly from King* Egbert's *Army over the* Thames *into the* Northern *parts*, l. 5. p. 253.
Beſtows the Manner of Mallings *in* Suſſex, *on* Chriſt's Church *at* Canterbury; *which being afterwards taken away for ſome reaſons, was confirmed to it by the Common-Council of the whole Kingdom under King* Egbert, Id. p. 257.
Baldwin, *Earl of* Flanders, *aſſigns* Ælgiva *(whom* Harold *had baniſhed* England) Bruges *for her Retirement, and both protected, and provided for, her, as long as ſhe ſtaid there*, l. 6. p. 64.
Bamborough *Caſtle, in* Northumberland, *anciently called* Bebbanburgh, *when built, and by whom*, l. 3. p. 142, 143. l. 4. p. 230.
Aſſaulted and ſet on fire by King Penda's *Orders*, l. 4. p. 185.
The Town deſtroyed by the Danes, *and the great Booty they got there*, l. 6. p. 24.
Banbury, *anciently called* Berinbyrig, *where* Cynric *and* Ceawlin *his Son fought with the* Britains, *and routed them*, l. 3. p. 143.
Bangor, *built by* Malgoclunus, *near the River* Menai, Id. Ib.
One Dynoth *the Abbot there, pretended he was inſtructed (and by whom) how to know whether* Auguſtine's *Preaching was from God, or not*, l. 4. p. 161, 162.

Not

Is not far from the River Dee *in* Flintſhire, Id. p. 164.
The Maſſacre of the Monks there, Ib. p. 165.
Lands and Poſſeſſions given to this Church by Prince Anarawd, l. 5. p. 317.
Banner, *the famous one called* Reafan *(that is,* The Raven*), which was ſo enchanted by Magick Art, that it would clap its Wings upon the proſpect of good Succeſs, or let them fall at that of bad, as if it were alive*, l. 5. p. 281, 282.
Banuwelle *Monaſtery, to whom granted by King* Alfred, l. 5. p. 307.
Baptiſm, *Prieſts obliged to explain this, and the Maſs*, l. 4. p. 225.
To be performed at the times appointed by the former Canons of the Church, Id. p. 233.
Bardeney *in* Lincolnſhire, *anciently called* Bardenigge, l. 5. p. 315.
Bardſey-Iſland, *where Archbiſhop* Dubritius *became an Ancboret*, l. 3. p. 149.
Barnwood *Foreſt, near* Bury-hill *in* Bucks, *where the* Danes *went out to plunder*, l. 5. p. 321.
Barons; *by this word* Thanes *are to be underſtood*, l. 6. p. 83.
Edward the Confeſſor's *Law about Tythes, made* à Rege, Baronibus, & Populo, Id. p. 100.
The Law concerning thoſe Barons, *who have Courts and Cuſtoms of their own*, Id. p. 102.
St. Bartholomew, *called an* Indian *Apoſtle, becauſe of his Martyrdom there*, l. 5. p. 286.
St. Baſile, *the Monks of that Order were the ſame with the Monks of* Ireland; *and thoſe Monaſteries founded in the Kingdom of* Northumberland *followed this Rule*, l. 4. p. 167.
Baſſe, *the Prieſt, builds the Monaſtery of* Reculver *in* Kent, l. 4. p. 192.
Baſſianus, *Eldeſt Son of* Severus *the Emperor, by his wicked Carriage gave him perpetual trouble; for as ſoon as he had Power, he aimed to kill both his Brother and Father*, l. 2. p. 77.
Was not long after his Father's Death, deſtroyed, Id. Ib.
Cruelly murthered his Brother Geta *in his Mother's Arms, and would have had* Papinian *the great Civil Lawyer to have wrote a Defence of it*, Id. p. 79.
Baſſus, *a valiant Captain of King* Edwin's, *conducted* Æthelburga, &c. *into* Kent, *from* Cadwalla's *Rage and Cruelty*, l. 4. p. 176.
Baſtardy, *the firſt Decree found in this kind, That Baſtards, and thoſe begotten of Nuns, ſhould not inherit*, l. 4. p. 234.
Bathan, *ſo called by the Inhabitants, the ancient City of* Akmanceſter, *where King* Edgar *was crowned*, l. 6. p. 7.
Bathe, *called* Caer-Baden, *built by* Bladud, *who is ſaid by his skill in Magick to have found out there thoſe Medicinal Waters*, l. 1. p. 10.
Called likewiſe Bathonceſter, l. 3. p. 146.
A Nunnery built here by Ofric, *and afterwards it was turned to a Houſe of Secular Chanons*, l. 4. p. 196.
Beadriceſworth, (i. e. *St.* Edmundsbury) *where King* Cnute *built a Noble Monaſtery*, l. 5. p. 323.
King Edmund *gave this Royal Town, and divers other Lands to build a Church and Monaſtery, in memory of St.* Edmund *the Martyr*, l. 5. p. 345.
Beamdune, *now* Bindon *in* Dorſetſhire, *where a great Battel was fought between the* Weſt-Saxons *and the* Britains, *and the latter were overcome*, l. 4. p. 166.
Beamfleet *Caſtle, or Fort, built by* Haſtings *the* Daniſh *Pyrate*, l. 5. p. 299.
Demoliſhed, and his Army routed by King Alfred's *Forces*, Id. p. 300.
Becancelde, *perhaps* Beckenham *near* Surrey, *but not certain*, l. 4. p. 209.
The great Council held here under Withred *King of* Kent, Id. p. 209, 210.
Another held here under Kenwulf *King of the* Mercians, Id. p. 241.
Bedanheal∫de, *ſuppoſed by ſome to be* Bedwyn *in* Wiltſhire, *near* Berkſhire, l. 4. p. 195.
Bede, *the ancienteſt* Engliſh-Saxon *Hiſtorian*, l. 3. p. 114. l. 4. p. 151.
Lived and died a Monk in the Monaſtery of St. Paul *at* Girwy, *now* Yarrow, l. 4. p. 194.
Where born and bred; his courſe of Life and Writings, which gave him the Title of Venerable, Id. p. 222.
Own'd himſelf beholding to Nothelm, *when a Preſbyter of the Church of* London, *for divers Ancient Monuments relating to the* Engliſh *Church*, Id. p. 223.
Bedicanford, *now* Bedford, *where* Cuthwulf *fought againſt the* Britains; *and the Towns he took from them*, l. 3. p. 146.
Surrendred to King Edward *the Elder*, l. 5. p. 320.
Belinus, *Son of* Dunwallo, *ſaid to make the four great Ways or Streets that run croſs the Kingdom, and not the* Romans; *built the Gate called* Belin's-gate, *our now* Billingſgate; *and ſaid to be the firſt Founder of the* Tower of London, l. 1. p. 13.
Bells, *The firſt Tuneable Ring of Bells in* England *was in* Croyland-*Monaſtery, ſet up there by Abbot* Turketule, l. 6. p. 12.
Benedict, *the Father of all the Monks, in what year he died; but long before his death he founded his Order in* Italy, l. 4. p. 167.

(*Sir-*

(*Sirnam'd* Biſcop), *made Abbot of the Monaſtery of St.* Peter *in* Canterbury, Id. p. 194.
His Death; with ſome ſhort account of his Life, Id. p. 205.
Conſecrated Pope, upon the death of Stephanus; *expell'd, and who made Pope in his room,* l. 6. p. 88.
Benedictines, *the Monks of that Order,* l. 4. p. 167, 168.
Placed in the Nunnery at Bathe *by King* Edgar, Id. p. 196.
Turn out the Secular Chanons at Worceſter, Id. p. 200.
The Abbey of Winchelcomb *in* Glouceſterſhire, *by whom founded, for* 300 *of theſe Monks,* Id. p. 242.
St. Dunſtan *made a Collection of Rules for this Order,* l. 6. p. 22.
Vid. Monks, *and* Chanons Secular.
St. Pennet's *in* Holme, *a Monaſtery founded by King* Cnute *in* Norfolk, *for* Benedictines, l. 6. p. 54.
Bennington, *now called* Benſington, l. 3. p. 145.
A Battel fought there between Cynwulf *and* Offa, *and who got the better,* l. 4. p. 230.
Beonna, *Abbot of* Medeſhamſted, *leaſes Lands to* Cuthbright *upon Condition,* Id. Ib.
Beormond, *when conſecrated Biſhop of* Rocheſter, l. 5. p. 248.
Beorne, *when he was King over the* Eaſt-Angles, l. 4. p. 228.
Beorne, *the Ealdorman, burnt in* Seletune, *by the Governors of* Northumberland, l. 4. p. 231.
Beorne, *King* Edmund's *Huntſman, murthers* Lothbroke, *one of the* Daniſh *Royal Family,* l. 5. p. 272, 273.
Beorne, *Earl,* (*Couſin to Earl* Sweyn) *how made away by him on Shipboard, and where buried,* l. 6. p. 75.
Beornred, *when he uſurped the Kingdom of the* Mercians, l. 4. p. 227.
Burnt the fair City of Cataract *in* Yorkſhire, *and he himſelf is burnt the ſame year,* Id. p. 229.
Beornwulf, *or* Bertwulf, *or* Beorthwulf, *King of the* Mercians, *and Archbiſhop* Wilfrid, *held two Synods at* Cloveſho. *Fought with* Egbert, *and was beaten, and afterwards ſlain by the* Eaſt-Angles, l. 5. p. 253.
Was routed with his whole Army by the Danes, Id. p. 261.
Held the Council of Kingsbury; *who were preſent at it, and what done there,* Id. Ib.
His Death, and who ſucceeded him, Id. p. 262.
Berferth, *Son of* Bertwulf, *King of* Mercia, *wickedly ſlays his Couſin* Wulſtan, l. 5. p. 261.
Berkſhire, *anciently called* Bearrockſhire, l. 5. p. 274. l. 6. p. 32.
Bernicia *and* Deira, *two Kingdoms of* Northumberland, *united into one,* l. 4. p. 178.
All the Low-Lands *of* Scotland, *as far as the* Engliſh-Saxon *Tongue was ſpoken, were anciently part of the* Bernician *Kingdom,* l. 5. p. 249.
Bertha, *the King of the* Franks's *Daughter, married to King* Ethelbert, l. 3. p. 145.
Brought a Biſhop over with her to aſſiſt and ſtrengthen her in the Faith, l. 4. p. 153.
Bertulf, *King of the* Mercians, *honourably receives* Egbert *King of the* Northumbers, *and* Wulfher *Archbiſhop of* York, *whom the* Northumbers *had expell'd,* l. 5. p. 277.
Beverlie *in* Yorkſhire, *anciently called* Derawnde, l. 4. p. 202.
Beverſtone *in* Glouceſterſhire, *anciently* Byferſtane, l. 6. p. 77.
Billingſgate, *the ancient Port of* London; *and what Cuſtoms to be paid there upon unlading,* l. 6. p. 43. *Vid.* Belinus.
Birds. *A great Fight and Slaughter of Birds in the Air,* l. 4. p. 192.
Birth Suppoſititious. *Vid.* Harold *the Son of* Cnute.
Birthwald, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury (*who ſucceeded* Theodore) *was buried in the Church of St.* Peter *and St.* Paul, l. 4. p. 162.
Formerly an Abbot of Raculf, *now* Reculver *in* Kent, *near the Iſle of* Thanet; *but not conſecrated Archbiſhop, till nigh three years after his Election. His Character,* Id. p. 205.
He and King Alfred *held a Synod about Biſhop* Wilfrid, *who was therein excommunicated,* Id. p. 206.
Is reconciled to the Biſhop, tho King Alfred *is not ſo,* Id. p. 207.
His Death, being worn out with Age and Infirmities, Id. p. 220.
Biſhops, *how to be ordained in the* Engliſh *Church,* l. 4. p. 156.
How to behave themſelves towards one another, and towards thoſe that are not under their Authority, Id. p. 157.
Of London, *to be choſen by his own Synod, but to receive the Pall from the Pope,* Id. p. 157, 158.
When the Primitive Chriſtian Temper had not left the Biſhops of the Roman *Church,* Id. p. 159.
Two Biſhops in one Dioceſs; viz. *One had his See at* Dunmoc (*now* Dunwich) *in* Suffolk, *and the other at* Helmham *in* Norfolk, l. 4. p. 193.
By a Biſhop's Son was meant his Spiritual, not Conjugal Son, for they were not married in the Saxon *times,* Id. p. 209.

Ordered

Ordered in the Synod of Cloveſho *to viſit their Dioceſſes once a year*, l. 4. p. 224.
Five Biſhops ordained in one day by Archbiſhop Plegmund, *and over what Sees; but it was by the Authority of the King and his Council*, l. 5. p. 314.
Blecca, *with all his Family, converted to the Chriſtian Faith, builds a Stone-Church of curious Workmanſhip in* Lincoln, l. 4. p. 175.
Blood. *When it rained Blood for three days together*, l. 1. p. 12. l. 4. p. 202.
Milk and Butter turned into ſomewhat like Blood, l. 4. p. 202.
The Moon appeared as it were ſtained with Blood, for a whole hour, l. 4. p. 222.
Boadicia, *the Wife of* Praſutagus, *a* Britiſh *Lady of a Royal Race, violated with Stripes, and her Daughters raviſhed*, l. 2. p. 47.
Being left a Widow, ſhe raiſed an Army, and makes a gallant Speech to them, l. 2. p. 49, 50.
But being overcome, and her Army utterly routed, ſhe poiſons her ſelf, Id. p. 50.
Bocland, *King* Alfred's *Thirty ſeventh Law concerning it*, l. 5. p. 295, 296.
Edward *the Elder's ſecond Law, of any one's denying another man his Right therein*, l. 5. p. 325.
That is, Land conveyed to another by Deed, to whom it was forfeitable, l. 6. p. 58, 60.
Bodotria. *Vid.* Glotta.
Boetius Hector, *his great Error concerning the laſt War between the* Romans *and the* Britains, l. 2. p. 101, 102.
Bolanus. *Vid.* Vectius.
Bonagratia de Villa Dei, *his Epiſtle to the Black Monks of* England: *Wherein is ſhewn the Antiquity of the Univerſity of* Cambridge, l. 5. p. 318.
Bondland, *that is, the Ground of Bondmen, or Villains*, l. 4. p. 230.
Bondman, *he that is caſt by the* Ordeal, *to be branded with a hot Iron for the firſt Offence, and for the ſecond to be put to death*, l. 6. p. 42.
Bonoſus, *a matchleſs Drinker, made himſelf as Emperor for a time, but being vanquiſhed by the Emperor* Probus, *he hanged himſelf. (He was by Deſcent a* Britain.) l. 2. p. 82.
Boſa, *Biſhop of* Dunmoc (*now* Dunwich) *in* Suffolk, *deprived by reaſon of his great Infirmities*, l. 4. p. 193.
Governed the Province of Deira, *having his Epiſcopal See at the City of* York, l. 4. p. 197.
Boſenham, (*that is*, Boſham) *in* Suſſex, *where* Sweyne *made a League with* Edward *the* Confeſſor, l. 6. p. 74.
Boſton *in* Lincolnſhire, *ſuppoſed anciently to be called* Icanho, l. 4. p. 185.
Bottulf, *when he began to build a Monaſtery at* Icanho, Id. Ib.
Bounds. *The old ones continued in the year* 395. *between the* Picts *and the* Britains, l. 2. p. 100.
Bracelets. *The Oath the* Danes *took to King* Alfred *upon a Sacred Bracelet they had (which Oath they would never take to any Nation before) immediately to depart the Kingdom*, l. 5. p. 278.
Of Gold; if hung up at the parting of ſeveral Highways in Alfred's *time, none would dare to touch them, Juſtice was ſo ſtrictly obſerved*, Id. p. 291.
Bradanford *in* Wiltſhire, *now* Bradford, l. 4. p. 183.
Brandanrelie, *ſuppoſed to be a little Iſland (now called* Shepholm) *in the mouth of* Severn, l. 5. p. 319.
Breach of the Peace, Alfred's *Laws about it*, l. 5. p. 292, 295, 297.
What he ſhall forfeit that ſets upon a man in his own houſe, l. 5. p. 347.
The Puniſhment of this Offence in ſeveral Inſtances, l. 6. p. 43.
Breckleſey-Iſland, *whither the* Danes *fled when they were beaten by King* Alfred, l. 5. p. 300.
Brecknock-Caſtle, *ſuppoſed by* Brecenanmere, *which* Æthelfleda *took with her Army*, l. 5. p. 319.
In Wales, *deſtroyed by Earl* Alfred, *who joined with* Howel *the Son of* Edwal, l. 6. p. 21.
Bregowin, *conſecrated Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *but enjoyed that See not long, for his Death happen'd about three years after*, l. 4. p. 228.
Brennus *and* Belinus *divided the Kingdom between them; and what happen'd afterwards*, l. 1. p. 12, 13.
Brigantes, *ſuppoſed to be the Inhabitants of* Yorkſhire, Lancaſhire, *and the other* Northern *Countries*, l. 2. p. 42.
Their State attack'd by Petilius Cærialis, *moſt of which he conquered*, Id. p. 54.
Under the Conduct of a Woman, had almoſt quite deſtroy'd the Romans, Id. p. 60.
Breaking in upon Genoani, *or* North-Wales, *were driven back by* Lollius Urbicus, Id. p. 68.
No mention of them beyond the River Tweed, Id. p. 91.
Brige (*now* Bruges) *in* Flanders, *where* Earcongota, *the Daughter of* Earcombert, *a Virgin of great Piety, went to be a Nun in a Monaſtery built there by a Noble Abbeſs, there being at that time not many Monaſteries in* Britain, l. 4. p. 180.
Bridgenorth, *in* Shropſhire, *anciently* Bricge, *and the Town is generally called by the common people* Brigge *at this day*, l. 5. p. 316.
Brightnoth, *a Monk, made Abbot of* Elig *Monaſtery, where there had been Nuns before*, l. 6. p. 4.

Brihtric, *when he began to reign over the* West-Saxons; *when he died, and where he was buried,* l. 4. p. 233, 242.
Married Eadburghe, *the Daughter of King* Offa, *and for what reason of State,* Id. p. 235, 243.
A fuller Account of his Death, and Character, Id. p. 243.
Brihtric *accuses* Wulfnoth *to King* Ethelred, *and pursuing him by Sea, loses all his part of the Fleet, and how,* l. 6. p. 33.
Britain, *briefly described, anciently called* Albion, *and whence its Name,* l. 1. p. 1, 2.
First discovered by the Phœnicians; *known to the* Greeks, *though Mr.* Cambden *seems to deny it. Who the first Inhabitants,* l. 1. p. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7.
Generally speaking, no body came hither besides Merchants, l. 2. p. 24.
Was divided into many Petty States or Principalities in the Romans *time, and subject to divers Kings,* l. 1. p. 6. Id. p. 33, 39.
Invaded by the Emperor Claudius *in the Reign of* Togodumnus, *supposed to be the same with* Guidar, *or* Guinder, Id. p. 38, 39.
During the Reigns of the succeeding Emperors to Domitian, *as far as the* Friths *of* Dunbritton *and* Edinburgh, *it was entirely reduced into the Form of a* Roman *Province,* Id. p. 65.
Hadrian, *though he restrained the Limits, yet by no means would part with this Province,* Id. p. 67.
Is divided into two Governments by Severus *the Emperor,* Id. p. 73.
Continued a Roman *Province in* Opilius Macrinus *his time, and had its* Proprætors, Id. p. 80.
The Occasion of Porphyrius *the Philosopher's saying, That* Britain *was a* Soil fruitful of Tyrants, Id. p. 81, 91.
The Province wholly recovered to the Roman *Empire by* Constantius *and* Asclepiodotus, *after it had been Ten Years in Rebellion,* Id. p. 84.
Great Store of good Workmen and excellent Builders, in those times of Publick Disturbance, Id. p. 85.
The ancient Divisions of it alter'd by Constantine, Id. p. 88.
Reduced to the last Extremities in Valentinian's *time,* Id. p. 92.
The Northern *Province of it being by* Theodosius *restored to its former condition, he ordered it for the future to be called* Valentia, *in honour of* Valentinian *the Emperor,* Id. p. 93.
Its History very obscure and uncertain, especially as to the times when things were done, from the Death of Maximus, *to the coming in of the* Saxons, Id. p. 99.
Ow'd its first Ruin to Maximus *his carrying over so many* Britains *and* Romans *into* Gaul, Ibid.
Bede *ascribes the chief Causes of its Ruin to God's Vengeance on the Inhabitants for their great Wickedness, and Corruption of Manners,* l. 3. p. 137.
By what means she was brought to the Knowledge of Christ, l. 4. p. 152.
The present state of it when Bede *wrote his History,* l. 4. p. 221.
Though subdued to the Roman *Empire, yet they used their Victory with moderation, making the* conquer'd *partakers both of their Laws and Civility,* l. 5. p. 246.
Great Britain: Edred *was the first who stiled himself King of* Great Britain, *in a Charter to the Abbey of* Croyland, l. 6. p. 351.
Britains, *had no Notion of the Unalterable Right of* Succession *in the Eldest Brother over all the rest; no, not after they became Christians,* l. 1. p. 17.
An Account of the Inhabitants, their Religion, Customs, and Manner of living, l. 2. p. 21, 22, 23.
Would not suffer their Kings, by becoming Tyrants, to make their people Slaves, l. 1. p. 18. l. 2. p. 22.
Not much different in several respects from the naked Indians *of some parts of* America, l. 2. p. 23.
Hinder'd the Romans *from landing, though with much difficulty; but being afterwards worsted by them, they desired Peace, which was granted, and Hostages sent; but they soon again take up Arms,* Id. p. 26, 27, 28.
Treat of Peace, but now a double number of Hostages being required, only two Estates of all Britain *sent them,* Id. p. 29.
Their Engagement with Cæsar *and his* Romans *in his second Expedition,* Id. p. 33.
Cassibelan *is forced to make Peace with him: And after* Cæsar's *departure, till the time of* Claudius, *they were free from the* Roman *Yoke,* Id. p. 35, 36.
They send Ambassadors into Gallia *to* Augustus, *to beg Peace; and begin to learn the* Roman *Arts of Flattery,* &c. Id. p. 36, 37.
Victory obtained over them by Claudius; *his Clemency towards them, for which they build him a Temple, and adore him as a God,* Id. p. 40.
Their Victory over Catus Decianus *and the* Romans, *in the absence of* Paulinus Suetonius; *and Cruelty to the* Roman *Wives and Virgins,* Id. p. 48, 49.
Learnt the Vices of the Romans; *are overcome by* Agricola, Id. p. 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59.

Would

Would not own themſelves beaten by the Courage of the Roman *Soldiers, but by the Conduct of their General,* Id. p. 59.
They get together Thirty thouſand ſtrong on the Grampion *Hills, and are reſolved to fight him again, but are miſerably beaten and put to flight,* Id. p. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63.
Recovering freſh Strength and Courage under the Conduct of Arviragus, *revolt againſt the Emperor* Trajan, *but are ſoon reduced again,* l. 2. p. 65, 66.
Would have entirely revolted from Hadrian, *after* Julius Severus *his departure, had not* Hadrian *in the ſecond year of his Empire made a Journey hither, and by force of Arms reduced them,* Id. p. 67.
The South-Britains *within* Hadrian's *Wall, enjoy the Privilege in* Antoninus Pius *his time, of being free Citizens of* Rome, Id. p. 67, 68.
Raiſe new Commotions in Marcus Aurelius Antoninus *his time, who ſucceeds* Antoninus Pius. *From* Lucius *till the time of* Diocleſian *they maintain the Chriſtian Faith without diſturbance,* Id. p. 68.
Under the Power of the Romans *in* Lucius *his time, or what remained unconquered, were abſolutely Heathen and Barbarous at the time of his ſuppoſed Converſion,* Id. p. 69.
Much infeſted with Wars and Seditions in Commodus *his Reign. They mutiny againſt* Perennis, *and ſend Fifteen hundred Soldiers into* Italy, *to let* Commodus *the Emperor know that* Perennis *had conſpired againſt him, endeavouring to make his Son Emperor,* Id. p. 70.
Come flocking in to Conſtantius Chlorus *againſt* Allectus, Id. p. 84.
Suffer Perſecution here under Diocleſian *the Emperor,* Id. p. 85.
Revolt againſt the Emperor Conſtantine, *but are ſubdued,* Id. p. 87, 88.
Renounce all further Obedience to the Roman *Empire,* Id. p. 104.
The firſt Supplies ſent to them, were between the Death of Maximus, *and the ſetting up of* Gratianus Municeps; *and when the ſecond,* Id. p. 105, 106.
Their Endeavours to get the Roman *Protection in* Valentinian *the Third's time,* Id. p. 106.
Would by no means receive the Pelagian *Doctrine,* Id. p. 107.
Their Victory over the Picts *and* Saxons, *and by what means,* Id. p. 108.
Their doleful Letters to Aetius, *the Emperor's Lieutenant in* Gaul, *for Aſſiſtance. And their Wickedneſs both in Clergy and Laity,* Id. p. 115.
Their leaving Kent, *and flying in great fear to* London, l. 3. p. 129.
Their Victory over the Saxons *through their Careleſsneſs,* Id. p. 148.
Believe Auguſtin's *Doctrine to be from God, from his Miraculous Cure of a Blind Man,* l. 4. p. 161.
In Bede's *time it was their cuſtom to ſet at nought the Religion of the* Engliſh-Saxons, Id. p. 176.
Fight with Kenwalc, *King of the* Weſt-Saxons *at* Peonnum, *but put to flight by him, and purſued as far as* Pedridan, l. 4. p. 188.
Deliver the City of Alkuith *upon Conditions to* Eadbert *King of* Northumberland, *and* Unuſt *King of the* Picts, l. 4. p. 227.
A great Battel between them and the Saxons *at* Hereford, l. 4. p. 228.
And at Ruthin, *where* Caradoc ap Gwin, *King of* North-Wales, *was ſlain,* Id. p. 241.
And another between them and the Devonſhire *men, where the former were routed,* l. 5. p. 253.
Suffer a great ſlaughter from Hinguar *and* Hubba, Id. p. 281.
Obtain a Victory over the Danes, *and driving them into a River, drown many of them,* Id. p. 298.
Northern Britains *much infeſted by the Incurſions of the* Danes, Saxons, *and* Scots, Id. p. 317.
Ever ſince the coming in of the Saxons, *had continued a diſtinct Principality in the* North, *and retiring into* North-Wales, *had there erected the Colony of* Strætcluyd, Id. p. 344.
Britains *of* Armorica, *ſettled there long before ours were driven out by the* Saxons, l. 3. p. 127.
Britiſh Church *ſent divers Biſhops to the Council of* Arles *in* Gallia, l. 2. p. 88.
Enjoyed perfect Peace till the Arrian *Hereſy overran the whole world,* Id. p. 105.
All differences ceaſe between this Church and that of North-Wales, *and how effected,* l. 4. p. 229.
Brixſtan, *in* Somerſetſhire, *(anciently called* Ecbyrth-ſtan*) lying on the* Eaſt-*ſide of* Selwood-*Foreſt,* l. 5. p. 282.
Brockmaile, *the Protector and Defender of the* Britains, l. 4. p. 164.
Bromrige *in the County of* Northumberland, *anciently called* Brunanburh, l. 5. p. 334, 335.
Bruerne Brocard, *reſenting the Injury King* Oſbryht *had done him, in lying with his Wife, goes over to* Denmark *to complain of it, and gets a great Army to come from thence, who revenge the Affront by the King's death,* l. 5. p. 268, 269.
Brun-Albin, *or* Drum-Albin, *that is, the Ridge of* Scotland, l. 2. p. 98.

Brute, *and his Succeſſors, their Hiſtory. How he conſults the Oracle, and the Anſwer it returned,* l. 1. p. 7, 8.
He divides the Kingdom to his Three Sons, the Eldeſt to have Loegria, *now* England; *the Second* Cambria, *now* Wales; *and the Third* Albania, *now* Scotland, Id. p. 9.
Brygh:wald *takes the Biſhoprick of* Wiltonſhire, l. 6. p. 31.
Bryghtwulf, *Biſhop of* Scireborne, *deceaſes, after he had held the Biſhoprick eight and thirty years,* Id. p. 73.
Brythelme, *Biſhop of* Wells, *made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *but being found not fit for ſo great a Charge, by the Command of the King and whole Nation he retired, and went to his former Church,* l. 6. p. 2.
Buchanan, *his Miſtakes*
About { Severus *his Wall,* l. 2. p. 76, 77.
The laſt Wall, which he will have built in Scotland, Id. p. 100, 101.
The laſt War between the Romans *and the* Britains, Id. p. 101, 102.
Achaius *King of* Scots *having reigned 32 years,* &c. l. 5. p. 250.
King Athelſtan's *Parricide,* Id. p. 335.
Budington, *in* Shropſhire, *anciently called* Budigingtune, l. 5. p. 301.
Buloigne, *the* Portus Itius, *and ancient* Geſſoriacum, *from whence the* Romans *moſt commonly paſſed into* Britain, l. 2. p. 31, 40.
Buoy in the Nore, *ſuppoſed anciently to be called* Northmuthe, l. 6. p. 80.
Burford, *in the* Saxon *times called* Beorgford, *in* Oxfordſhire, l. 4. p. 226.
Burgh, *an Abbey, which* Leofric *the Abbot of it ſo adorned with Rich Gildings, that it was called the* Golden Burgh, &c. l. 6. p. 84.
Burghmotes, *to be held* Thrice *a Year, and who to be preſent thereat,* l. 6. p. 13.
Burhred, Burherd, *or* Beorhed, *King of* Mercia, *fights with the* Britains, *and kills their King: Enters* North-Wales *with great Power, and deſtroys* Angleſey, *and ſlays* Meyric, l. 5. p. 261.
Succeeds Beorthwulf, *and preſent at the Agreement made by* Ceolred *Abbot of* Medeſhamſted, *and his Monks, of a Leaſe of Land to one* Wulfred. *By the Aſſiſtance of King* Æthelwulf *made* North-Wales *ſubject to him. Marries* Æthelwulf's *Daughter with great Solemnity,* l. 5. p. 261, 262.
Is forced by the Danes *to deſert his Kingdom, and paſs the Seas to* Rome, *where not long after he died, and was buried at the* Engliſh *College in the Church of St.* Mary, Id. p. 277.
Byrinus, *an* Italian, *coming hither, by his Preaching converts the* Weſt-Saxons, *and had a City in* Oxfordſhire *conferred on him, to fix his Epiſcopal See in,* l. 4. p. 179.
Baptizes Cuthred *at* Dorcheſter, *being a Prince of the Blood-Royal,* Id. p. 180.
Byrnſtan, *conſecrated Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and how long he held it,* l. 5. p. 331.
His Death, and Burial at Wincheſter, Id. p. 332, 333.

C

CAdelh, *Prince of* South-Wales, *is fallen upon by his Brother* Anarawd, *who grievouſly ſpoils his Countries,* l. 5. p. 299.
Second Son to Rodoric *the Great, and Father to* Howel Dha, *his Deceaſe,* Id. p. 315.
Cadocus, *Abbot of* Lancarvan *in* Glamorganſhire. *His Life written by* John *of* Tinmouth, l. 3. p. 149.
Cadwallader, *his ſuppoſed Journey to* Rome, l. 3. p. 145.
The laſt King of the Britains. *His death,* l. 4. p. 190, 191.
Cadwallo, *King of the* Britains, *an Account of his being routed and killed,* l. 4. p. 177.
Cadwallo *and* Ceadwalla; *theſe two Names are confounded together by the* Britiſh *Hiſtorians,* Id. p. 204.
Cadwallo, *ſuppoſed to be* Edwal, *ſirnamed* Ywrch, *and for what reaſon,* Id. p. 205.
Cadwallo, *ſucceeds his Father* Cadwan *in the Kingdom of* Britain, Id. p. 171.
Is overcome by Edwin, *and flies to* Ireland; *but returning afterwards he beats* Penda, *and they joining together fight* Edwin, *and ſlay him, and rout his whole Army. He is in Profeſſion a Chriſtian, but in his Actions ſhews himſelf worſe than a Pagan,* Id. p. 176.
Cuts off Oſric *on a ſudden, and all his Army, and baſely kills* Eanfrid, Id. p. 177.
Cadwan, *Prince of* North-Wales, *is choſe King of all the* Britains, l. 3. p. 149.
Cædmon, *the* Engliſh-Saxon *Poet, what he wrote, and what he printed,* l. 4. p. 199.
Cærialis (Petilius) *ſent hither as ſoon as* Veſpatian *was acknowledged in* Britain *as his Lieutenant. He had inured* Agricola *to Labours and Dangers,* l. 2. p. 54.
Caer-Leon *upon* Uſk *in* South-Wales, *an Archiepiſcopal See,* l. 3. p. 149.
Cæſar's *landing in* Britain *in the Reign of* Caſſibelan, *a ſmall Inland Prince,* l. 1. p. 19. l. 2. p. 33.
His Account of the Inhabitants, their Religion, and Manner of living, l. 2. p. 21.
The Pretenees he made for his Expedition hither, l. 2. p. 24.
But firſt he ſends Ca. Voluſenus *to make his Obſervations of the Countrey; and then upon*

on his Arrival Ambaſſadors come to him from divers Princes and States of this Iſland, promiſing Obedience to the Roman *Empire*, Id. p. 25.
He had no great cauſe to boaſt of his firſt Expedition, and why, l. 2. p. 29.
Moſt of his Horſe were caſt away in a violent Storm; therefore goes into Italy, *reſolving to make another Deſcent upon them, and orders new Ships to be built, and directs after what Model; whereupon ſix hundred ſuch were built, beſides eight and twenty Gallies*, Id. p. 30.
Setting ſail again for Britain, *and landing, he fought and conquered; the next day he had news, That by a great Tempeſt riſing that night, forty of his Ships had fallen foul upon one another, and were loſt, and the reſt much ſhatter'd*, Id. p. 31, 32.
His care about the remainder, and directions for others to be built: His Engagements with the Britains, *and their various ſucceſſes*, Id. p. 32, 33, 34.
His deſcription of a Britiſh *Town*, Id. p. 35.
Makes Caſſibelan *ſubmit, and give Hoſtages to him, and then goes over to the* Continent; *and at his Return to* Rome *he offers to* Venus *a Breaſt-plate covered with* Britiſh *Pearl*, Id. Ib.
Calais, *never uſed for a Port, until* Philip *Earl of* Buloigne *built, and walled the Town*, l. 2. p. 31.
Calcuithe, *the troubleſome Synod there, where Archbiſhop* Janbryht *loſt part of his Province to the See of* Litchfield, l. 4. p. 233, 235.
The Nicene *Creed, and the Seven firſt General Councils received and confirmed in it, and many Canons made concerning Matters of Religion, and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline*, Id. p. 233.
There were two diſtinct Seſſions of it, Id. p. 234.
It was ſuppoſed to be held in the Kingdom of Mercia, Ibid.
A Synod held there under Wilfrid, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and* Kenwulf *King of the* Mercians, l. 5. p. 251.
Caledonians *make great Preparations for War, in ſhew more than in reality, againſt* Agricola, l. 2. p. 58.
But they were miſerably routed by his Forces, Id. p. 59.
Rodorick *King of the* Picts *aids them, but is ſlain by* Marius, Id. p. 66.
Caligula (Caius) *the Magnificent Letters he ſent to* Rome, l. 2. p. 37.
Marches his Army to the Belgick *Shore, and his fooliſh* Bravado *after he had put a little to Sea in a Galley, and then returned to Land, carrying the Shells that he and his Army had gathered on the ſhore to* Rome, *and his Galleys, and demands a Triumph; but the Senate refuſed it, and at laſt he was murthered*, Id. p. 38.
Camalodunum (*now* Maldon *in* Eſſex), *where* Andraſte, *ſuppoſed to have been the Goddeſs of* Victory, *had a Temple*, l. 2. p. 24.
On the Reverſe of Kynobelin's *Coin is* CAM, *ſignifying* Camalodunum, *which was his Royal Seat*, Id. p. 37, 40.
Taken by Claudius, *who obtaining a Victory over the* Britains, *left them to the Government of* Plautius, Id. p. 40.
Cambden's *Hiſtory in* Latin *commended highly by this Author*, l. 2. p. 20.
Cambria. *Vid.* Wales.
Cambridge, *anciently called* Caer-grant, *and* Grant-Cheſter, l. 1. p. 14.
Grantbridge, l. 5. p. 272, 322. l. 6. p. 34.
Quatbridge, l. 5. p. 302.
And Granteceſter, l. 5. p. 318.
Lay in the Kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, *and had no Univerſity or School there in the time of King* Alfred, l. 4. p. 179, 180.
The Antiquity of this Univerſity illuſtrated, l. 5. p. 318.
All their former Privileges confirmed by King Edward *the Elder's Charter to them for ever to endure by a perpetual Right*, Id. p. 317, 318.
Improbable that it ſhould have continued an Univerſity during the Daniſh *Wars, under the Poſſeſſion of Three* Daniſh *Kings; but this* Edward *did reſtore the Univerſity*, Id. p. 318.
Is burnt by the Danes, *with* Oxford *likewiſe; and then all Studies ceaſed at both places till about* 1133. *from which time the Scholars have continued at both Univerſities*, l. 6. p. 34, 35.
Camelford *in* Cornwall (*anciently* Gafulford), *where was a Battel fought between the* Britains *and* Devonſhire-*men, the latter getting the Victory*, l. 5. p. 253.
Candida Caſa. *Vid.* Witerne.
Candidus, *a Presbyter, whom the Pope ſent to receive and diſpoſe of the Church's Revenues in* France, l. 4. p. 153.
Canterbury, *anciently called* Caerkin, *by whom it was firſt pretended to be built*, l. 1. p. 10.
And Cantwic, l. 5. p. 259.
The Metropolis of King Ethelbert's *Kingdom, appointed for the Reſidence of* Auguſtine *and his Monks*, l. 4. p. 153, 154.
When the See remained void for four years, l. 4. p. 189.
The Ancient Power of the Archbiſhop of this See, as Governor of the Church of England, *when under the Power of the Pope in Eccleſiaſtical Matters*, l. 4. p. 209, 210.

The City is burnt, Id. p. 226, 228.
The Violence done to it by removing the See from thence to Litchfield, Id. p. 234, 235.
Is reſtored to its ancient Rights, which it had been deprived of by King Offa's *taking away all its Lands which lay within the Kingdom of* Mercia, Id. p. 229, 235.
By the See of Litchfield's *being made an Archbiſhoprick, no more were under this Juriſdiction than the Biſhops of* London, Winchester, Rocheſter, *and* Shireburne, Id. p. 235.
Forbid on pain of Damnation (if not repented of) for any one hereafter to violate the Rights of this Ancient See, l. 5. p. 248.
Is taken by the Danes, *who then routed* Beorthwulf, *the King of the* Mercians, *and his whole Army,* Id. p. 261.
And is retaken by the Lady Æthelfleda, *with the Aſſiſtance of the King her Brother, wherein a great many* Danes *were killed,* Id. p. 320.
Humbly beſeeches a Peace of the Danes, *which at the Price of Three thouſand Pounds is concluded,* l. 6. p. 33.
Is beſieged again, and taken by the Treachery of the Danes, Id. p. 35, 36.
Caractacus *and* Togodumnus, *the Sons of* Kynobelin, *overcome by the* Romans, l. 2. p. 39.
His Engagement with Oſtorius Scapula, *and the Succeſs of it,* Id. p. 42, 43.
Though he was taken Priſoner, yet his Fame was celebrated as far as Italy, Id. p. 43.
His Manly Proceſſion at Rome, *and the Noble Speech he made to* Cæſar: *His Pardon and Acknowledgment,* Id. p. 44.
Caradoc, *or* Cradoc, *Son to* Gryffin, *Prince of* South-Wales, *his barbarous Cruelty and Ill Uſage both of the Houſe of* Harold, *Earl of* Weſt-Saxony, *and of his Servants,* l. 6. p. 93.
Carauſius, *a man of mean Parentage, who through all Military degrees advanced himſelf to be Governor of* Bononia, *now* Buloigne, *&c. takes on him the Imperial Purple, and makes* Maximilian *to conclude a Peace, and yield him up* Britain; *making the* Picts *his Confederates,* l. 2. p. 83.
Repairs the Pict's-Walls *with Caſtles,* &c. *and at laſt is ſlain by the Treachery of* Allectus, Id. p. 84.
Carehouſe *in* Northumberland, *ſuppoſed to be* Cære *in the time of the* Saxons, l. 4. p. 215.
Careticus, *ſucceeds* Malgo *in the Kingdom of the* Britains. *His Character,* l. 3. p. 148.
Carliſle, *built by* Leil *in the days of* Solomon, l. 1. p. 10.
Was afterwards by the Romans *called* Lugubalia, Ib. & l. 2. p. 66.
Carron, *a River which had its name from* Carauſius: *where it is,* l. 2. p. 84.
Carrum, *now* Charmouth *in* Dorſetſhire, *where a Battel was fought between* Egbert *and the* Danes, *and the latter kept the field,* l. 5. p. 256.
Another Battel fought there between Ethelwulf *and the* Danes, Id. p. 259.
Cartiſmandua, *Queen of the* Brigantes, *to whoſe fidelity* Caractacus *having committed himſelf, ſhe delivered him up bound to the* Roman *Victors,* l. 2. p. 43.
Deſpiſes her Husband Venutius, *and a Civil War ariſing between them, the iſſue of it,* Id. p. 45, 46.
Carus (Marc. Aurel.) *ſucceeds* Probus *in the Empire, and invading the* Perſians, *dies ſuddenly,* l. 2. p. 83.
He created his Son Carinus, Cæſar, *and gave him the Charge of* Britain, *and the reſt of the* Weſtern *Provinces. Is ſlain by* Dioclesian, Ibid.
Caſſibelan, *by his worthy Demeanour ſo wrought upon the people, that he eaſily got the Kingdom for himſelf,* l. 1. p. 16.
But he was not ſole King of this Iſland, only a ſmall Inland Prince, l. 2. p. 33.
In his Reign Cæſar *landed in* Britain; *but he engaging with him and his* Romans, *was forced to ſubmit to* Cæſar, *and to give him Hoſtages,* l. 1. p. 19. l. 2. p. 33, 34, 35.
After the departure of the Romans *he is ſaid to reign ten years, which time he ſpent in taking revenge on the Cities and States that had revolted from him during his Wars with* Cæſar, Id. p. 36.
Caſſiterides; *theſe* Weſtern *Iſlands were ſo called by the* Greeks, l. 1. p. 2, 3.
Caſtinus, *ſent into* Spain *by* Honorius *againſt the* Vandals, l. 2. p. 105.
Caſtor, *the Worthieſt Man in* Severus *his Court, and Chief of his Bed-Chamber; the ſame as* Lord-Chamberlain *with us,* l. 2. p. 75.
Caſtra Exploratorum, *a place in* Cumberland, l. 2. p. 81.
Cataract, *a fair City in* Yorkſhire, *burnt by* Beornred *the* Mercian *Tyrant,* l. 4. p. 229.
Cattle, *that are brought into a Town, and ſaid to be found, how to be diſpoſed of, and who to have the Cuſtody of them,* l. 6. p. 103.
Ceadda, *is conſecrated Biſhop of* Litchfield, l. 4. p. 189, 195.
Renews his Ordination according to the Catholick Rites, Id. p. 191.
Is deprived of his Biſhoprick, as being unduly elected, Id. p. 192.
His Death, and Character; called by us at this day St. Chad, Id. p. 193.

Ceadwalla

Ceadwalla. *Vid.* Cadwallo, *with whom he is confounded, as he is also with* Cadwallader, l. 3. p. 145. l. 4. p. 204.
Subdues the Petty Princes of the West-Saxons, *and takes the Kingdom to himself, according to* Bede, Id. p. 193.
Succeeds to the Kingdom of the West-Saxons *after the death of* Kentwin. *He was the Grandson of* Ceawlin *by his Brother* Cutha, Id. p. 202.
Subdues the Isle of Wight, *and gives the fourth part of his Conquests to God,* Id. p. 203.
He and Moll *his Brother, waste* Kent, l. 4. p. 203, 204.
Goes to Rome, *and is there baptized by Pope* Sergius, *by the name of* Peter, *but dies soon after, and is buried in the Church of St.* Peter, Id. p. 204, 205.
Ceawlin *and* Cutha *fight with, and drive* Ethelbert *into* Kent, l. 3. p. 145, 146.
And Cuthwi *kill three other Kings, and take there three Cities,* Id. p. 145.
Fights against the Britains, *and takes away several Towns from them; but is driven out of his Kingdom after one and thirty years reign. His Banishment and Character,* Id. p. 147, 148.
His Death in Exile, Id. p. 149.
Vid. Cuthwulf.
Ceawlin, *King of the* West-Saxons, *and* Ethelfrid, *fight with* Adian, *wherein* Cutha, Ceawlin's *Son is slain,* l. 4. p. 159.
Ceawlin, *the second King of the* West-Saxons, *that ruled over all* Britain, l. 5. p. 254.
Cedda, *ordained a Bishop over the Nation of the* East-Saxons, l. 4. p. 184.
Baptizes Swidhelm, *King thereof in the Province of the* East-Angles, Id. p. 189.
Cendrythe, *an Abbess, is forced to make satisfaction to Archbishop* Wilfrid, *for the wrongs that King* Kenwulf *her Father had done to the Church of* Canterbury, l. 5. p. 253.
The same with Quendride; *where see more of her.*
Cenered, *King of* Mercia, *or* Southumbers, *succeeds* Ethelred *by his own appointment, who himself resigned, and turned Monk,* l. 4. p. 207, 212.
Cenwall, *or* Cenwalch, *succeeds his Father* Cynegils *in the Kingdom of the* West-Saxons; *and being soon after driven out of it by* Penda *King of the* Mercians, *he retires to* Anna, *King of the* East-Angles, *and there receives Baptism,* l. 4. p. 181.
Fights at Bradenford *near the River* Aftene *in* Wiltshire; *most likely with the* Mercians, Id. p. 183.
Fights against the Welsh *at* Peonnum, *and the success he met with; as also against* Wulfher *at* Posentesbyrig, *who had wasted his Countrey as far as* Æscasdune, Id. p. 188.
Dies, and leaves the Kingdom to Sexburga, *his Wife,* Id. p. 192.
Cenwulf, *King of the* Mercians, *restores the Archbishoprick of* Canterbury *to its former Rights,* l. 4. p. 235, 248.
Had the Crown of Mercia *left him by King* Egferth, *as being the Next of the Royal Line,* Id. p. 240.
The Great Council of Becancelde *held under him, and what Decrees past therein,* Id. p. 241.
Destroys Kent, *and takes* Eadbert Præn, *and carries him Prisoner to* Mercia, *and there causes his eyes to be put out, and his hands to be cut off,* Ibid.
Founds the stately Abbey of Winchelcomb *for Three hundred* Benedictine *Monks,* Id. p. 242.
Holds a Third Council at Cloveshoe, *and what was done therein,* Id. p. 243.
He and Eardulf *King of the* Northumbers, *going to engage each other, a sudden Peace is concluded on, and confirmed by Oath, by the means of King* Egbert, Id. p. 248.
His Death, and who said to succeed him, Id. p. 251, 252. *Vid.* Kenwulf.
Cenwulf, *Bishop of* Lindisfarne, *his Death,* l. 4. p. 232.
Ceolfus, *or* Ceulfus, *King of the* West-Saxons, *reigned four and twenty years,* l. 4. p. 157.
Ceolnoth, *elected and consecrated Archbishop of* Canterbury, *and when he received his Pall from* Rome, l. 5. p. 255.
Consecrates Swythune *Bishop of* Winchester, *with the* Unanimous Consent *of the whole Clergy of that Diocess,* Id. p. 266.
His Decease, and who elected in his stead, Ibid.
Ceolred, *King of the* Mercians, *and* Ina, *fight a bloody Battel at* Wodensburh *in* Wiltshire, l. 4. p. 214, 217.
His Death and Burial at Litchfield, Id. p. 217.
The Decease of his Wife Queen Werburh *at the Nunnery of* Chester, *where she was an Abbess,* Id. p. 232.
Ceolred, *Abbot of* Medeshamsted, *and his Monks, lease out to* Wulfred *certain Lands, on condition that after his Death they should revert to the Monastery, paying in the mean time an Annual Rent,* l. 5. p. 261, 262.
Ceolric, *Son to* Cuthwulf, *obtains the Kingdom of the* West-Saxons, *which* Ceawlin *was driven out of,* l. 3. p. 148.
His Death, l. 4. p. 157.
Ceolwulf *began to reign over the* West-Saxons, *making continual Wars all his time,* l. 3. p. 149.

Ceol-

Ceolwulf *ſucceeds* Oſric *in the Kingdom of* Northumberland. *His Pedigree*, l. 4. p. 220, 221.
Surrenders his Kingdom to Eadbert, *his Couſin*, Id. p. 223.
Dies a Monk in the Iſle of Lindisfarne, Id. p. 224, 228.
Ceolwulf, *Biſhop, when he departed from the* Northumbers, l. 4. p. 240.
His Death, Id. p. 241.
Ceolwulf, *when he began his Reign over the Kingdom of the* Mercians, l. 5. p. 251.
Reigned but little more than one year, Id. p. 252, 253.
Ceolwulf, *an Inconſiderable Fellow, made King of* Mercia *by the* Danes, *upon ſad Conditions*, l. 5. p. 277.
Cerdic, *the Tenth in Deſcent from* Woden; *reigned Five and twenty years; he and his Sons in ſix years conquered all the Countrey of the* Weſt-Saxons, l. 3. p. 133.
He and his Son Cynric, *ſlew the great* Britiſh *King* Natanleod, *or* Nazaleod, *with Five thouſand men*, Id. p. 134.
Fought often with King Arthur, *and ſo wearied him out, that he gave him up* Hampſhire *and* Somerſetſhire, Id. p. 135.
He and Cynric *took on them the Title of Kings of the* Weſt-Saxons; *they obtained a great Victory at* Cerdicsford, Id. p. 136.
They fought againſt the Britains *at* Cerdic's-Leah; *conquered the* Iſle of Wight, *and ſlew a great many men at* Withgarabyrig. *His Death*, Id. p. 138.
Cerdicsford, *now* Charford *in* Hampſhire, *where* Cerdic *and* Cynric *fought againſt the* Britains, l. 3. p. 136.
Cerne, *an Abbey in* Dorſetſhire, *near to a Fountain where St.* Auguſtine *had formerly baptized many* Pagans, l. 6. p. 22.
Chacea, *the ſignification of the word*, l. 6. p. 60.
St. Chad. *Vid.* Ceadda.
Chanons Secular; *Archbiſhop* Elfric *turns them out of the Cathedral of* Chriſt-Church *in* Canterbury, *and places Monks in their room*, l. 4. p. 167.
Put into all the Abbeys from whence King Edwi *had expelled the Monks*, l. 5. p. 353.
King Edgar *diſplaced theſe, and put Monks in their Rooms*, l. 6. p. 5, 6.
The Monks turned out, and theſe put in again, which occaſioned a Civil War, Id. p. 15, 16, 17.
Vid. Monks *and* Benedictines.
Charges at Aſſizes. *Vid.* Aſſize-Charges.
Charles, *King of the* Franks, *when he began to reign*, l. 4. p. 229
Enters Spain, *and deſtroys the Cities of* Pampelona, *and* Cæſar Auguſta, *now* Saragoſa, Id. p. 231.
Gains a Victory over the ancient Saxons, *and laid theirs to his own Dominions*, Id. p. 232.
Paſſes through Almany *to the very Borders of* Bavaria, *and ſends certain* Synodal *Decrees into* England, Id. p. 236.
Would have done the Northumbrian *Kingdom all the miſchief he could, for their ſo baſely murthering their King* Ethelred, *but for* Alcuin's *Interceſſion*, Id. p. 240.
Charles the Great, *when firſt made Emperor, and ſaluted* Auguſtus, *and anointed by Pope* Leo, Id. p. 242.
Receives Æadburga, *Widow to* Brihtric, *very kindly, but at laſt puts her into a Monaſtery as an Abbeſs; being expelled thence for her Incontinency, ſhe makes a miſerable End*, Id. p. 243.
Is taught the Liberal Arts by Alcuin, *a moſt Learned* Engliſhman, Id. p. 244.
Reſtores by his Aſſiſtance Eardulf *to his Kingdom, from which he had been expelled. Makes Peace with* Nicephorus, *Emperor of* Conſtantinople, Id. p. 249.
The different Accounts of the Time of his Death, l. 5. p. 251.
Charles, *King of the* Weſtern-Franks, *killed by a Wild-Boar; his Pedigree. And*
Charles, *King of the* Almans, *received all the Kingdoms of the* Weſtern-Franks, *by the voluntary Conſent of all the People. The Extent of his Dominion; his Pedigree*, l. 5. p. 287.
Charles the Groſs, *King of the* Franks, *his Death; but he was expelled his Kingdom ſix Weeks before his Death, by* Earnwulf, *his Brother's Son, who divided it into five Partitions*, Id. p. 290.
Charters, *all of King* Ethelbert's, *whereby he had ſettled great Endowments on* Chriſt-Church, *and that of St.* Pancrace *in* Canterbury, *which were confirmed in the* Mycel Synod, *or* Great Council *of the Kingdom; but they are much ſuſpected of being forged in many reſpects*, l. 4. p. 163.
Of King Wulfher, *at the Conſecration of the Abbey of* Medeſhamſted, Id. p. 187.
Of the Foundation of Eveſham *Abbey, certainly forged, and the Reaſons why*, Id. p. 216, 217.
Of the Foundation of Winburn *Monaſtery (built by* Cuthburgh, *one of King* Ina's *Siſters) by* Ethelbald, *King of the* Mercians, *whereby he granted to it the whole Iſle of* Croyland, Id. p. 218.
Of King Offa *to the Monaſtery of St.* Albans, *whereby were confirmed very great Privileges, and vaſt Poſſeſſions, which he had before given to it.* Id. p. 237.
Imbezeling the Deeds belonging to the Monaſtery of Cotham, *by King* Cenwulf, l. 4. p. 243.

Of Winchelcomb, *confirmed by a Great Council, and what Orders of men were present thereat*, l. 5. p. 251.
Of Confirmation of the Lands and Privileges of Croyland *Monaſtery, in a Great Council*, Id. p. 254.
Of King Berthwulf *to the Abbey of* Croyland, *confirmed under the Rule of St.* Benedict, *in a Great Council of the Kingdom at* Kingsbury, Id. p. 261.
Of King Edgar, *about his ſubduing the greateſt part of* Ireland, *with the City of* Dublin, *and to be Lord of all the Iſles as far as* Norway, *doubtleſs fictitious*, l. 6. p. 12.
By an Extract from King Cnute's *Charter, preſerved in the Evidences of that Church, the Port of* Sandwich *is given to* Chriſt-Church *in* Canterbury, *with all the Iſſues*, &c. Id. p. 54.
Of King Cnute's *to the Monaſtery of St.* Edmundsbury, *grants and confirms all its Lands and Privileges. The Beginning of it ſomewhat remarkable*, Ibid.
Of the Foundation of the Monaſtery of Coventry, *ratified by the Charter of King* Edward, *and a Bull of Pope* Alexander, Id. p. 72.
Of Edward *the* Confeſſor, *to confirm the Foundation of* Waltham-Abbey, Id. p. 89.
The Curia, *or Great Council of the Kingdom, confirm his Charter of Endowment of the Monaſtery of* Weſtminſter; *part of which is there ſet down*, Id. p. 94.
Charters and other Writings, when they began to be made after the French *way*, Id. p. 98.
Chaſtity. *Queen* Etheldrith, *though twice married, yet would not ſuffer either of her Husbands to know her*, l. 4. p. 198, 199.
An Heroick Example of it in the Abbeſs of Coldingham *Nunnery in* Yorkſhire, l. 5. p. 269.
King Edgar, *perhaps, loved it in others, though he did not much practiſe it himſelf*, l. 6. p. 11.
Edward *the* Confeſſor *highly extols his Wife for her Chaſtity*, Id. p. 96.
Cherbury *in* Shropſhire, *anciently called* Cyricbyrig, l. 5. p. 316.
Chertſey *in* Surrey, *anciently called* Ceortesige, l. 6. p. 6.
Cheſter, *anciently called* Legions, l. 4. p. 164. Legaceſter, l. 5. p. 301. l. 6. p. 8. Concaceſtre, l. 5. p. 286. *Called alſo* Caerlegion, l. 5. p. 315. *And* Cunæceaſter, l. 6. p. 26.
The Place where the Danes *took up their Quarters againſt King* Alfred's *Forces, which made them ſuffer great extremities*, l. 5. p. 301.
Repaired by the Command of Earl Ethelred, *and his Wife* Ethelfleda, Id. p. 315.
The Heads of Leofred *a* Dane, *and* Gryffyth ap Madoc, *ſet up on the top of the Tower there*, Id. p. 321.
The Province much ſpoiled and ruined by the Norwegian *Pyrates*, l. 6. p. 20.
Chicheſter, *the Biſhop's See was formerly at* Selſey, l. 4. p. 198.
Anciently Ciſſeanceſter *in* Suſſex, *where the* Danes *carried their Prey from* Alfred, l. 5. p. 300.
The Biſhoprick was called that of the South-Saxons, l. 6. p. 88.
Chiltern, *the Woody Countrey of* Bucks *and* Oxfordſhire, *anciently called* Clytern, l. 6. p. 34.
Chipnam. *Vid.* Cippenham.
Choiſy, *anciently* Cazii, *ſignifies a Royal Village; it is in* France, l. 5. p. 290.
Chriſtianity, *firſt preached in this Iſland, when, and by whom*, l. 2. p. 51, 52.
When, and by whom firſt preach'd in Germany, l. 4. p. 211.
Chriſt-Church *in* Canterbury *had the Port in* Sandwich *given to it by King* Cnute, *with all the Iſſues and Profits*, &c. l. 6. p. 54.
Chryſanthius, *the Son of* Marcian, *a* Novatian *Biſhop, ſuppoſed to be ſent into* Britain *by* Theodoſius, *as his Lieutenant*, l. 2. p. 97.
Church. *Pope* Gregory's *Determination concerning the Cuſtoms of the Church*, l. 4. p. 156.
When their Dues ought to be brought in, and the Puniſhment for Non-Payment of them. A Sanctuary to thoſe that fly to it, who are guilty of a Capital Crime. The Puniſhment thoſe are to undergo that fight in a Church, Id. p. 208.
Withred's *great care of the Churches in* Kent, Id. p. 210, 211.
Are freed from all Publick Payments and Tributes whatſoever, Id. p. 212.
With how bright a Luſtre Religion ſhined in the Primitive Church, l. 5. p. 247.
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How neceſſary it was in ancient times for Princes themſelves to be blindly obedient to the Diſcipline of it, l. 6. p. 3.
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When Churches in Wales *began to acknowledge the Superiority of the Archbiſhops of* Canterbury, Id. p. 21.
The Original of Coat-Armour *its being hung up in Churches, from whence ſuppoſed*, Id. p. 57.

In all Courts of Civil Pleas, Cauſes concerning Holy Church were to be firſt determined, Id. p. 99.
Thoſe that hold of the Church, not to be compelled to plead out of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, unleſs Juſtice be wanting there, Ibid.
The Law concerning thoſe who violate the Peace of it, Ibid.
When the Church was not excuſed from paying of Danegelt, Id. p. 100.
In what caſes the Church was to have one Moiety of Treaſure-trove, Id. p. 101.
Cimbric Cherſoneſe, *now called* Jutland, l. 3. p. 121.
Cimerii, *and* Cimbri, *derived from* Gomer, *by whom the Ancient* Gallia *was firſt inhabited,* l. 1. p. 4.
Cippenham, *now* Chipnam *in* Wiltſhire, l. 5. p. 262, 283.
Cirenceſter, *the City, beſieged, taken, and burnt; and by whom,* l. 3. p. 148.
Civilis, *ſent for by* Theodoſius *to govern* Britain *as* Vice-Præfect, l. 2. p. 93.
Civil War *between* Cartismandua *and* Venutius, l. 2. p. 45, 46.
Between Otho *and* Vitellius, Id. p. 53.
Claudia Rufina, *Wife of* Pudens *a Senator of* Rome, l. 2. p. 66.
Vid. Rufina.
Claudian, *his Verſes in* De Bello Getico, *ſuppoſed to be deſigned for the ſecond Departure of the* Roman *Legions,* l. 2. p. 101.
Claudius *the Emperor, as he was coming to invade the* Britains, *had twice like to have been caſt away by Foul Weather; but at laſt obtains a Victory over them, and at his Return to* Rome *the Senate decree him a Triumph, and Annual Games, with two Triumphal Arches,* l. 2. p. 39, 40.
Lived about three years after his ſending Aulus Didius *into* Britain. *His Death, ſuppoſed of Poyſon given him by his Wife* Agrippina, Id. p. 45.
A Temple dedicated to him, looked on as a Badge of their Eternal Slavery, Id. p. 47.
Claudius Marc. Aurel. Flav. *elected Emperor (* Gallienus *being ſlain) performed ſeveral great Actions, and dies ſuddenly,* l. 2. p. 82.
Clergy *the* Britiſh, Gildas *his Character and Reproof of them,* l. 3. p. 140.
May marry, if out of Holy Orders, and that they cannot otherwiſe contain. Great care was to be had of their Stipends, to make them more diligent in Service. And of their Hoſpitality, l. 4. p. 155.
To receive no Reward for baptizing, or for the other Sacraments, Id. p. 225.
Several Conſtitutions made againſt their committing Offences, l. 5. p. 284, 285.
Their Goods and Poſſeſſions eſtabliſhed to them by Edward *the* Confeſſor's *Laws,* l. 6. p. 99.
Chlodius Balbinus. *Vid.* Balbinus.
Chlorus Conſtantius, *adopted* Cæſar *by* Maximinian, *is ſent by him againſt* Carauſius, l. 2. p. 83.
Fires his own Ships, that ſo his Soldiers might have no hopes left them of Safety but in Victory, Id. p. 84.
Chuſes the Empire of the Weſtern *Provinces (whereof* Britain *was one) and puts a ſtop to the Perſecution here, raiſed by* Diocleſian, Id. p. 87. *Died at* York, Ibid.
Vid. Conſtantine the Great.
Cloveſhoe, *a Synod appointed to be aſſembled there once a year,* l. 4. p. 193.
The Great Synod, where were preſent Ethelbald *the* Mercian *King, and Archbiſhop* Cuthbert; *where the place was, is uncertain; ſeveral Suppoſals and Conjectures about it,* Id. p. 224.
The ſecond Council held here, and what was decreed in it, Id. p. 225.
The third Council held here under King Kenwulf, *and what was tranſacted therein,* Id. p. 243. l. 5. p. 248.
A Synod held here under King Beornwulf *and Archbiſhop* Wilfrid, *whoſe Conſtitutions wholly relate to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs,* l. 5. p. 253.
Another Synodal Council held here by Beornwulf, &c. *wherein ſome Diſputes about Lands between* Heabert *Biſhop of* Worceſter, *and the Monaſtery of* Weſtburgh, *are determined,* Ibid.
Cnobsbury, *a Town, wherein* Furſæus, *by the help of King* Sigebert, *erects a Monaſtery, which afterwards* Anna, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *richly endows,* l. 4. p. 180.
Cnute *having obtained the Crown of* England, *reſtores its ancient Laws and Liberties,* l. 5. p. 246.
Builds a Noble Monaſtery at Beadricelworth, *now St.* Edmundsbury, *whither the Body of* Edmund *the* Martyr *was removed ſome time before,* l. 5. p. 323.
Is choſen King by all the Daniſh *Fleet and Army, after the Death of his Father* Sweyn, l. 6. p. 39.
Puts the Hoſtages on ſhore at Sandwich *that were given to his Father, but firſt cuts off their Hands and Noſes,* Ibid.
Plunders all about Wiltſhire, Dorſetſhire, *and* Somerſetſhire, &c. *and* Ædric *and the* Weſt-Saxons *Submiſſion to him,* Id. p. 40, 41, 42.
Is choſen King by ſeveral of the Biſhops, Abbots, and Noblemen of England, *upon which he comes up with his Fleet to* Greenwich *to beſiege* London; *and the Battels he fought with King* Edmund, *and thoſe that eſpouſed his Intereſt,* Id. p. 45, 46, 47.

A Peace

A Peace concluded on between him and Edmund Ironſide, *with an Account of the Particulars of it,* Id. p. 47, 48.
The Council he ſummoned to London *about making him King of all* England, *and ſetting aſide his Children and Brethren from the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons, Id. p. 49.
When he began his Reign; divides all England *into four Parts or Governments, reſerving* Weſt-Saxony *to himſelf,* Id. p. 50.
Marries Emma, *Widow of the King his Predeceſſor, and the Reaſon of State for it. Goes to* Denmark *to ſubdue the* Vandals, *carrying along with him an Army of* Engliſh *and* Danes; *the former behaving themſelves ſo bravely againſt the Enemy, that after that Battel he had the* Engliſh *in as much eſteem as his own Native Subjects. Holds a Great Council at* Cyrenceſter, *and what is tranſacted therein,* Id. p. 51.
A Parliament called by him at Wincheſter, *and who preſent, and what decreed therein,* l. 6. p. 52.
Founds the Monaſtery of Beadricesworth, *where a Church had been built before, and endows it, which was one of the Largeſt and Richeſt in* England, Ibid.
Goes again into Denmark *with his Fleet, and engages with the* Swedes *both by Land and Sea, the latter getting the Victory. Two years after he drives* Olaf *out of* Norway, *and conquers it for himſelf. Baniſhes* Hacun *a* Daniſh *Earl (his Nephew by Marriage), under pretence of an Embaſſy,* Id. p. 53.
Agrees with Robert *Duke of* Normandy, *That King* Ethelred's *two Sons ſhould have half the Kingdom peaceably during his life. Gives the Port of* Sandwich *to* Chriſt-Church *in* Canterbury, *with all the Iſſues,* &c. *And founds a Monaſtery for* Benedictines *in* Norfolk, *called St.* Bennet's in Holme, Id. p. 54.
Goes to Rome, *and what he does there he declares in a Letter he ſent (upon his return from thence) into* England, *to the Archbiſhops of* Canterbury *and* York, Id. p. 55.
Goes into Scotland, *and there King* Malcolme *becomes ſubject to him. Before his Death he appoints* Swayn *his Eldeſt Son, King of* Norway; Hardecnute, *his Son by Queen* Emma, *King of* Denmark; *and* Harold, *his Son by* Elgiva, *King of* England *after him,* Id. p. 56, 61.
Dies at Shaftsbury, *and is buried at the new Monaſtery of* Wincheſter, *having reigned almoſt Twenty Years. His Character. A pretty Story about the ſenſe he had of the Vanity of Worldly Empire,* Id. p. 57.
The Laws he ordains with the Conſent of his Wiſe Men at Wincheſter, Id. p. 57, 58, 59, 60.
His Laws, afterwards confirm'd and renew'd by King Edward *the* Confeſſor, *at the Requeſt of the* Northumbers, Id. p. 90.
Cœleſtine, *the Pope, ſends* Palladius *the Biſhop to the* Scots, *to confirm their Faith,* l. 2. p. 109, 110.
Cogidunus, *held ſeveral* Britiſh *Cities of* Oſtorius Scapula, *as Tributary to the* Roman *Empire,* l. 2. p. 41.
Coifi, *chief of King* Edwin's *Idol Prieſts, conſents to receive the Chriſtian Religion, confeſſing his own to be good for nothing,* l. 4. p. 173.
Burns the Idol Temples, and demoliſhes the Altars of his former Gods, Id. p. 174.
Coil, *the Son of* Marius, *ſucceeds him in* Britain; *loves the* Romans, *and is honoured by them, and governs the Kingdom long and peaceably,* l. 2. p. 67.
Dies towards the end of Marcus Aurelius *the Emperor's Reign,* Id. p. 68.
Coinage, *King* Athelſtan's *Law, That no Money be coined out of ſome Town; no embaſing to be of the Coin, under Forfeiture of the loſs of the Hand,* &c. l. 5. p. 340.
Though not Treaſon in King Ethelred's *time, yet puniſhable at the King's diſcretion, either by Fine or Death,* l. 6. p. 44.
Vid. Money.
Colcheſter, *anciently called* Colnaceaſtre; *taken from the* Danes *by the men of* Kent, Surrey, *and* Eſſex, *and the neighbouring Towns: The Wall rebuilt, and all ruinous places repaired by the Command of King* Edward *the Elder,* l. 5. p. 322.
Coldingham, *the Monaſtery.* Vid. *Monaſtery of* Coludesburgh.
Coleman, *Biſhop of* Lindisfarne, *departs to* Scotland, *and upon what account,* l. 4. p. 189.
Coludesburgh, *a great Monaſtery of Monks and Nuns together, called afterwards* Coldingham, *in the Marches of* Scotland, *burnt, and how,* l. 4. p. 198, 199.
Columba, *the Prieſt or Presbyter, comes out of* Ireland *to preach the Word of God to the* Northern Picts, *and receives the Iſland of* Hy *to build a Monaſtery in,* l. 3. p. 143.
Comets; *one appeared in King* Egfrid's *time, that continued three Months, carrying with it every morning a large Tail like a Pillar,* l. 4. p. 196.
Another in Ethelheard's *time,* l. 4. p. 220.
One appeared ſome time after Eaſter, *in the year* 891. l. 5. p. 298.
Another appeared about the time of Queen Ealſwithe's *Death,* Id. p. 313.

Another

Another was ſeen in the year 995. l. 6. p. 26.
A dreadful one appeared, which was viſible in all theſe parts of the world, Id. p. 106.
Commodus *ſucceeds his Father* Marcus Aurelius *in the Empire,* l. 2. p. 68.
In his Reign the Britains *and other Countries were much infeſted with Wars and Seditions,* Id. p. 70.
Makes Helvius Pertinax *Lieutenant in* Britain, *but was ſoon diſmiſſed of his Government there,* Id. p. 70, 71.
He was odious to the Commonwealth becauſe of his Vices, by which he not only deſtroyed it, but diſgraced himſelf, Id. p. 71.
Was not long after poyſoned by Martia, *his Concubine,* Id. p. 72.
Commons of England; *highly probable that they had now their Repreſentatives in the Great Council of the Kingdom; and why,* l. 5. p. 294.
Compurgators, *the Antiquity of them, and of what number,* l. 6. p. 43.
Conan, *Duke of* Britain, Geoffrey *of* Monmouth's *ſtory of him,* l. 2. p. 96.
Conan Aurelius, *King of* Powis-Land, *or ſome other* Southern *Province,* l. 3. p. 139, 146.
Conan, *King or Prince of* North-Wales, *fights with* Howel, *upon his claiming the* Iſle of Mon, *or* Angleſey, *but loſes the Victory,* l. 5. p. 250.
Afterwards chaſes his Brother out of the Iſle of Angleſey, *and compells him to fly into that of* Man, *and a little after dies,* Id. p. 251.
Conan, *or* Kynan, *a Prince in Poſſeſſion of* South-Wales, l. 6. p. 40.
The Son of Jago, *his Enterprize upon* North-Wales, *and the Succeſs of it,* Id. p. 70.
Conan Tindaethwy, *when he began his Reign over the* Britains *in* Wales, l. 4. p. 227.
Congal, *an Abbot of* Bangor, l. 3. p. 149.
Conſtans (*the Son of* Conſtantine) *his Succeſs, Declenſion, and Death,* l. 2. p. 103.
Conſtantine the Great, *Son of* Conſtantius Chlorus, *ſucceeding his Father, is ſaluted* Emperor *by the whole Army. Probably born in* Britain. *Overthrows near* Rome *the Tyrant* Maxentius, *and declares himſelf a Chriſtian,* l. 2. p. 87.
Subdues the Britains *that had revolted from him,* Id. p. 87, 88.
His Death, and how he divided the Empire, Id. p. 88.
His Example propoſed to King Ethelbert *by Pope* Gregory, l. 4. p. 159.
Conſtantine, *an Uſurper, declared Emperor by the* Britains *for the good Omen of his Name, but of what Birth uncertain. His Actions and Succeſſes,* l. 2. p. 102, 103.
Makes his Son Conſtans (*from a Monk*) Cæſar. *Settles his Imperial Seat at* Arles, *and hath it called* Conſtantia, Id. p. 103.
Flings off his Purple Robes, and takes Prieſts Orders, in hopes thereby to ſave his life, but all in vain; for being carried into Italy, *he was there beheaded,* Ibid.
The ſtory of his being elected King in Britain, *very Fabulous and Falſe,* l. 3. p. 116.
Conſtantine, *called,* The Tyrannical Whelp of an Impure Damonian Lioneſs; *accuſed of murthering two Innocent Royal Youths at the very Altar,* l. 3. p. 139.
Builds a Monaſtery in Ireland, *and takes on him the Habit of a Monk,* Id. p. 148.
Conſtantine, *King of* Scots, *beaten by* Athelſtane *and his Army; renews the War with him, but is again moſt miſerably beaten,* l. 5. p. 332, 333, 334.
And at laſt killed by Singin, *a Captain of the* Worceſterſhire-*men, though his Death is denied by the* Scotch *Hiſtorians, but he became a Monk, and was Abbot among the* Culdees *of St.* Andrews, Id. p. 335, 336.
Conſtantine the Black, *Son to Prince* Jago, *hires* Godfryd *the* Dane *to engage with him againſt his Couſin* ap Jevaf, *and what ſucceſs they met with,* l. 6. p. 20.
Conſtantius *overcomes* Magnentius, *and what Blot is caſt upon his Reign by the Severities of* Paulus, *a malicious Inquiſitor and Oppreſſor. Calls the Council of* Ariminum, *the moſt numerous that had ever yet appeared,* l. 2. p. 89.
Dies of a Feaver at Mopſveſtia, *on the borders of* Cilicia, Id. p. 91.
Conſtantius Comes, *General to the Emperor* Honorius, *hinders* Gerontius *from taking of* Arles, l. 2. p. 103.
Corfesgeate, *now* Corfe-Caſtle *in the Iſle of* Purbeck, l. 6. p. 17.
Cornwall, *beſtowed by* Brute *on* Corinæus, *a* Trojan, l. 1. p. 9.
And Devonſhire *conquered by* Ivour; *and the various ſtories of it,* l. 3. p. 145.
Coronation. *None either before or long after the Conqueſt, took upon them the Title of King, till they were crowned. And the Ceremony of Coronation was often in ancient times repeated upon ſome great occaſion,* l. 6. p. 8.
Corrodies, *came firſt from King* Æthelwulph's *Laſt Will, whereby he ordained, That his Succeſſors through all his own Hereditary Lands, ſhould maintain out of every Ten Families one Poor Perſon with Meat, Drink, and Apparrel,* l. 5. p. 264.
Coventry, *derives its Name from the Convent built there by Earl* Leofric *and his Lady* Godiva, l. 6. p. 71.

How the Town came to be freed from all Taxes impoſed upon it, by this Lady's riding through it naked at Midnight, Id. p. 71, 72.
Councils, *of* Arles *in* Gallia, *when held, and what* Britiſh *Biſhops were ſent to it*, l. 2. p. 88.
Of Nice, *a great one aſſembled* Anno Dom. 325. *at which it appears plain that ſome of the Biſhops of* Britain *aſſiſted*, Ibid.
Of Sardica, *when called, and wherein appeared the Biſhops of* Britain, Id. p. 89.
Of Ariminum, *called by* Conſtantius, *the moſt numerous that ever yet appeared, wherein were above Four hundred Biſhops of the* Eaſtern *and* Weſtern *Churches; The Biſhops that were ſent to it from* Britain, Id. p. 89, 90.
Of Bourdeaux; *wherein* Priſcilla, *and other Hereticks of* Maximus *his Party, being condemned and excomunicated; upon their appeal to the Emperor's Tribunal, are by him ſentenc'd to be beheaded*, Id. p. 96.
Several Councils *in* France *and* Africa *condemn* Pelagianiſm, Id. p. 107.
A great one called by King Ethelbert *of both Clergy and Laity, and what tranſacted therein*, l. 4. p. 163.
Held by King Edwin *and his* Wiſe Men, *concerning the Chriſtian Doctrine and Worſhip*, Id. p. 173.
Ina's *great one of all the Biſhops, with the Great and Wiſe Men of the Kingdom; the* firſt *whoſe Laws are come down to us entire*, Id. p. 208.
Another great one at Becanceld, *and what done therein, and who preſent thereat*, Id. p. 209, 210, 241.
Another held at Berghamſted *in* Kent, *and what Laws made therein by the Common and Unanimous Conſent of them All; they are called the* Judgments *or* Dooms *of King* Wightred, Id. p. 210, 211.
One in the Kingdom of Kent, *at a place called* Cylling, *to confirm what had been done in that of* Becanceld, *ſix years before*, Id. p. 212.
A great one held in the Kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons, *in which, after the death of Biſhop* Hedda, *that Biſhoprick was divided into two*, Id. p. 213.
A great one called at Verulam *(now St.* Albans) *wherein the Tribute of* Romeſcot *or* Peter-pence, *is confirmed to be paid to the* Pope *by their general Conſent*, Id. p. 239.
Of Cloveſhoe, *under* Kenwulf *King of the* Mercians; *and what is tranſacted therein*, Id. p. 243.
Croyland-*Abbey, its Lands and Privileges confirmed by King* Egbert, *in a great Council*, l. 5. p. 254.
A General one of the whole Kingdom at London, *under King* Egbert *and King* Withlaff; *and what done therein*, Id. p. 257.
A Common Council of the whole Kingdom, under Egbert *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *where the Grant of the Manor of* Mallings *in* Suſſex, *formerly beſtowed on* Chriſt-Church *in* Canterbury, *was confirmed*, Ibid.
The Council of Kingsbury, *under* Berthwulf *King of the* Mercians; *who preſent, and what done therein*, l. 5. p. 261.
The Famous and Solemn Grant of King Ethelwulf *concerning* Tythes, *and the Form of paſſing it into an Act in the Great Council of the Kingdom, and who the Parties to it*, Id. p. 262, 263.
The League or Agreement made between King Alfred *and* Guthrum *the* Dane, *together with their Eccleſiaſtical Laws, in a Common Council of the Kingdom*, l. 5. p. 283, 284, 285.
A great one, wherein King Alfred *made thoſe Laws that go under his Name*, Id. p. 291, *&c.*
A great one held by King Edward *the* Elder, *where* Plegmund *preſided, in the Province of the* Gewiſſes, *about making of* Biſhops, Id. p. 313, 314.
The Laws made by King Edward *the* Elder, *in a Common Council of the Kingdom, tho in what, or in what year, uncertain*, Id. p. 325, &c.
A great Council held by King Athelſtan *at* Grætanleage, *and the Laws paſt therein*, Id. p. 339, 340, &c.
King Edmund's *great Council, where held, and the Conſtitutions of Civil Concernment made therein*, Id. p. 346, 347, 348.
A great one meets, and chuſes Prince Edward *(ſirnamed the* Martyr*) for their King*, l. 6. p. 15.
Thoſe at Kirtlingtune, Wincheſter, *and* Calne *in* Wiltſhire, *called to debate that Great Affair concerning the turning out of the* Monks, *and reſtoring the* Secular Chanons; *at the laſt of them, the floor of the room failed, and killed and hurt abundance there*, Id. p. 16, 17.
One called to conſult about Pope John's *Letters ſent to King* Ethelred, Id. p. 24, 25.
King Ethelred *and his Wiſe Men in Council ordain to raiſe an Army both by Sea and Land againſt the* Danes, Id. p. 27.
Another Council ſummoned, who inſtead of conſulting the Publick Good, fall to impeach one another, and to ſpend the whole time in their own private quarrels, Id. p. 35.

A great one held under King Cnute *at* Cyrenceſter, *wherein* Ethelward *the Eorlderman is outlaw'd*, Id. p. 51.
Another of his Mycel Synods *held at* Wincheſter, *and what Laws made therein*, Id. p. 57, 58, 59, 60.
In a great Council held at London, *a Religious Monk of* Eveſham *is choſen Abbot of that Monaſtery*, Id. p. 73.
A great one held at London *in* Mid-lent, Id. p. 75.
Another at Glouceſter, *to determine a Difference between Earl* Godwin *and the* Welſhmen, Id. p. 77.
A great one without London, *about determining the Quarrel between* Edward *the* Confeſſor *and Earl* Godwin, Id. p. 81.
One held at Weſtminſter, *to conſirm* Edward *the* Confeſſor's *Charter of Endowment of the Church of* Weſtminſter, Id. p. 94.
Counties. *When* England *was firſt thus divided by King* Alfred, l. 5. p. 291.
Countreymen, *by King* Alfred's *Law, not to be unjuſtly impriſoned, nor any way miſuſed, under ſuch and ſuch Penalties*, l. 5. p. 293, 294.
Their very Homeſtalls *are ſecured in Peace and Quietneſs*, Id. p. 295.
County-Court, *the Antiquity and Power of it; held every Month, as now*, l. 5. p. 326.
Coway-ſtakes, *near* Lalam *in* Middleſex, *where the* Britains *placed Piles to hinder* Cæſar *and his* Romans *Paſſage to them; ſome of which were lately there to be ſeen*, l. 2. p. 34.
Crayford *in* Kent, *anciently called* Crecanford, l. 5. p. 313.
Creed. *The Biſhops at* Ariminum *forced by the Emperor to ſubſcribe the* New Creed *made not long before at the pretended Council of* Syrmium, *wherein the* Son of God *was declared to be only of like Subſtance with the* Father, l. 2. p. 89, 90.
Prieſts obliged to learn it and the Lord's Prayer in Engliſh, l. 4. p. 225.
All men in general commanded to learn it and the Lord's Prayer, Id. p. 233.
Creeklade, *now a ſmall Town in* Wiltſhire, *from whence the* Muſes *are ſaid to be carried to* Oxford, *ſuppoſed an Ancient Great School. Its Derivation*, l. 5. p. 290.
Creoda, *or* Crida, *firſt King of the* Mercians, *one of the largeſt of the* Engliſh-Saxon *Kingdoms, and one of the laſt conquered by the* Weſt-Saxons. *His Death*, l. 3. p. 147, 149.
Crimes, *all redeemable by Fines in* Edward *the* Elder's *time, and long after*, l. 5. p. 326.
Puniſhable rather by Mulcts than by Blood, in King Athelſtan's *time*, Id. p. 342.
For what no ſatisfaction ſhould be made by way of Compenſation, l. 6. p. 59.
Criminal; *none knowingly and voluntarily to have Peace with, or harbour any one that is condemned; and what ſuch forfeit that act contrary to this Law*, l. 5. p. 326.
None to abſent themſelves from the Gemots, *or* Hundred-Courts; *and if any do, what courſe ſhall be taken about him*, l. 6. p. 14.
No petty Offendor to be put to Death, by Cnute's *Law*, Id. p. 58.
Crown. *After* Cnute *had found the weak and bounded Power of Kings, by the Tide's refuſing to obey his Majeſtick Commands, he returns home, and would wear his Crown no longer, but orders it to be hung on the head of the Crucifix at* Wincheſter, l. 6. p. 57.
Croyland; *the whole Iſle granted by King* Ethelbald's *Charter to this Monaſtery*, l. 4. p. 218.
The Lands and Privileges of the Abbey *confirmed by King* Egbert *in a Great Council*, l. 5. p. 254.
The Privileges and Grants of King Withlaff *to this Monaſtery, confirmed in a General Council of the whole Kingdom*, Id. p. 257.
The Charter of King Berthwulf *to this Abbey, confirmed under the Rule of St.* Benedict *at* Kingsbury, *ſuppoſed to be a Great Council of the Kingdom*, Id. p. 261.
The Monaſtery and Church, with a Noble Library of Books, and all its Charters, burnt and utterly deſtroyed by the Danes, Id. p. 271, 272.
Is repaired and much enriched by Abbot Turketule, *who by adding ſix more to the two Bells there, made the firſt tuneable Ring of Bells in* England, l. 6. p. 12.
Cryſanthius, *ſent by* Theodoſius, *as his Lieutenant, to ſuppreſs the Incurſions of the* Picts *and* Scots, l. 2. p. 97.
Cuckamſley-hill *in* Berkſhire, *by the* Saxons *called* Cwichelmeſlaw, l. 6. p. 32.
Cumbran, *a moſt Noble Ealderman, for repreſenting the People's Grievances to cruel King* Sigebert, *at the Requeſt of the Subjects, is ſlain by him*, l. 4. p. 226, 227.
Cuneglaſus, *ſuppoſed by ſome Antiquaries to have been King of the* Northern *or* Cambrian Britains, l. 3. p. 139, 145.
Cureſcot, *or* Cvreſcot, *that is, Firſt-Fruits, or Money given to the Church*, l. 6. p. 55, 56.
Cutha. *Vid.* Cuthwulf.
Cuthbert, *ordained Biſhop of* Lindisfarne. *His Noble Character, and approaching Death*, l. 4. p. 201, 202.
Retires (after he had reſigned his Biſhoprick) to Farne-Iſland, *and there deceaſes; but his Body is tranſlated to* Lindisfarne, Id. p. 264.

Called

Called St. Cuthbert, *and esteemed to have been a very holy man*, Id. p. 215. l. 5. p. 286.
Cuthbryht, *or* Cuthbert, *upon the Death of* Nothelm, *is consecrated Archbishop of* Canterbury, l. 4. p. 224.
Sate Archbishop eighteen years, and then deceases, Id. p. 228.
His Body, after a hundred years, removed by Aldune *from* Cunecæaster (*i. e.* Chester) *to the place where the City of* Durham *was afterwards built*, l. 6. p. 26.
Cuthred *had Three thousand Hides of Land given him by* Cenwalc, *King of the* West-Saxons, *near* Æscasdune, l. 4. p. 182.
He was the Son of Cwichelme, Ibid.
His Death, Id. p. 186.
Cuthred, *Cousin to* Ethelred, *succeeds him in the Kingdom of the* West-Saxons. *His War with* Ethelbald, *King of the* Mercians, *with various Successes. He and* Ethelbald *fight against the* Britains, l. 4. p. 224, 226.
In the Twelfth Year of his Reign fights against Ethelune *the Ealdorman, and prevails*, Id. p. 225.
He and Ethelune *reconciled, and both fight against* Ethelbald, *who fled. His Decease, and* Sigebert *his Cousin succeeds to him*, Id. p. 226.
Cuthred, *King of* Kent, *made King thereof by* Kenwulf; *instead of* Ethelbert, *called* Præn. *His Death*, l. 5. p. 248, 251.
Cuthwulf, *or* Cutha, *Brother to* Ceawlin, *fights against the* Britains *at* Bedicanford, *and takes Four Towns*, l. 3. p. 145.
They both fight against the Britains, *at a place called* Frethanleag, *where* Cutha *is slain*, Id. p. 147. l. 4. p. 159.
Cwichelme, *Brother to* Ceawlin, *his Death*, l. 3. p. 149.
Cwichelme *and* Cynegils *fight with the* Britains *at* Beamdune, *and there slay Two thousand and forty six men*, l. 4. p. 166.
His Character, and how related to Cynegils, Id. p. 167.
Matthew Westminster's *mistake concerning his Death*, Id. p. 172.
Fights with Penda, *King of* Mercia, *at* Cirencester, *and at last a League is made between them*, Id. p. 174.
Is converted, and baptized into the Christian Faith, and soon after dies, Id. p. 179.
Cycle *of Eighty four years, an account of it; the use of which the* Romans *having left off, took up another of nineteen years*, l. 4. p. 160.
Cynebald *the Bishop, resigns his See at* Lindisfarne, l. 4. p. 232.
Cynebryht, *Bishop of the* West-Saxons, *goes to* Rome, *to take the Habit of a Monk*, l. 4. p. 242.
Cynegils; *when he began to reign over the* West-Saxons, *and whose Son he was*, l. 4. p. 166. *Vid.* Cwichelme.
His Character, Id. p. 167.
Fights with Penda *at* Cirencester, *and the Success thereof*, Id. p. 174.
The West-Saxons *receive the Christian Faith in his Reign, and himself too*, Id. p. 179.
Cyneheard *succeeds* Hunferth *in the Bishoprick of* Winchester, l. 4. p. 226.
Cyneheard Ætheling, *Brother to* Sigebert, *kills* Cynwulf, l. 4. p. 226, 232.
Is slain by the Thanes *of King* Cynewulf, *and lies buried at* Axminster, Id. p. 233.
Cynoth, *King of the* Picts, *to whom* Alfred, *King of the* Northumbers, *fled, after he was deposed*, l. 4. p. 230.
Cynric *fights against the* Britains *at* Searebyrig (*i. e.* Old Sarum) *and puts them to flight*, l. 3. p. 142.
And at Banbury, *anciently called* Berinbyrig, Id. p. 240.
His Death; *and* Ceawlin *his Son reigns after him*, Ibid.
Cynric Ætheling, *a Prince of the Blood-Royal of the* West-Saxons *is slain*; *Son of* Cuthred, *a great Warrior for his time, and how he fell*, l. 4. p. 225.
Cynwulf, *with the Great Council, deposes* Sigebert, *King of the* West-Saxons, *and by them is unanimously* elected *King in his room. He often overcomes the* Britains *in fight, but at last is slain*, l. 4. p. 226, 227.
And Offa, *King of the* Mercians, *fight at* Bensington *in* Oxfordshire, Id. p. 230.
Is slain by Cyneheard, *but he fell likewise with him*, Id. p. 232.
Buried at Wintencester; *he was descended from* Cerdic, Id. p. 233. *Vid.* Kenwulf.

D

DAgobert, *King of the* French, *his Death*, l. 4. p. 217.
Dalliance *with other men's Wives, the Fine imposed for it by* Alfred's *Law*, l. 5. p. 293.
Danegelt, *viz. Seventy two thousand Pounds paid as a Tribute throughout* England, *besides Eleven thousand Pounds more, which the Citizens of* London *paid*, l. 6. p. 51. *Vid.* Tribute *and* Tax.
It was now by constant Usage become a Prerogative, Id. p. 66.
This cruel Burthen taken off the Nation by Edward *the* Confessor, *and how it came to pass*, Id. p. 78.
What it was, and upon what occasion it was first imposed. The Church always excused from this Payment till Will. Rufus's *time*, Id. p. 100.

Danes, *upon their first arrival in* England *were forced to fly to their Ships again. These and the* Normans *then looked upon to be but one and the same People*, l. 4. p. 235.

Miserably destroying the Churches of God in Lindisfarne, *and committing great Ravages*, Id. p. 238.

Destroy Northumberland, *and rob the Monastery built there by* Egbert, Id. p. 240.

Their Invasion and Conquest of several Principalities, till expelled by King Alfred, *and his Son* Edward *the* Elder, *when these Kingdoms became united under the general name of* England. *An account of their Invasion, both as to its Causes and Instruments, by which effected, being the fiercest and most cruel that this Island ever felt*, Id. p. 246.

Their Nation in the Saxon *Annals called sometimes* Northmanna, *and sometimes* Deanscan, l. 5. p. 256.

They keep the Field at the Battel of Carrum (*now* Charmouth *in Dorsetshire*) *from* Egbert, Id. p. 256.

Consultation in a General Council of the whole Kingdom how to prevent their Invasion. A great Fleet of them land among the Western-Welsh, (*that is*, Cornish-Men) *and fight* Egbert, Id. p. 257.

Danish *Pyrates beaten at* Southampton *by* Wulfheard *the Ealdorman; they fight again, and their various Successes*, Id. p. 258, 259.

Fight with the Somersetshire *and* Dorsetshire *Men, but are miserably worsted*, Id p. 260.

Their several Battels and Successes, Id. p. 261, 262.

They take Winchester *from King* Ethelbert, Id. p. 266.

Make a League with the Kentish-men, *but for all that they waste all the* East *part of it, as knowing they could get more by Plunder than peace. A great Army of them land here, and take up their Winter-quarters among the* East-Angles, *who are forced to make Peace with them; then they march to* York, *Kill the Two Kings there, and put to flight the whole Army, as well within as without the Town*, Id. p. 267.

Make one Egbert *King over the* Northumbers, *though under the* Danish *Dominion*, Id. p. 268.

Force the Mercians *to make Peace with them*, Id. p. 269.

Return to York, *where they stay Twelve Months, and commit horrible Cruelties there, and in the Kingdom of the* East-Angles, *which they wholly conquer*, Id. p. 269, 270.

Landing in Lincolnshire, *they spoil all that Country, committing Murthers and Desolations without mercy, though not without great losses to themselves*, Id. p. 271, 272.

The reason of their Invading the Kingdom of the East-Angles, Id. p. 272, 273.

Going into the West-Saxon *Kingdom to* Reading *in* Berkshire, *are routed*, Id. 274, 275.

In other places meet with various Successes of good and evil fortune, Id. p. 276.

Enter into a Peace with the English Saxons *to depart the Kingdom, which they did not long observe; for the next year they land again, and take up their Winter-Quarters in* London, *and the* Mercians *forced to make Peace with them. They destroy* Alcluid *in* Scotland; *oblige* Burhred, *King of* Mercia, *to desert his Kingdom and go to* Rome; *and bring the whole Kingdom under their Dominion and Vassalage*, Id. p. 277.

Destroy the whole Countrey of Northumberland, *and ravag up to* Galloway; *ruin* Warham *in* Dorsetshire, *a strong Castle of the* West-Saxons; *give Hostages to King* Alfred, *but upon breach of their Oath are all put to death. From whence they date their Reign over the King of* Northumbers. *A Hundred and twenty of their Ships cast away in a storm near* Swanwick *in* Hampshire, Id. p. 278.

Fix their Quarters in West-Saxony, *and make* Ælfred *very uneasy*, Id. p. 280.

Hinguar *their Captain, with Twelve Hundred Men slain near the Castle of* Kenwith, Id. p. 281.

Are signally beaten by King Ælfred, *so as to desire Peace on Conditions*, Id. p. 282, 283.

The Laws made between them and King Ælfred *in a Common Council of the Kingdom, acknowledging his Superiority over them*, Id. p. 285.

Besiege the City of Rochester, *build a strong Fort before the Gates of it, but however they are forced to retire and go to their Ships*, Id. p. 286.

One Fleet of theirs beaten by King Alfred; *another meeting him on his Return home, prove too hard for him. The Peace lately made with King* Alfred, *broke by the* Danes *of* East-England, Id. p. 286, 287.

Beaten by the Bretons, *and by* Arnulf *the Emperor*, Id p. 298.

Infest the Kingdom for Three years worse than ever; their landing in Kent, *and their various Successes*, Id. p. 298, 299, 300, 301, 302.

Fight

Fight at Holme *with the* Kentiſh-men, *and their ſucceſs*, l. 5. p. 312, 313.
Break their League with King Edward *the* Elder; *afterwards are beaten by the* Engliſh *in* Staffordſhire, Id. p. 315, 316.
Commit great Ravage and Slaughter in Oxfordſhire, *and ſeveral other Countries, but often worſted*, Id. p. 319, 321.
Their power beginning to decreaſe, and that of the Engliſh *to increaſe*, Id. p. 321, 322.
Burn Taviſtock *in leſs than Fifty years after it was founded*, l. 6. p. 4.
With the Welſhmen *that aſſiſted them, routed by* Howel ap Jevaf, *their Pyrates deſtroy* Southampton, *and commit great Ravage there: They land in* Cornwal, *and Burn the Church and Monaſtery of St.* Petroc, Id. p. 20.
They land in Dorſetſhire, *and ſpoil the Iſle of* Portland, Id. p. 21.
Deſtroy Weedport *(that is* Watchet*) in* Somerſetſhire, Id. p. 22.
As likewiſe the whole Iſle of Angleſey, *and the Town of* Ipſwich *in* Suffolk, Id. p. 23.
Several Tributes paid them, and yet thoſe did not long ſatisfy their Covetouſneſs, Id. p. 25, 29, 32.
Their Fleet eſcape by flight from being encompaſſed by King Ethelred's, Id. p. 23.
Come hither again with Ninety three Ships, and ravaging ſeveral Countries, Id. p. 24, 25.
Maintained by the Weſt-Saxons, *and received a great Tribute beſides*, Id. p. 25.
Take much plunder from the Welſh, Cornwal, *and* Devonſhire, *&c.* Id. p. 26, 27.
And the Spoils, Burnings, and Deſolations they made where-ever they came, Id. p. 28. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 45, 46, 47, 74.
Leagues made with them, but they never regarded them long, Id. 28, 31.
King Ethelred *commands all the* Danes *that could be found in* England *to be ſlain, with the reaſon why; which was moſt barbarouſly put in Execution, eſpecially at* London; *but not long after it was bloodily revenged*, Id. p. 29, 30, 31.
They inſolently demand greater Tribute of the King and Kingdom, l. 6. p. 35.
Two thouſand of them periſh by divers inward Torments; Their ſubmiſſion to King Ethelred *upon Conditions*, Id. p. 36, 37.
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They and the Engliſh *are reconciled and united at* Oxford, *at a Great Council*, Id. p. 51.
At the Election *of* Edward *the* Confeſſor, *the Great Council agreed and Swore, That no* Danes *ſhould Reign over them any more, and why*, Id. p. 70.
Lothen *and* Yrling, Danes, *with Five and twenty Ships, landing at* Sandwic, *commit great havock, and carry off abundance of Booty*, Id. p. 74.
Daniel, *the Learned and moſt Pious Biſhop of* Bangor, *in what Age he lived among the* Britains, l. 3. p. 149.
Daniel, *being worn out by Age, reſigns the Biſhoprick of* Wincheſter *to* Hunferth, l. 4. p. 224.
His Death, after he had been Three and forty years a Biſhop, Id. p. 225.
Darwent, *a River near* York, *not far from which ſtood an* Idol-Temple, *called* Godmundingham, *in King* Edwin's *time*, l. 4. p. 174.
David, *(afterwards Sainted) ſucceeds* Dubritius *in the Archbiſhoprick of* Caer-Leon, l. 3. p. 149.
Is ſaid to have been Uncle by the Mother ſide to King Athur, Ibid.
St. Davids *deſtroyed by the* Danes, *who ſlew* Urgeney *the Biſhop of that See*, l. 6. p. 27.
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Death, *None to Die for ſmall offences, but Mercy to be ſhewn to ſuch Criminals by King* Cnute's *Law*, l. 6. p. 58.
He that dies in fight, &c. *his* Heriot *ſhall be remitted, and his Children ſhall equally divide his Goods and Lands between them*, Id. p. 60.
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Decianus *(*Catus*) ſolicited by the* Romans *here to ſend them ſome Aſſiſtance againſt the* Iceni *and* Trinobantes, l. 2. p. 47, 48.
Decimation, *a very ſtrange one indeed, which the* Danes *made both of the Monks and Laity, ſo that but One out of Ten perſons was kept alive*, l. 6. p. 36.
Decius (Scil.) Quintus Trajanus, *a great Enemy to Chriſtianity; he raiſed the Seventh Perſecution*, l. 2. p. 81.
Defamation, *puniſhable by cutting out the Tongue of the Party, or redeeming it with the Value of his Head*, l. 6. p. 13.
Degradation *of a Prieſt for Murther, (as well as Confiſcation of all his Eſtate) unleſs his Lord will obtain his Pardon by the Price of his Head*, l. 5. p. 297.
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Deuſdedit *the Pope, grants* Adrian *the Abbot of* Canterbury, *a Privilege concerning the free Election of the Abbot of that Monaſtery*, l. 4. p. 165.
Deuſdedit, *conſecrated Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and was the firſt* Engliſh *Monk that had ever been choſen Archbiſhop of that See, and the firſt Biſhop conſecrated, but by one; he changed his Name to this, having before been called* Fridona, *or* Fridon, l. 4. p. 186.
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Dicul, *an* Iriſh *or* Scotch *Monk, that lived in a little Monaſtery at a place called* Boſenham, *with five or ſix Brethren, in great Devotion*, l. 4. p. 198.
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Dioceſſes, *five made out of two at a Great Council held by* Edward *the* Elder, l. 5. p. 313.
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St. Dunſtan, *an Account of his Birth*, l. 5. p. 329.
Then Abbot of Glaſtenbury, *when King* Edmund *conferr'd divers large Privileges upon that Monaſtery*, Id. p. 345.
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Is baniſhed out of England *by King* Edwi, *and the occaſion of it, with his Retirement thereupon to a Monaſtery in* Flanders, Id. p. 353.
Is choſen Biſhop of Worceſter *by the General Conſent of a Great Council, and afterwards made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, l. 6. p. 2.
The Miracles that the Monks relate were done by him; as his Harp hanging againſt the Wall, and a whole Pſalm being audibly plaid upon it without any hand touching it, &c. *but above all, his taking the* Devil by the Noſe *with a Pair of Red Hot Tongs, till he made him to roar again*, Id. p. 3.
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E

EAdbald, Ethelbert's *Son, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of* Kent. *His wicked Reign*, l. 4. p. 168.
His Inceſtuous Marriage upon what account he renounced, Id. p. 169.
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Eadbert, *or* Egbryht, *King of* Northumberland, *marries* Cuthburge, *Siſter to King* Ina; *but they are both made to leave each other's Bed*, l. 4. p. 218.
He is forced to fly into Surrey *to the* South-Saxons, *and upon what occaſion*, Ibid.
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His War againſt the Picts, *ſubduing all the Countrey of* Kyle, &c. *and joining them to his own Dominions*, Ibid.
And Unuſt, *King of the* Picts, *bring an Army againſt the City* Alkuith, *which was delivered by the* Britains *upon Conditions*, Id. p. 227.
Is ſhorn a Monk (and Oſwulf *or* Uſulf, *his Son, ſucceeds him) after he had reigned One and twenty Years, with great Wiſdom and Courage, inſomuch that* Pepin *King of* France *not only made a League with him, but ſent him great Preſents*, Id. p. 228.
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Eadbert, *or* Ethelbert, *(ſirnamed* Præn) *begins to reign in* Kent, l. 4. p. 240.
Hath his Eyes put out, and his Hands cut off, by the order of Cenwulf, *King of* Mercia, *whither he is carried Priſoner*, Id. p. 241.
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Eadbriht, *King of* Kent, *his Death, after he had reigned Six Years*, l. 4. p. 225.

Eadburga, *Daughter to King* Offa, *Marries* Brithtrick *King of the* West-Saxons, l. 4. p. 235.
Makes away her Husband by Poiſon, deſigned indeed for one of his Favourites whom ſhe could not endure, Id. p. 243.
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Eadwig Etheling, *called* Ceorle's Cyng *(that is, King of the* Clowns*) Brother to King* Edward, *is Baniſhed; the whole ſtory of him; he is made Two Perſons by the Annals,* l. 6. p. 50, 51.
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Ealchſtan, *Biſhop of* Scireborne, *and Prince* Æthelbald, *join in a moſt wicked Conſpiracy to remove* Æthelwulf *out of his Kingdom,* l. 5. p. 263.
Ealerd, *a Daughter of King* Edwin's *by Queen* Æthelburga, l. 4. p. 176.
Ealfert, *or* Alfred, *King of the* Northumbers, *his Deceaſe,* l. 4. p. 213.
Ealfric, *an Ealdorman, and one of King* Ethelred's *Admirals, who was to have encompaſs'd the* Daniſh *Fleet by ſurpiſe, but underhand he betrays the deſign, ſending them notice to take care of themſelves; and the night before the intended Engagement, goes over to them himſelf,* l. 6. p. 23, 24.
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Eanbald *Conſecrated Archbiſhop to the See of* York *on the Death of* Ethelheard. *The Pall demanded for him of the Pope by* Alwold *King of the* Northumbers, l. 4. p. 232.
Departs from the Northumbers, *and afterwards Conſecrates and places on the Throne* Eardwulf, *who had begun his Reign over* Northumberland *about a Month before,* Id. p. 240.
His Death and Burial at York *the Year after,* Id. p. 241.
Another *of the ſame Name upon his Deceaſe was Conſecrated Archbiſhop of* York, *and the Year following he received the Pall,* Ibid.
This Eanbald *held the Second Council at* Pinchinhale, *and what was done therein,* Id. p. 242.
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Returns

Returns home Victorious, by deſtroying the Rebels that roſe up againſt him, Id. p. 241.
Leads an Army againſt Kenwulf, *King of* Mercia, *for Harbouring his Enemies, but by the intereſſion of King* Egbert *a Peace is agreed on, and confirmed by Oath,* l. 5. p. 248.
About Three years after he is driven out of his Kingdom, and by whom, Ibid. p. 249.
The Son of Eardulf, *the firſt King of that Name there, reſtored to his Kingdom by the Aſſiſtance of the Emperor* Charles the Great, l. 5. p. 249.
Earnred, *ſucceeds* Ælfwold *King of* Northumberland, l. 5. p. 249.
Holds his Kingdom as Tributary to Egbert (*Chief King of the* Engliſh) *who had grievouſly waſted it with his Arms,* Id. p. 248, 255.
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Earnwulf, (Charles the Groſs *King of the* Franks *his Brother's Son*) *expels his Uncle his Kingdom, dividing it into Five parts, and each of the Kings to Govern under him,* l. 5. 290.
East-Angles, (*the Countries we now call* Norfolk *and* Suffolk) *the Kingdom of it ſuppoſed to begin about* Anno 575. *under* Uffa, *the Eighth King from* Woden, l. 3. p. 145.
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The Kingdom thereof divided between Hunbeanna *and* Albert, Id. p. 225.
They ſlay Beornwulf *King of the* Mercians, *for Challenging this Kingdom as his own,* l. 5. p. 253.
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Eaſter, *it's Obſervation according to the manner preſcribed in the Council of* Nice, l. 2. p. 88. l. 4. p. 166.
The Difference about the Rule of keeping it in Auguſtin's *time,* l. 4. p. 160, 161.
How it was obſerved by Biſhop Aidan, Id. p. 177.
Is Commanded to be kept according to the Order of the Church of Rome, Id. p. 189.
Appointed by the Synod at Hartford *in* Anno 673. *to be kept on the Firſt* Lord's Day *after the* Fourteenth Moon *of the Firſt Month,* (*that is* January); *this was a General Council of the whole* Kingdom, Id. p. 193.
Aldhelm, *Abbot of* Malmesbury, *wrote an excellent Book about the Keeping of* Eaſter, *whereby he converted many of the* Britains *then Subject to the* Weſt-Saxons, Id. p. 213.
Naitan, *King of the* Picts, *concerns himſelf about the Celebration of* Eaſter; *and it is appointed to be kept on the Firſt* Sunday *after the* Firſt Full Moon *that follows the* Vernal Equinox, l. 4. p. 216.
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Ordinances touching the Keeping of Eaſter *made at the Second Council of* Pinchinhale Id. p. 242.
Eaſt-Saxons, *the beginning of this Kingdom by* Erchenwin, *the Son of* Offa, *according to* H. Huntington, l. 3. p. 138.
It had London (*the Chief City of* England) *under its Dominion,* Ibid.
This Kingdom was divided from that of Kent *by the River* Thames, *&c.* l. 4. p. 159.
Upon the Death of Sebert, *his Three Sons* (*whom he left Heirs to the Kingdom*) *all relapſe to* Paganiſm, *and great part of the Nation with them,* Id. p. 168.
But between Thirty and Forty years after, at the Inſtance of King Oſwy, *they again receive the Chriſtian Faith,* Id. p. 184.
Eatta, *Biſhop of the Province of* Bernicia, *had his Epiſcopal See at* Hagulſtad, l. 4. p. 197.
Reckoned to be a very Holy Man, Id. p. 215.
Ebba, *a Queen, is Converted and Baptized in the Province of the* Weſtij, *but what Queen,* Bede *ſays not,* l. 4. p. 197.
Ebba, *Abbeſs of* Coldingham-*Nunnery in* Yorkſhire, *an Heroine Example of Chaſtity in her, and all her Siſters,* l. 5. p. 269.
Eborius, *Biſhop of the City of* Eboracum, *is ſent* (*with others*) *to the Council of* Arles *in* Gallia, *as one of the Deputies for the reſt of the Biſhops of* Britain, l. 2. p. 88.
Eclipſes *of the* Sun, *one from early in the Morning till Nine a Clock;* another, *where the Stars ſhewed themſelves for near half an hour after Nine in the Morning,* l. 3. p. 138.
Of the Sun *which was ſo great, that it's whole Orb ſeemed as it were covered with a black Shield.* Another *of the* Moon, *appearing firſt as ſtained with Blood, which laſted a whole hour, and then a Blackneſs following, it returned to its own Colour,* l. 4. p. 222.
One of the Moon, *From the Cock Crowing till the morning,* Id. p. 240. *In the Second hour of the night,* 17. Kal. Feb. Id. p. 242. *On the* 13*th.* Kal. *of* January, *And on the* Kal. *of* September, } l. 5. p. 248.

Of the Sun, *on the 7th.* Kal. *of* Auguſt, *about the fifth hour of the day*, Id. p. 249.
Of the Moon, *on* Chriſtmas-day *at night*, Id. p. 254.
Of the Sun { *About the ſixth hour of the day, on the* Kal. *of* October, Id. p. 260. / *For one whole hour*, Id. p. 283.
One of the Moon *appeared*, Id. p. 313.
Eddobeccus *is diſpatched away by* Conſtans *to the* Germans, *with an Account of* Gerontius *his Revolt*, l. 2. p. 103.
Edelwalch, *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *when he was baptized*, l. 4. p. 195.
Gives Wilfrid *Commiſſion to convert and baptize in his Province*, Id. p. 197.
Edgar, *Son of* Edmund *and* Elgiva *(afterwards King) his Birth*, l. 5. p. 344.
Is elected *by the* Mercians *and* Northumbrians *their King, and confirmed ſo by the Common Council of the Kingdom*, Id. p. 354.
On the death of his Brother Edwi, *is* elected *by the Clergy and Laity King of the* Weſt-Saxons; *and though he was not the firſt, yet he was the beſt that deſerved the Title of* Firſt Monarch of all England, l. 6. p. 1. *And ſo he ſtiles himſelf in his Charter to the Abbey of* Glaſtenbury, Id. p. 9.
His great Charity, and the Nation's happineſs under him, Id. p. 2, 11.
Seven years Penance is impoſed upon him by Archbiſhop Dunſtan *(part of which was, That he ſhould not wear his Crown all that time), and that for taking a Nun out of a Cloyſter, and then debauching her*, Id. p. 3.
Haraſſes North-Wales *with War, till he forces a Peace, upon this Condition, That the Tribute in* Money *ſhould be turned into that of ſo many* Wolves-Heads *yearly*, Id. p. 3, 4, 11.
Grants a New Charter of Confirmation, with divers additional Endowments of Lands and Privileges to the Monaſtery of Mederhamſted, Id. p. 5.
Marries Ethelfreda *(or* Elfreda*) Daughter of* Ordgar *Earl of* Devonſhire; *and his Iſſue by her*, Id. p. 5, 6.
Hath an Elder Son by Elfleda, *ſirnamed*, The Fair Daughter of Earl Eodmar, *who is called afterwards*, Edward the Martyr; *but doubtful whether he was married to her, or not*, Id. p. 6.
Places Nuns in the Monaſtery of Rumſey *in* Hampſhire; *commands all the Countrey of* Thanet *to be laid waſte, and for what reaſon*, Ibid.
Cauſes the Chanons *to be driven out of all the greater Monaſteries in* Mercia, *and Monks to be put in their places*, Id. p. 7.
Is crowned *King in the ancient City of* Ackmanceaſter, *called* Bathan *by the Inhabitants; with Remarks about his Coronation then, for he was crowned before. And founds a new Church at* Bangor, *dedicating it to the Virgin* Mary, Id. p. 7, 8.
Six Kings make League with him, promiſing upon Oath their Aſſiſtance both by Sea and Land. An Account who they were, and of his Fleet at Weſt-Cheſter, *where they all met him. He is the firſt that was truly* Lord of our Seas, Id. p. 8.
His Death and Burial at Glaſtenbury, *and Character. The great Kindneſſes he ſhewed to* Ethelfreda's *firſt Husband's Son*, Id. p. 9, 10, 11.
A mighty Lover of the Fair Sex, Id. p. 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11.
A Famous Inſtance of his great Courage and Strength, though but little of Stature, Id. p. 11.
His Charter about having ſubdued all Ireland, &c. *much ſuſpected to be fictitious. With this King fell all the Glory of the* Engliſh *Nation*, Id. p. 12.
The Laws he made with the Council, by the Conſent of his Wiſe-Men, Id. p. 12, 13, 14.
Great Diſſention amongſt the Nobility after his Death, about the Election *of a New King*, Id. p. 15.
Edgar, *ſirnamed* Ætheling, *the Son of Prince* Edward *by* Agatha, Id. p. 49.
Edgar Ætheling, *how he was put by from the Throne, though the* only ſurviving *Male of the Ancient Royal Family*, l. 6. p. 105, 106.
Is propoſed to be made King upon Harold's *Death, but his Party were not prevalent enough to carry it*, Id. p. 115, 116.
Edgitha, *Daughter of King* Egbert, *is firſt bred up under an* Iriſh *Abbeſs, and then made Abbeſs her ſelf of the Nunnery of* Poleſworth, l. 5. p. 257.
Another of this Name, King Athelſtan's *Siſter; her Marriage with* Sihtric, *the* Daniſh *King of* Northumberland; *and being afterwards a Widow, ſhe became a Nun at* Poleſworth. *Her Character, and the Falſe Story of the* Scots *upon her*, Id. p. 330.
Edgitha, *or* Editha, *Daughter of Earl* Godwin, *married to* Edward *the* Confeſſor, *a Lady not only Beautiful and Pious, but Learned above her Sex in that Age*, l. 6. p. 72, 73, 96.
An improbable Story of her cauſing Goſpatrick *to be murthered, upon the Account of her Brother* Toſtige, l. 6. p. 90.
Subſcribes King Edward's *Charter of Endowment of the Abbey of* Weſtminſter, Id. p. 94.

p. 94. Vid. *more in* Tit. Edward the Confessor.

Edinburgh, *anciently called* Mount-Agned, *built by* Ebrank, *the Son of* Manlius, l. 1. p. 10.

In the Possession of the English-Saxons, *when, and how long,* l. 5. p. 249.

Editha, *Daughter to King* Edgar *by* Wilfreda, *(whom he took out of a Cloyster at* Wilton*) and who was afterwards Abbess of the said Nunnery,* l. 6. p. 3, 12, 20.

Edmund *the* Martyr, *anointed King of the* East-Angles *by Bishop* Humbert, *at fifteen years of Age, at* Buram, *then the Royal Seat,* l. 5. p. 265.

An Account of his Pedigree, Education, living in Germany, *Return into* England, *and* Election *to the Kingdom, which, as well as himself, he submitted to the direction of Bishop* Humbert; *his Reign Fourteen Years in Peace, and his Glorious End of Martyrdom,* Ibid. p. 273.

Fighting with the Danes, *they slew him, and wholly conquer that Kingdom,* Id. p. 269, 273.

A particular Account both of his Life and Martyrdom, Id. p. 272, 273, 274.

Had a Church and Monastery erected to his Memory, Id. p. 274, 323.

Edmund, *Prince, (Son to* Edward *the* Elder*) the relation of his commanding part of his Father's Army, with his Brother* Edred, *cannot be true, for he was but Four Years old when his Father died,* l. 5. p. 321.

A great Benefactor to the Church built over the Tomb of King Edmund *the* Martyr, Id. p. 323.

He and his Brother Athelstan *overcome the* Scots *about* Bromrige *in the* North, Id. p. 334.

Succeeds his Brother Athelstan *in the Kingdom at eighteen years of Age. Invades* Mercia, *and forces* Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, *and* Derby *(all then under the Power of the* Danes*) to submit to him. The Battel he had with* Anlaff, *and the Agreement made at last between these two Kings,* Id. p. 343.

Conquers Anlaff, *expels him the Kingdom of* Northumberland, *and adds it to his own Dominions,* Ibid. p. 344.

Subdues the whole Countrey of Cumberland, *giving it to* Malcolme *King of* Scots, *upon this Condition, That he should assist him both by Sea and Land,* Id. p. 344.

Sends Ambassadors to Prince Hugh *of* France, *to restore King* Lewis. *His decease, and the manner of it. His Burial at* Glastenbury; *with his great Benefaction to that Abbey. He stiles himself in his Charter, King of the English, and Governor and Ruler of the other Nations round about,* Id. p. 345.

The Laws he made in the Great Council he held at London, Id. p. 346, 347, 348.

The Legend of St. Edmund's *Ghost stabbing King* Sweyn *the* Dane, l. 6. p. 39, 40.

Edmund, *a Son of King* Alfred, *born before Prince* Edward *(commonly called the* Elder*) is crowned King by his Father's Appointment, in his Life-time, but dying before him, he was buried in the Abbey-Church of* Winchester, l. 5. p. 311.

Edmund Ætheling, *marries the Widow of* Sigeferth *(who was lately murthered) against his Father's Will, upon the Fame of her Beauty and Virtue: And invades all the Countrey where her Husband's Lands lay,* l. 6. p. 40.

His Expedition against Cnute *and* Ædric *of little service to him, and why,* Id. p. 41.

Is Elected *King by all the Great and Wise Men then at* London, *together with the Citizens, upon his Father's decease; though he held it but a short time, and that with great difficulty. He is called* Ironside, *for his Strength both of Body and Mind, and born of a Concubine,* Id. p. 45.

The several Battels he fought with Cnute *and his Party,* Id. p. 45, 46, 47.

His Prudence not to be commended, though his Courage and Constancy were praise-worthy, Id. p. 46.

Concludes a Peace with King Cnute, *and the Particulars of it,* Id. p. 47, 48.

His Decease (being murthered), and Burial at Glastenbury, *with his Grandfather King* Edgar, Id. p. 48, 49.

His Children (Edward *and* Edmund) *excluded from the Kingdom of the* West-Saxons, *and by whom. They were sent to the King of* Sweden *to be made away; but he generously conveyed them to* Solyman *King of* Hungary, *to be educated, where* Edmund *died,* Id. p. 49.

St. Edmundsbury, *anciently called* Badricesworth, *where King* Cnute *built a Noble Monastery,* l. 5. p. 323.

Is given by King Edmund, *with divers other Lands, to build a Church and Monastery in Memory of St.* Edmund *the* Martyr, Id. p. 345.

For ever exempt from all Jurisdiction of the Bishops and Earls of that Countrey, by Parliament, *according to the* MS. l. 6. p. 52.

Edred, *an Abbot of* Northumberland, *made a certain Youth, sold to a Widow at* Withingham *(whom he redeemed) King; and by that means the Church got all that Countrey, now called the Bishoprick of* Durham, l. 5. p. 286.

Edred,

Edred, *Brother to King* Athelſtan *and* Edmund, *takes upon him the Title of Firſt Monarch,* l. 5. p. 331.
Is made King, and the manner of his Succeſſion; Crowned at Kingſton, *reduces all* Northumberland *under his Obedience; and upon their relapſe, lays the whole Country waſte,* Id. p. 349, 350.
Their continual Rebellions againſt him, and his regaining that Kingdom, Id. p. 350.
The Firſt King of England *that ſtiled himſelf* Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, *as appears by a Charter of his to the Abbey of* Croyland, Id. p. 351.
Dies in the Flower of his Age, of what; his Character and Iſſue, Id. p. 351, 352.
Edric, *vid.* Ædric.
Edwal ap Meyric, *is received by the Inhabitants of the Iſle of* Angleſey *for their Prince; he was the right Heir of* North-Wales; *routs* Meredith *in a ſet Battel,* l. 6. p. 24.
But is ſlain in Battel by Sweyne, *the Son of* Harold *the* Dane, Id. p. 25.
Edwal Ugel (*that is, the* Bald) *Succeeds his Father* Anarawd, *and is ſtiled by Hiſtorians,* Supreme King of all Wales, l. 5. p. 316.
Edwal Ywrch, *Son of* Cadwallader, *Prince of* Wales, *began to Reign upon his Father's ſuppoſed Journey to* Rome, l. 3. p. 145.
Conjectured to be Cadwallo *by Dr.* Powel, *and Mr.* Vaughan, l. 4. p. 205.
Edward *the* Firſt, (*commonly called the* Elder) *the Son of King* Alfred, *when he began his Reign; he was* Elected *by all the Chief Men of the Kingdom,* l. 5. p. 311.
Meets with a great Diſturbance at his firſt entrance to the Crown from Æthelwald *his* Couſin-German, Ibid. & p. 312.
Builds new Towns, and repairs Cities that had been before deſtroyed. Id. p. 312.
Has great Battels with the Danes, *but at laſt he overcomes them all; calls a great Council, (though the place where is not ſpecified, but wherein* Plegmund *preſided) which appoints Biſhops over each of the* Weſtern-Counties, *and makes Five out of Two* Dioceſſes, Id. p. 313.
Subdues Eaſt-Sex, Eaſt-England, *and* Northumberland, *with many other Provinces, which the* Danes *had long before been poſſeſſed of,* Id. p. 314, 315.
Very much waſts Northumberland *with his Army, and deſtroys many* Danes, Id. p. 315.
Takes the Cities of London *and* Oxenford *into his own hands; Commands the Town of* Hertford *to be New Built; Builds and Fortifies another Town at* Witham *near* Maldon *in* Eſſex, Id. p. 316.
Confirms to the Doctors and Scholars of Cambridg, *by Charter, all their former Privileges to endure for ever by a perpetual Right,* Id. p. 317, 318.
Builds Two Forts on both ſides the River Ouſe *in* Buckinghamſhire, *to oppoſe the* Danes, *who at laſt (almoſt all) ſubmit to him,* Id. p. 319, 320.
Has the Town of Bedford *ſurrendred to him, where he built a Caſtle; Rebuilds and Fortifies the Town of* Maldon; *and makes the whole Nation of the* Mercians *ſubmit to him,* Id. p. 320.
Overcomes Leofred *the* Dane, *and* Griffyth ap Madac, *Brother-in-Law to the Prince of* Weſt-Wales, Id. p. 321.
The ſeveral Towns he ordered to be rebuilt, l. 5. p. 321, 322, 323, 324.
Is accepted for Lord and Protector by ſeveral Countries under the Daniſh *Dominions, and adds the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles *to his own,* Id. p. 322, 323.
Several other Kings make their Submiſſion to him, Id. p. 324.
His Deceaſe at Fearndune *in the Province of the* Mercians, Id. p. 324.
Ælfleda, *the Daughter of the Earl* Æthelem, *was his Queen and Wife,* Id. p. 327.
The Laws both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical made in his Reign, Id. p. 325, 326.
His Children, how bred up, and beſtowed in Marriage, &c. Id. p. 327.
His Character of being Mild and Humble as well as Courageous, Id. p. 328.
No Martyr, *as* Buchanan *in his Hiſtory fancies him, and why,* Id. p. 332.
Edward Ætheling, *Son of King* Edmund, *ſirnamed* Ironſide, *Marries* Agatha, *the Queen of* Hungay's *Siſter; his Iſſue by her,* l. 6. p. 49.
Is ſought by Ambaſſy to return into England, *which he did about Three years after, together with his Children, and ſoon after Dies, his Body being Buried in St.* Paul's *Church,* Id. p. 86, 87.
Edward (*Sirnamed the* Martyr) *is* Elected *in a great Council, and preſently Anointed King according to his Father* Edgar's *Appointment,* l. 6. p. 15.
Not preſent at the Council of Calne *in* Wiltſhire, *upon the perſuaſion of Archbiſhop* Dunſtan, *as ſuppoſed,* Id. p. 16, 17.
Is Killed, by whom, and by what, at Corfeſgeate, *now* Corſe-Caſtle *in the Iſle of* Purbeck, *and buried at* Werham *without any Royal Pomp, having Reigned Three years and a half,* Id. p. 17, 18.
His Character, Ibid.
His Body taken up, and carried and Buried at Shaftsbury *with great Solemnity,* Id. p. 20.

Edward *the* Confeſſor, *Son of King* Ethelred, *comes into* England *from* Normandy, *and returns no more back, but tarried till his Brother* Hardecnute *died*, l. 6. p. 66, 67.

His Advancement to the Crown by Election *in the Great Council, and how it is effected*, Id. p. 69, 70.

His undutifulneſs to his Mother, by taking from her all the Gold and Silver ſhe had, with other things, becauſe of her ſeverity to him formerly, ſhews him not to be altogether ſo great a Saint as the Monks repreſent him, Id. p. 71, 97.

Marries Edgitha, *or* Editha, *the Daughter of Earl* Godwin, *who was not only Beautiful and Pious, but Learned above the Women of her Age; but he never carnally knew her*, l. 6. p. 72, 73, 97.

Sends Biſhops to the Great Council at St. Remy, *to know what was there decreed concerning the* Chriſtian Faith, Id. p. 74.

The Difference between the King and Earl Godwin *and his Sons, and what the ground of it*, Id. p. 75, 77, 78, 81.

Sends away his Wife who had been Crowned Queen, committing her to the Cuſtody of his Siſter, at the Nunnery of Werwel, *and takes away almoſt all ſhe had*, Id. p. 78.

Begs his Mother's Pardon for having ſuffered her to undergo the Ordeal, *and upon what Account*, Id. p. 79.

Hearing Earl Godwin *was come with his Ships for* England, *he orders his Fleet to purſue him, whereupon he returns to* Bruges, *but ſoon after comes again, and commits many Inſults upon the Sea-coaſts*, Id. p. 80, 81.

Reſtores to the Queen, his Wife, (upon his Peace with Earl Godwin) *whatſoever ſhe had been before poſſeſſed of*, Id. p. 81.

In a great Council is Reconciled to Earl Godwin, *whom he reſtores to his former Honours and Eſtate*, Id. p. 82, 83.

Commands Rees *(the Brother of* Griffyn *King of* South-Wales*) his Head to be cut off, and ſent him to* Glouceſter, *for his Inſolencies againſt the* Engliſh, Id. p. 85.

His Forces under Siward, *the Valiant Earl of* Northumberland, *are ſaid to Conquer* Scotland, Id. p. 86.

Ælfgar's *Rebellion againſt him twice, and yet he was forced to Pardon him*, Ibid. p. 87. 88.

Confirms by his Charter the Foundation of the Abbey of the Holy-Croſs *at* Waltham *in* Eſſex, Id. p. 89.

Wales *Subdued, and becomes ſubject to him, the Inhabitants giving Hoſtages*, Ibid.

After which he makes Two Brothers Joint-Princes of North-Wales, l. 6. p. 90.

Confirms and renews the Laws of King Cnute, *at the Requeſt of the* Northumbers, Ibid.

Builds Weſtminſter Church *and* Abbey; *its Conſecration. Calls his* Curia, *or Great Council, to confirm his Charter of Endowment of this Monaſtery. His Sickneſs and Speech to thoſe about him concerning the Viſion he had ſeen of Two Holy Monks that told him of the Miſery which would befall this Nation after his Death*, Id. p. 93, 94, 95.

The Application of it, with what befell the Kingdom in ſucceeding Reigns, Id. p. 96.

Recommends upon his Death-bed the Queen to her Brother, &c. *and highly extols her Chaſtity and Obedience*, Id. p. 96.

His laſt Words, Death and Burial in St. Peter's *Church at* Weſtminſter, Ibid. p. 97.

The various reports of his Bequeathing the Crown to his Couſin William *Duke of* Normandy, Id. p. 96, 97.

His Character; and the ſtory of the Boy that Robbed his Cheſt, he being then in the Room, Id. p. 97, 98, 104.

His Miracles, of Curing the Blind, and thoſe Sores we now call the King's Evil, *and of his being* Elected *King by his Father's Command in a Great Council, whilſt he was in his Mother's Belly*, Id. p. 98.

His Laws, or thoſe which bear his Name, becauſe he renewed the Obſervance of them, ſhew what Liberty Engliſh *Subjects enjoyed before the Conqueſt*, Id. p. 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104.

By the Laws of St. Edward, *are meant the* Engliſh-Saxon *Laws*, Id. p. 104.

Edwi, *When he Began his Reign, and where, and by whom Crowned; he turns the Monks out of* Glaſtenbury, *and out of the greateſt Monaſteries in* England, *placing Secular Channons therein*, l. 3. p. 353.

The Mercians *and* Northumbrians *Depoſing him,* Elect Edgar, *his Brother, for their King, which is confirmed by the Common Council of the Kingdom*; Edwi *having no more left him than that of the* Weſt-Saxons *for his ſhare*, Id. p. 354.

His Death, and Character, and Burial at Wincheſter, Id. p. 355.

Edwin, *of the Blood-Royal of* Northumberland *(being the Son of* Ælla*) is forced to fly from* Ethelfrid, *as a Baniſhed Man, with the cauſe of his future Converſion*, l. 4. p. 169.

The wonderful Viſion he had, and the Succeſs of it. He ſucceeds Ethelfrid, *and Baniſhes his Sons*, Id. p. 170.

Being Converted to the Chriſtian Faith, *he receives Baptiſm with all his Noblemen,*

and a great many of the common people, Id. p. 171, 172, 173, 174.
At last is killed by the Pagans, *and his whole Army routed*, Id. p. 174, 176.
Had, after Redwald's *death, the Kingdom of the* East-Angles *delivered up to him by the People*, Id. p. 175.
Causes Brass-Pots *to be set upon Posts at Fountains near the High-ways, for Travellers to drink in; and had a Banner carried before him as he went through the streets*, Ibid.
Chief King over all the English-Saxons; *overcomes* Cadwallo, *King of the* Britains, *and conquers almost all his Countrey*, Id. p. 176.
His Head brought to York, *and deposited in St.* Peter's *Church there, which he had begun to build*, Ibid.
He was the fifth *King that ruled over all* Britain, l. 5. p. 254.
Edwin *and* Ethelwin, *Sons of Prince* Ethelwerd, *are slain in a fight against* Anlaff *King of the* Danes, *and buried in the Church of the Abbey of* Malmesbury, l. 5. p. 311.
Edwin Ætheling *drowned, (with an Account how); the greatest Blot in King* Athelstan's *Reign*, l. 5. p. 331, 337.
Edwin, *the Brother of* Leofric, *Earl of* Mercia, *is overcome by* Griffyth ap Lewellin ap Sitsylt, *and slain at* Pencadair, l. 6. p. 64, 65.
Edwold, *Brother to St.* Edmund *the* Martyr, *lived and died a Hermit, in the Abbey of* Cerne *in* Dorsetshire, l. 6. p. 22.
Egbert *succeeds his Father* Ercenbryht *in the Kingdom of* Kent, l. 4. p. 189.
Gives Reculf *to* Basse *the Priest; and at his Death bestows part of the Isle of* Thanet *to build a Monastery, for expiating the Murther of his Cousins, whom he had caused to be slain. His decease*, Id. p. 192, 193.
Egbert, *the* Priest, *a Venerable Person, coming out of* Ireland, *converts the Monks of* Hij *to the right Faith, so that they afterwards observed the Catholick Rites; and when he had lived with them here thirteen years, dies*, l. 4. p. 217, 220.
Egbert, *made Bishop of* York, *and the next year after receives a Pall from the Pope, whereby he became an Archbishop, and so Metropolitan of all the* Northumbrian *Provinces, and had supreme Jurisdiction over all the Bishops in* Deira *and* Bernicia, l. 4. p. 222, 223.
His Death and Burial. He was base Brother to the King of the same Name, who regained the Pall to that See. Built a Noble Library in York, *accounted then one of the best in* Europe, Id. p. 223, 229.
Egbert, *the Son of* Æalmond, *was the Father of* Athulf, *or* Athelwulf, l. 4. p. 233.
Egbert, *or* Egferth, *the Son of* Offa *King of the* Mercians, *is anointed King with him*, l. 4. p. 233, 235.
When he began his Reign, but within a few Months after dies, Id. p. 240.
Egbert, *or* Ecgbryht, *King of the* West-Saxons, *when he began to reign*, l. 4. p. 242.
His Succession to Brihtric, *and afterwards Chief or Supreme King of this Kingdom*, Id. p. 243. l. 5. p. 254.
Through Brihtric's *jealousy he is forced to fly to King* Offa *for Refuge, from him he retires into* France, *where he tarries three years, and so polishes the roughness of his own Countrey Manners*, Id. p. 243.
But is, upon Brihtric's *Death without Issue, recalled by the* West-Saxon *Nobility, and* ordained *King, and reigned with great Glory and Honour*, Id. p. 244.
He unites all the Heptarchy into one Kingdom, to the lasting Peace of the English *Nation* l. 5. p. 245.
Leaves the Mercians, Northumbrians, *and* East-Angles, *to be held by their respective Princes, as Tributaries to his Crown*, Id. p. 2, 46, 253, 254, 255.
Is ordained King, which Ethelwerd *expressly terms his* Election, *as being the only surviving Prince of the Blood-Royal of the* West-Saxon *Kings, as great Nephew to* Ina *by his Brother* Inegilds, Id. p. 247, 255.
And in a Parliament at Winchester, *by the Consent of his People, he changes the name of this Kingdom into that of* England, Id. Ibid.
Makes up a Peace between Eardulf *and* Kenwulf, *and hath it confirmed by* Oath, l. 5. p. 248.
Absolutely subdues Cornwall, *and adds it to his own Kingdom*, Id. p. 249.
Subdues the Northern Welsh-men, *making them Tributary to him, and enters again their Borders (upon a fresh Rebellion) and lays them wast from* North *to* South, *with Fire and Sword*, Id. p. 250, 251, 254, 255.
Obtains a great Victory over Beornwulf, *King of the* Mercians; *the* Kentish *and* Surrey *men, the* South *and* East-Saxons, *all submit to him*, Id. p. 253, 254, 255.
Subdues the Kingdom of Mercia, *and all the* South *of* Humber. *He was the* Eighth *King that ruled over all* Britain; *the Seven before him are there enumerated*, Id. p. 254.
Is offered Peace and due Subjection by the Northumbers, *having led an Army against them as far as* Dore, *a place supposed to be beyond*

beyond Humber. *He was the greateſt King that till then had ever reigned in* England. *He expels* Withlaff, *King of* Mercia, *and adds it to his own Kingdom*, Id. Ibid.
Vanquiſhes Switherd, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *and drives him out of the Kingdom, which ever after that Expulſion the* Weſt-Saxon *Kings poſſeſſed. He waſtes* Northumberland, *and makes* Eanred, *the King thereof, his Tributary. Is crowned King of* Britain *by the Conſent of the* Clerus *and* Populus, *in a Great Council which he ſummoned to meet at* Wincheſter, Ibid.
Encounters Thirty Ships of Daniſh *Pyrates at* Catrum *in* Glouceſterſhire; *but after a great ſlaughter, the latter kept the field, being the only time that Fortune ceaſed to favour his Undertakings*, Id. p. 256.
Fights the Danes *and* Corniſh-*men at* Hengſton *in* Cornwall, *and beats them. His Death (having reigned thirty ſeven years and ſeven months) and Character. For nine years reigned Supreme King over all* Britain. Id. p. 257.
His Burial at Wincheſter, Id. p. 258.
Egbert, *King of the* Northumbers, *is by them* expelled: *His Death, and who ſucceeded to him*, l. 5. p. 277.
Egelfleda, *ſirnamed the* Fair, *the Daughter of Earl* Ordmar; *whether King* Edgar's *Wife, or Concubine, uncertain*, l. 6. p. 12.
Egelnoth. *Vid.* Ethelnoth.
Egfrid, *or* Ecverth, *ſucceeds* Oſwi *in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, l. 4. p. 192.
Wages War with Wulfher, *and wins from him all the Countrey of* Lindſey, Id. p. 193, 196.
Gives Abbot Benedict *as much Land as ſerved Seventy Families, lying near the Mouth of the River* Wir *in the Biſhoprick of* Durham, Id. p. 194.
Had a great Contention with Biſhop Wilfrid, *who was* expelled *his Biſhoprick*, Id. p. 196, 197.
Fights with Ethelfred *near* Trent, Id. p. 198.
Sends a great Army to Ireland, *which miſerably waſtes that Nation*, Id. p. 201.
He and his Army through raſhneſs are all cut off by the Picts, Id. p. 202, 211.
Eglesburh, *now called* Alesbury, *in* Buckinghamſhire, l. 3. p. 145.
Egoneſham, *now* Eniſham, *in* Oxfordſhire, Id. Ib.
Egric, *upon King* Sigebert's *Reſignation, and turning Monk, becomes King of the* Eaſt-Angles, l. 4. p. 179.
His Death, Id. p. 181.
Egwin, *Biſhop of* Worceſter, *founds the Abbey of* Eveſham, *and upon what occaſion reported*, l. 4. p. 216, 217.
Egwinna, *a Lady, the Daughter of a Nobleman, whoſe Name is not certainly known: Her ſtrange Dream, and how ſhe came afterwards to yield to the Importunities of Prince* Edward *the* Elder, *on whom he begot* Athelſtan (*that is*, The moſt Noble), *that ſucceeded him in the Kingdom*, l. 5. p. 326, 327.
Eighth, *the* Eighth, *an Iſland ſo called, in the River* Severne, *anciently known by the name of* Olanege, *where a League was concluded between* Edmund, *ſirnamed* Ironſide, *and King* Cnute, l. 6. p. 47.
Elbodius, *a Learned and Pious Biſhop of* North-Wales, *gets it decreed in a general Synod of the* Britiſh *Nation*, That *Eaſter* ſhould be kept after the *Romiſh* Cuſtom, l. 4. p. 229.
Archbiſhop of North-Wales (*that is, of St.* Aſaph) *deceaſes, but when, uncertain*, l. 5. p. 249.
Election of Kings. *Vid.* Kings.
Eleutherius, *Biſhop of* Rome, *when choſen Pope. The ſtory of* Lucius *his ſending to him to receive Chriſtianity, of ſuſpicious credit*, l. 2. p. 69.
His Letters to King Lucius; *the Contents of them diſcover their Impoſture*, Id. p. 70.
Elfeage, *ſucceeds* Byrnſtan *in the Archbiſhoprick of* Wincheſter, l. 5. p. 333.
Deceaſes at the Feaſt of St. Gregory, Anno 951. Id. p. 350.
Elfeage, *whoſe Sirname was* Goodwin, *ſucceeds* Athelwald *in the Biſhoprick of* Wincheſter: *He was firſt Abbot of* Bathe, *and afterwards Archbiſhop of* Canterbury; *at laſt was killed by the* Danes, l. 6. p. 21.
Is ſent to King Anlaff, *with* Æthelward *the Ealdorman, and upon what occaſion*, Id. p. 25.
When made and conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Id. p. 31.
Is taken Priſoner by the Danes, *and killed, becauſe they had not Three thouſand Pounds in Silver for his Ranſom; he is buried in St.* Paul's Minſter, Id. p. 36.
His Reliques tranſlated from London *to* Canterbury, *by Archbiſhop* Ethelnoth, Id. p. 53.
Elfer, *Ealdorman of the* Mercians, *drives the Monks out of the Monaſteries, and commands them to be ſpoiled*, l. 6. p. 15.
His Death is reported by the Monks, that he was eaten up with Lice, Id. p. 21.
Elfgar, *Couſin to King* Edgar, *and Earl of* Devonſhire, *his Death*, l. 6. p. 4.
The Son of Earl Leofric, *had the Earldom given him which* Harold *formerly enjoyed*, Id. p. 78.

Is outlaw'd *in a Great Council, and convicted for being a* Traytor to the King and whole Nation. *His going to* Griffyn, *Prince of* North-Wales, *and their burning* Hereford *City*, Id. p. 86, 87.
At length is reſtored to the Peace, and to his former Earldom, Id. p. 87.
Upon the Deceaſe of his Father Leofric, *he receives the Earldom of* Mercia, *and is baniſhed a ſecond time, but ſoon reſtored to his Earldom, and by what Force*, Id. p. 88.
Elfin, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *ſucceeds* Odo *in the Archbiſhoprick of* Canterbury; *his trampling on the Tombſtone of that Pious Prelate*, &c. *Going to* Rome *for his Pall, upon the* Alps *is found frozen to death*, l. 6. p. 2.
Elfleda, *or* Egelfleda, *the Fair Daughter of Earl* Eodmar, *or* Ordmar, *by whom King* Edgar *had a Son, called* Edward the Martyr; *but whether this Lady was married to the King, or not, is uncertain*, l. 6. p. 6, 12.
Elfric, *Archbiſhop, turns the* Secular Chanons *out of the Cathedral of* Chriſt-Church *in* Canterbury, *and places* Monks *in their rooms*, l. 4. p. 167.
Elfwald, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *his Death*, l. 4. p. 225. *Vid.* Alfwald.
Elfwinna, *Daughter and Heir of* Æthelfleda, *is deprived of the Dominion of the* Mercians *by King* Edward *the* Elder (*upon Contracting her ſelf in Marriage with* Reginald *King of the* Danes) *and brought into* Weſt-Seax *by him*, l. 3. p. 320.
Elgiva, *Vid.* Ælgiva.
Elidurus *the* Pious, *Reſigns the Crown* (*which the Kingdom had given him*) *to Reinſtate his Brother who had been* Depoſed, l. 1. p. 14.
After his Brother's Death, he receives the Crown the Second time, but is ſoon Depoſed *by the Ambition of his Brethren, who Seized and Confined his Perſon to the Tower of* London *for ſeveral years, whilſt they divided the Kingdom betwixt them; but they dying, he Reſumes the Crown the Third Time, and Governs for Four years to the general ſatisfaction of all*, Id. p. 15.
Ellendune, *ſuppoſed to be* Wilton *near* Saliſbury, *where a Battel was Fought between* Egbert, *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *and* Beornwulf, *King of the* Mercians, l. 5. p. 253.
Ellwye *in* North-Wales, *a Biſhoprick, now known by the Name of St.* Aſaph, l. 3. p. 149.
Elutherius *a Prieſt, comes from* France *to King* Cenwalc, *and is Ordained Biſhop of the* Weſt-Saxons (*that is*, Wincheſter) *by* Theodore *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, l. 4. p. 182, 192.
His Death and Succeſſion, Id. p. 193.
Ely-Monaſtery *Founded by* Etheldrethe, *late Wife to King* Egfrid, *in which ſhe became the firſt Abbeſs*, l. 4. p. 193.
Is deſtroyed by the Danes, *and when; and afterwards Re-edified by King* Edgar, Ibid.
Emma, *ſaid to be King* Ethelred's *only Wife, had* Edward *and* Alfred *by him*, l. 6. p. 45.
Is Married afterwards to King Cnute, *and how ſhe is Cenſured for it*, Id. p. 51.
Her Son Hardecnute, *his Father before his Death appointed to be King of* Denmark, Id. p. 56.
Decreed in a Great Council that ſhe ſhould reſide at Wincheſter *with the Domeſticks of the late King her Husband, and poſſeſs all* Weſt-Saxony: *She is alſo called* Elgiva, Id. p. 61.
Her Deceaſe and Character; is accuſed of having been too Familiar with Biſhop Alwyn, *for which ſhe undergoes the* Ordeal, Id. p. 79.
Emperor, *the Firſt Emperors that were not* Romans, *were* Trajan *and* Hadrian, *who were both* Spaniards, l. 2. p. 67.
Eneon, *the Son of* Owen, *Prince of* South-Wales, *ſubdues all the Countrey of* Gwin, *or* Gwyr, *in* North-Wales, l. 6. p. 6.
Deſtroys it again the ſecond time, Id. p. 16.
The greateſt part of Earl Alfred's *Army is ſlain by him and his Forces, and the reſt put to flight. But the Year after the Gentlemen of* Guentland *in* South-Wales *cruelly ſlay him. His Character*, Id. p. 21.
England; Old England *ſeated between the* Saxons *and the* Jutes, *having for its* Capital City *that which is called in the* Saxon *Tongue* Sleſwic, *but by the* Danes Heathaby, l. 3. p. 118.
When the Nation came under this General Name, l. 5. p. 246, 247, 255.
Never had any long reſpite from Invaſions by the Danes, *&c. from King* Egbert's *time to the beginning of the Reign of* William *the Firſt*, l. 5. p. 247.
Waſted for many years by the Danes, Norwegians, Goths, Sweeds, *and* Vandals, Id. p. 255.
Is divided firſt into Counties, *and thoſe into* Hundreds *and* Tythings, *by King* Alfred, Id. p. 291.
Engliſherie, *what, and the Law made concerning it in* Edward *the* Confeſſor's *time*, l. 6. p. 101.
Engliſh-men, *by the general Conſent of the* Clerus *and* Populus *Aſſembled in the Great Council, it is Enacted*, That thoſe who before were called *Jutes*, or *Saxons*, ſhould now be call'd by this Name, l. 5. p. 255, 292.

Engliſh-Saxons, *their Character, vid.* Saxons.
In one year had fought eight or nine Battles againſt the Danes, *&c. beſides innumerable Skirmiſhes,* l. 5. p. 277.
Entail of the Crown, *mentioned by* Alfred *in his laſt Will to have been made formerly in a* General Council *of the* Weſt-Saxon *Nobility at* Swinburne, l. 5. p. 309.
Of Lands alſo to be in force in his time, Ibid. & 310.
Eoppa, *who he was, and what his Pedigree,* l. 4. p. 217.
Eoric, *a* Daniſh *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *killed in Battel by the* Kentiſh men, l. 5. p. 313.
After his Death the Danes *there yielded themſelves up to* Edward *the* Elder, l. 5. p. 322, 323.
The Eccleſiaſtical Laws made between this Eoric (*who ſucceeded* Gutherne *in the Government of* Eaſt-England) *and King* Edward, Id. p. 326.
Eorpenwald, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *Son to* Redwald, *when he began his Reign,* l. 4. p. 157.
Is ſucceeded by his Brother Sigebert, *whom formerly he had Baniſhed,* Id. p. 179.
Eorpwald, *or* Eorpald, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *Baptized, but not long after is ſlain by one* Richbert, *a Heathen,* l. 4. p. 175.
Eowils, *ſlain in battel with many thouſands of his* Danes, *at a place called* Wodnesfield, *by King* Edward *the* Elder's *Army,* l. 5. p. 315.
Ercenbright, *or* Ercombert, *Vid.* Earcombert.
Eric, *the Son of* Harold, *whom the* Northumbers *ſet up for their King, and about a year or two after, drove him out again,* l. 5. p. 350.
Erkenwald, *Younger Son to* Anna *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *is Conſecrated Biſhop of* London *by* Theodore *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury; *He founded Two Monaſteries before he came to be Biſhop, and for whom,* l. 4. p. 196.
Continued Biſhop thereof till after the Reign of King Ina, Id. p. 201.
Ermenred, *The Eldeſt Son of* Eadbald, *craftily ſupplanted by his Younger Brother* Earcombert, *who got the Kingdom from him. He had Two Sons who were cruelly Murthered by* Thunore, *one of the King's* Thanes, *whom he employed in that Execution,* l. 4. p. 180, 185.
Eſylht, *Daughter to* Conan, *King or Prince of* North-Wales, *Marries* Merwyn Urych *a Nobleman, the Son of* Gwyriad, *who afterwards was King in her Right,* l. 5. p. 251.
Ethelard *Ordained Archbiſhop of* York, l. 4. p. 238.
Ethelbald *ſucceeds* Ceolred *in the Kingdom of* Mercia, *and holds it One and Forty years,* l. 4. p. 217.
Ethelbald *after his Father's Death ſucceeds him in* Weſt-Saxony, l. 5. p. 265.
Marries his Father's Widow, but afterwards Repenting of the Inceſt, puts her away from him. His Character, Reign, Death and Burial, Id. p. 266. *Vid* Æthelbald.
Ethelbert *King of* Kent, *in his time Pope* Gregory *made the* Engliſh-Saxons Chriſtians, l. 3. p. 143, 153.
Beaten by Ceawlin *and* Cutha *his Brother; his double Character and Alliance,* l. 3. p. 145.
The moſt powerful Prince that had Reigned in Kent, *having extended the bounds of his Dominions as far as* Humber; *he Marries* Bertha, *a Chriſtian Lady, the King of* France *his Siſter, and upon what Conditions,* l. 4. p. 153.
By Auguſtin's *perſuaſion builds the Church of St.* Peter *and St.* Paul *in* Canterbury, Id. p. 157.
Is Baptized in St. Pancrace *Church there, which before had been a* Heathen *Temple,* Ibid.
Had many noble Preſents ſent him by Pope Gregory, *with a Letter full of Sanatory Advice,* Id. p. 158, 159.
Builds the Church of St. Andrew *at* Rocheſter, *and endows it,* Id. p. 160.
Confirms in a Great Council both of Clergy and Laity, all the Grants and Charters, whereby he had ſettled great Endowments on both Chriſt-Church *and that of* St. Pancrace, Ibid.
But his Charters are very ſuſpitious of being Forged in many reſpects, Id. p. 163.
The Secular Laws *that were Enacted in the Great Council in his time,* Id. Ibid.
His Death and Burial in St. Martin's *Porch in the Church of St.* Peter *and St.* Paul. *He was the Firſt* Engliſh *King that ever received Baptiſm, and lived above Twenty years after his Converſion,* Id. p. 168.
He was the Third King that Ruled over all Britain, l. 5. p. 254.
Ethelbert *is Conſecrated Biſhop of* Witerne (*called in* Latin, Candida Caſa) *at* York, l. 4. p. 231.
One of his Name, Biſhop of Hagulſtad, *Deceaſes,* l. 4. p. 241.
Ethelbert, *the Son of* Ethelred, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *is ſlain in the Court of King* Offa, *and by whoſe Inſtigations,* l. 4. p. 237.
Ethelbert, *or* Æthelbryht, *after his Brother* Ethelbald's *Deceaſe, takes the Kingdom, and holds it in great Peace and Quiet from Domeſtick Commotions,* l. 5. p. 266.

His Death lamented, after having Governed Five years to general ſatisfaction; buried at Shireburne, *and is ſuppoſed to have a Son, called* Ethelwald, Id. p. 267.

Ethelbryht, *the Son of King* Withred, *ſucceeds* Eadbryht *King of* Kent, l. 4. p. 225.
Nothing remarkable, but that the City of Canterbury *was Burnt in his Reign*, Id. p. 228.
His Death, Ibid.

Ethelburgh. *Vid.* Æthelburga.

Etheldrethe, *twice married, but would let neither of her Husbands enjoy her, which was accounted in thoſe days a great piece of Sanctity*, l. 4. p. 193, 198.
Is Foundreſs of the Monaſtery of Ely, *in which ſhe her ſelf became the Firſt Abbeſs*, Id. p. 193.
Daughter to Anna, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *her Death; and after Sixteen Years Burial, her Body being taken up as whole as at firſt, ſhe was Canonized, and called St.* Audrey of Ely, Id. p. 198, 199.

Etheldrith, *Daughter to King* Offa *(and once the Spouſe of* Ethelbert, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles*), a holy Virgin that lived in a Cell; wherein* Withlaff *King of the* Mercians *found a ſafe Retreat from the high Diſpleaſure of* Egbert *for Four Months, till he was reconciled to him*, l. 5. p. 254.

Etheler, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *taking part with* Penda *againſt* Oſwy, *is ſlain*, l. 4. p. 185.

Ethelfleda *(the Lady of* Mercia*) builds many Caſtles, to ſecure the* Mercian *Frontiers againſt the* Danes *and* Welſh, l. 5. p. 316.
Sends an Army againſt the Welſh, *which took* Brecenanmere *(ſuppoſed to be* Brecknock *Caſtle), and the King's Wife, and about Four and thirty Priſoners*, Id. p. 319.
Takes the Town of Derby, *and the City of* Canterbury. *Reduces* Leiceſter *under her Dominion, and the* Danes *become ſubject to her. Dies at* Tamworth *in the Eighth Year of her Government, and lies buried at* Glouceſter, *in the* Eaſt-*Iſle of St.* Peter's *Church. Her Character*, Id. p. 320.
Vid. Ethelred, *Duke of* Mercia, *her Husband.*

Ethelfred *(the Son of* Ethelric, *the Son of* Ida*) reigns over both the* Northumbrian *Kingdoms*, l. 3. p. 148. l. 4. p. 159.
A Warlike Prince, that waſted the Britains *more than any other* Saxon *Kings*, l. 4. p. 159.
Leads his Army to Leger-Ceaſter, *and there ſlays a great multitude of* Britains, Id. p. 164.
His Purſuit of Edwin, *after his Baniſhment, though he was of the Blood-Royal*, Id. p. 165.
Is ſlain by Redwald, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *and his Sons baniſhed by* Edwin, Id. p. 170.

Ethelfreda, *or* Elfreda, *Daughter to Earl* Ordgar, *and Widow of* Ethelwald *Earl of the* Eaſt-Angles, *married to King* Edgar, *and her Children by him*, l. 6. p. 5, 6.
The Trick her firſt Husband plaid to obtain her, and the return ſhe made him for it, Id. p. 9, 10.
Builds a Nunnery in the place where her firſt Husband was ſlain, Id. p. 10, 20.
She is crowned Queen, to the great diſpleaſure of Archbiſhop Dunſtan, Id. p. 10.
Contrives the Death of Edward the Martyr, *and how; but being convinced of her wickedneſs for it, ſhe betook her ſelf to very ſevere Penalties*, Id. p. 17, 18.
Her violent Paſſion to her Son Ethelred, *a Youth, in beating him unmercifully with a Wax-Taper, and why*, Id. p. 19.
Takes upon her the Habit of a Nun at Werewell, *a Nunnery which ſhe had lately founded; and alſo builds another at* Ambreſbury, Id. p. 20.

Ethelfrid, *a Prince moſt skilful in War, though utterly ignorant of the Chriſtian Religion*, l. 4. p. 171.

Ethelgar *(Biſhop of* Selſey*) ſucceeds Archbiſhop* Dunſtan *in the See of* Canterbury, *enjoys it but a Year and Three Months, and then dies*, l. 6. p. 22.

Ethelheard, *his Kinſman, ſucceeds* Ina *in the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons, l. 4. p. 219.
Fights with, and worſts Oſwald Ætheling, *the Son of* Æthelbald, *and forces him to flee*, l. 4. p. 220.

Ethelheard. *Vid.* Æthelheard.

The Abbot is elected *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *upon the Death of* Janbryht, l. 4. p. 236.
Calls a Synod, that confirms all things relating to the Church, which had been made before by King Withgar, Id. p. 241.
Goes to Rome *to obtain his Pall*, Id. p. 242.

Ethelnoth, Ailnoth, *or* Egelnoth, *a Monk and Dean of* Canterbury, *is conſecrated Archbiſhop of that See, by* Wulſtan *Archbiſhop of* York, l. 6. p. 51.
Goes to Rome, *and is honourably received by Pope* Benedict, *who put on his Pall with his own hands*, Id. p. 53.
Conſecrates Ælfric *Archbiſhop of* York *at* Canterbury, *and tranſlates the Reliques of* Ælfeage *his Predeceſſor, from* London *to* Canterbury, Id. Ib.
A Letter ſent to him by Cnute, *upon his Return from* Rome, *of what he did there*, Id. p. 55.
His Deceaſe, Id. p. 65.

Ethelred, *Brother to* Wulfher, *ſucceeds him in the Kingdom of* Mercia; *his notable Expedition into* Kent, *and recovering all* Lindſey *from* Egfrid, *and his Fame for Devotion,* l. 4. p. 195, 196.
Waſtes Kent, *deſtroys* Rocheſter, *and carries away a great deal of Spoil,* Id. p. 196.
A Battel fought, and Peace made, on condition that this King ſhould pay Egfrid *a Pecuniary Mulct,* Id. p. 198.
His Charter to the Monaſtery of Medeſhamſted, *juſtly ſuſpected of Forgery,* Id. p. 200, 201.
He receives Biſhop Wilfrid *with great Honour,* Id. p. 206.
Reſigns his Kingdom (paſſing by his Son Ceolred, *whom he had by his Wife* Oſgilde) *to his Couſin-German* Cenered, *Son of his Brother* Wulfher, *and himſelf turns Monk,* Id. p. 212.
Ethelred, *the Son of* Moll, *is* choſen *by the* Northumbrians *for their King, in the room of* Alhred, *whom they had* expelled *from* York, l. 4. p. 230, 236.
Is expelled *the Land, for cauſing three of his Nobles to be treacherouſly ſlain by two of the ſame Order,* Id. p. 231.
Is again reſtored to the Kingdom, upon Oſred's *being driven out,* Id. p. 236, 239.
Betroths Elfreda, *the Daughter of King* Offa, Id. p. 237.
Is ſlain by his own People, and ſaid deſervedly, as having been the Death of Oſred *his Predeceſſor,* Id. p. 239, 240.
Ethelred, *the Ealdorman, deceaſes; a famous Commander at firſt, but a Monk in the City of* York, *when he died,* l. 4. p. 240.
Ethelred, *Son to* Eanred, *ſucceeds his Father in the Kingdom of* Northumberland; *is driven out from his Kingdom, but ſoon after reſtored to it, and about three years after is ſlain,* l. 5. p. 260.
Ethelred, *Son of King* Ethelwulf, *reigned in* Kent, *as alſo over the* Eaſt *and* South-Saxons, l. 5. p. 265.
Began his Reign in Weſt-Saxony, *after his Brother* Ethelbert's *Deceaſe,* Id. p. 267.
Makes (with his Brother Ælfred) *a great Slaughter of the* Danes *at* Reading, Id. p. 275.
Deceaſes, and is buried in the Monaſtery of Winburne *in* Dorſetſhire; *but whether ſlain in Battel, or died a Natural Death of the Plague, which then reigned, is uncertain; though this latter is the more probable,* Id. p. 276.
An Account of his Children, Ibid.
Ethelred, *Biſhop of* Wiltunſcire, *is* elected *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *upon the Deceaſe of* Ceolnoth, *his Predeceſſor,* l. 5. p. 274. *His Death,* Id. p. 298.
Ethelred, *Duke, or Ealdorman of* Mercia, *and* Elfleda *his Wife, by their Care is* Leiceſter *repaired,* l. 5. p. 314.
By their command Caer-Legion (*that is now* Weſtcheſter) *is repaired,* Id. p. 315.
His Deceaſe, Id. p. 316.
Ethelred, *Brother to* Edward the Martyr, elected *King, and crowned; being a lovely Youth,* l. 6. p. 19.
He rather diſtreſſed than governed the Kingdom for Seven and thirty years. His averſion to Wax-Lights, and for what reaſon, Ibid.
Lays waſte the Biſhoprick of Rocheſter, *becauſe of ſome Diſſentions between him and the Biſhop. His ſordid Covetouſneſs,* Id. p. 21, 22.
A weak and unwarlike Prince, and moſt of the Nobility as bad as himſelf. His Fleet deſigned to encompaſs that of the Danes, *but he was betrayed by* Ælfric, *one of his Admirals, who went over to them,* Id. p. 23.
Commands the Eyes of Ælfric's *Son to be put out, and for what,* Id. p. 24.
Calls a Council, who agree (upon reading the Pope's Letters to the King) to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Marquis of Normandy, *to treat of Peace. He receives King* Anlaff *with great Honour, who promiſes never to inſeſt the* Engliſh *Nation more,* Id. p. 24, 25.
Sends for the valiant Son of Waltheof *Earl of the* Northumbers, *and for a Reward of his Bravery in overcoming the* Scots, *gives him not only his Father's Countrey, but adds to it that of* Yorkſhire, Id. p. 27.
Lays Cumberland *almoſt waſte, becauſe the Prince thereof denied to bear his ſhare in the Tribute paid to the* Danes, Id. p. 28.
Ælgiva, *Daughter of* Richard *Duke of* Normandy, *comes hither to be married to the King,* Id. p. 29.
At the inſtigation of Huena, *one of his Evil Counſellors, he commands all the* Danes *in* England *to be ſlain at the Feaſt of St.* Brice, *becauſe he was told that they endeavoured to* deprive *him and all his Great Men of their Lives, and to ſeize the Kingdom for themſelves,* Ibid.
The Calamities that befel him and his Kingdom hereupon, by the coming over of King Sweyn *from* Denmark, *with a mighty Fleet,* Id. p. 30.
His Diſpleaſure againſt two Noblemen, depriving one of all his Honours, and putting out the eyes of the other, Id. p. 31.
Enters into ſeveral Treaties of Peace with the Danes, *and pays them Tributes in Money, as well as Maintenance and Proviſion; but nothing did long oblige them,* Id. p. 25, 29, 32,

Perceiving

Perceiving his error in the want of a good Fleet, commands over all England, *That out of every Hundred and ten Hides of Land a Ship ſhould be built*, &c. *But his Fleet is much deſtroyed either by Tempeſt or Fire*, Id. p. 33.

Is betrayed, and hindred from falling upon the Danes, *when his whole Army had hemm'd them in, and were juſt ready to give them Battel. His Forces too ſignified but little to him, for when the Enemy went* Eaſt, *they were ſure to be taken up in the* Weſt, &c. Id. p. 34.

He demands of the Londoners *full Pay and Victuals for his Army; and is in ſuch diſtreſs by* Sweyn, *that he is forced to ſend his Wife and Children into* Normandy, *and afterwards to go thither himſelf, where he tarried till* Sweyn *died: But upon his return unto his own Kingdom, he is received, on conditions to govern them better than he had done before, and then is* again *ſolemnly crowned at* Weſtminſter, Id. p. 38, 39.

But he was not very long mindful of his Promiſe to his Subjects, Id. p. 40.

Through his Cowardice or Ill Fortune, he was conſtantly attended with ill ſucceſs, Id. p. 41.

He is called, THE UNREADY, *(and juſtly) by our* Engliſh *Hiſtorians. His Deceaſe, and Burial at St.* Paul's *Church in* London, Id. p. 42.

His Character, and excellent Laws, Id. p. 19, 42, 43.

The Iſſue he had by his Queen, Id. p. 38, 42.

Ethelwald, *ſucceeds his Brother* Etheler *in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles, l. 4. p. 186.

His Death, and who ſucceeds him, Id. p. 190.

Ethelwald, *Earl of the* Eaſt-Angles, *by what Trick he got* Ethelfreda *for his Wife from King* Edgar, *but which coſt him his Life*, l. 6. p. 9, 10.

Ethelward, *the Third Synod at* Cloveſhoe *was held under him, and twelve Biſhops of his Province, and what was therein tranſacted. The next year he dies*, l. 5. p. 248.

Ethelwerd, *King* Alfred's *Youngeſt Child, bred up at* Oxford; *his Death, and Iſſue*, l. 5. p. 311.

Was learned above that Age. He was buried at Wincheſter, Id. p. 324.

Ethelwin. *Vid.* Edwin *and* Ethelwin.

Ethelwold, *Biſhop, by King* Edgar's *Command turns out the* Chanons *at* Wincheſter, *and places* Benedictines *in their rooms*, l. 4. p. 181.

His Deceaſe, when, Id. p. 223.

Ethelwold, *ſirnamed* Moll, *when he began to reign over the* Northumbers. *Slays Duke* Oſwin *in a Fight at* Edwinſcliffe, l. 4. p. 228.

Is murthered by the Treachery of Alhred, *who ſucceded him*, Id. p. 229.

Ethelwulf, *the Son, ſucceeds* Egbert *in the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons, *who gave him good Advice how he might be happy in his Kingdom*, l. 5. p. 257, 258.

Comes to the Crown by virtue of his Father's Teſtament. *His Education and Tutors during his Elder Brother's life. His Character, and what Kingdoms he made over to* Athelſtan *his Son*, Id. p. 258.

Fights againſt Five and thirty Daniſh *Ships at* Charmouth, Id. p. 251.

A Son, called Ælfred, *is born to him by* Oſberge *his Wife*, Id. p. 261.

He and Ethelbald *his Son, with the Forces of the* Weſt-Saxons, *fight with the* Pagan Danes, *and make a greater ſlaughter of them than ever before*, Ibid.

Aſſiſting Burhred, *makes the men of* North-Wales *ſubject to him*, Id. p. 262.

His Famous and Solemn Grant of Tythes *throughout his Kingdom*, Id. p. 262, 263.

Goes to Rome, *carrying* Ælfred *his Son along with him*, Id. p. 263.

In his return marries Leotheta, *the Daughter of* Charles *the* Bald, *King of the* Franks, Ibid.

A moſt infamous Conſpiracy is formed in the Weſt *of* England *againſt him, on the account of his new Wife*, Id. p. 263, 264.

Divides the Kingdom (which was before united) with the Conſent of all his Nobility, between him and his Son Ethelbald. *And to prevent Quarrels between his Sons, he orders by his Will how his Kingdom ſhould be enjoyed amongſt them*, l. 5. p. 264.

By his Laſt Will grants Corrodies *for the Maintenance of Poor People, a Yearly Allowance of Three hundred* Mancuſes *to* Rome, *and one hundred of them to the Pope. His Death, and Burial at* Wincheſter, *after he had reigned Twenty Years*, Id. p. 264, 265.

St. Swithune, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and* Alſtan *Biſhop of* Shireborne, *were this King's two Principal Counſellors in all Affairs*, Id. p. 267.

Eveſham-*Abbey, concerning the Forging of the Charters about it*, l. 4. p. 216, 217.

Is repaired by Leofric, *with the Conſent of his Lady* Godiva, l. 6. p. 72.

Eugenius, *ſet up againſt* Valentinian *the ſecond, by* Arbogaſtes, *the former's General, but he was ſoon after put to death by* Theodoſius, l. 2. p. 97.

Eugenius, *Prince of* Cumberland, *aſſiſts* Anlaff *againſt King* Athelſtan, l. 5. p. 334, 335.

The Scotch *call him King of* Deira, *and own he died in this Battel,* Id. p. 336.
Evil Councils *bring all the Miseries imaginable on a Nation,* l. 6. p. 23, 27, 32, 35.
Europe, *first peopled by the Posterity of* Japhet, *either from one* Alanus, *supposed to have been his Grandson, or from* Gomer *his Son,* l. 1. p. 4.
Eustatius (*Earl of* Boloigne, Edward *the* Confessor's *Brother-in-Law*), *with his Retinue entring* Dover, *and resolving to quarter where they pleased, was resisted by the Townsmen, upon which ensued a great deal of Bloodshed on both sides,* l. 6. p. 76.
Eutherius, *Archbishop of* Arles; Augustine *and the Monks recommended to his Care and Protection,* l. 4. p. 153.
Ordains Augustine, *Archbishop of the* English *Nation,* Id. p. 154.
Excommunication *had in King* Withred's *time no other Temporal punishment than a pecuniary* Mulct, l. 4. p. 211.
Exeter, *anciently* Exanceſter, *Besieged, and where King* Alfred *pursued the* Danes, l. 5. p. 300, 306.
The removal of the See from Crediton *to this City,* l. 5. p. 333.
Is made a Bishops See instead of Credington *in* Cornwal, *at the request of Pope* Leo, l. 6. p. 78.
Exmouth, *anciently called* Exanmuthan, l. 6. p. 28.

F

FAith, *the first People that were ever Executed by any Christian Prince for meer matters of* Faith, l. 2. p. 96.
False News, *the spreaders of it against the Government to be punished with loss of Tongue, or to Redeem themselves by the value of their Head, and to be of no credit afterwards,* l. 5. p. 294.
Famine, *a dreadful one about the Year* CCCCXLVI *in* Britain, l. 3. p. 115.
Another among the South-Saxons, *wherein multitudes of the poorer People perished daily, it being said not to have rained in that Country for Three years before,* l. 4, p. 198.
A cruel one followed strange Prodigies in the Country of Northumberland, Id p. 238.
A little after the Death of King Edgar *a very great Famine happened,* l. 6. p. 15, 16.
In Ethelred *the* Unready's *time, so great a Famine raged, as* England *never underwent a worse,* Id. p. 31.
And in the Reign of Edward *the* Confessor *there was another so great here, that a* Sester *of Wheat was sold for Sixty Pence and more,* Id. p. 72.
Farrington *in* Berkshire, *anciently called* Fearndune, *where King* Edward *the* Elder *died,* l. 5. p. 324.
Fealty, *or* Fidelity, *the Oath required by Law to be taken by all Persons to King* Edmund, l. 5. p. 346.
King of the Scots *Swears Fidelity to King* Edmund, *and all the* Northumbrian *Lords do the same,* Id. p. 349.
Two joint Princes of North-Wales, *upon his Grant of it to them, Swear Fealty to* Edward *the* Confessor, *and likewise to Earl* Harold, l. 6. p. 90.
Fee, *or* Feuds, *the first footsteps of Military* Feuds, *afterwards so much in use amongst the* Goths, Normans, *and other Nations,* l. 2. p. 80.
Fee-tayl-Estate, *much more Ancient than the* Thirteenth *of* Edward *the* First, *appears by the* Thirty seventh *Law of King* Alfred *concerning* Bockland, l. 5. p. 295, 296.
Feologild *the* Abbot, *his being said to be chosen Archbishop of* Canterbury, (*but certainly a mistake*). *His Death,* l. 5. p. 255.
Fergus, *the Son of* Erk, *bringing great Supplies of the* Scots *from* Ireland *and* Norway, *they came to recover their Countrey: With a Relation of* Fergus *his Action,* l. 2. p 98.
King of the Scots *is slain in Battel, and by whom,* Id. p. 102.
Fernham, *the place where King* Alfred *fought with the* Danes, *and put them to flight,* l. 5. p. 300.
Festidus, *a Learned* British *Bishop, if not an Archbishop,* l. 2. p. 107
Fidelity, *vid.* Fealty.
Fighting, *the Punishment of such as do so, either in the King's House, Church, or Earldorman's, Nobleman's, or Villager's House, or in the open Field,* l. 4. p. 208.
The Punishment of those in Holy Orders if they chance to fight, l. 5. p. 284.
The Law against Fighters in the King's Palace, and the punishment of an Offender that flies, Id. p. 293, 295.
No Fyhtwite, *or* Manbote, (*that is, Fine for Fighting or Killing*) *to be Remitted,* Id. p. 347.
Finan, *a Bishop, calling to him Two other Bishops, Ordains* Cedda *Bishop over the* East-Saxons, l. 4. p. 184.
Fines, *vid.* Pecuniary Fines *and* Mulcts.
Finkley, *in the Bishoprick of* Durham, *and Kingdom of the* Northumbers, *anciently called* Pynchanhale, *or* Finekanhale, *where a General Synod Assembled,* l. 4. p. 236.
Fire, *great mischief done thereby at* London, Winchester, *and other places,* l. 4. p. 229.

Vid. London *and* Wincheſter.
Firſt-Fruits, *vid.* Tythes.
Five Burghs, *not known where, but ſomewhere in* Northumberland, l. 6. p. 37, 40.
Flanders, *what we now call ſo, was anciently accounted part of* France, *or* Frankland, l. 5. p. 283.
Flattery, *notorious in Two of King* Leir's *Daughters to their Father,* l. 1. p. 11.
Of the Biſhops, Ealdormen, and Chief Men throughout the Kingdom, about making Cnute (*upon the Death of* Edmund Ironſide) *King of all* England, *to the Excluſion of his Children and Brethren,* l. 6. p. 49.
Fleet, *ſet out againſt the* Danes, *but continually delayed from doing any good,* l. 6. p. 27, 33.
Out of ſo many Hydes of Land to build a Ship, in order to ſet out a great Fleet againſt the Danes, Id. p. 33.
Abſolutely neceſſary for an Iſland to maintain a Powerful Fleet, Id. p. 35.
Fœlix, *a Biſhop, Preached the Faith of Chriſt to the* Eaſt-Angles; *he was a* Burgundian, *and the firſt Biſhop in* Dunwich *in* Suffolk, l. 4. p. 179.
Folcmote, *Strangers to be brought before the King's Officers there by the Merchants, that ſo their Numbers might be known, and they forthcoming upon occaſion,* l. 5. p. 294.
The Puniſhment of ſtriking therein before the King's Ealdorman, Id. p. 295.
If any Abſent himſelf thrice, *he is to be Puniſhed as Contumacious to the King; and in caſe of refuſal to do right, all he hath is to be ſeized, and he to give ſecurity for his appearance,* Id. p. 341.
Folcſtone *in* Kent, *anciently called* Folceſtane, *where Earl* Godwin *took all the Ships he could find,* l. 6. p. 80.
Foreign-Tongue, *where it prevails, generally ſpeaking, it is reckoned half a Conqueſt,* l. 6. p. 98.
Foreſts *are priviledg'd places, fenced in with certain Bounds, Laws and Immunities, under Magiſtrates, Judges, Officer's,* &c. *for the King's Service and Game,* l. 6. p. 60.
Forfeitures, *thoſe the King challenges as due to himſelf in the County of* Weſt-Saxony, l. 6. p. 58.
Formoſus *the Pope, ſends Letters to* England, *threatning Excommunication and his Curſe to King* Edward *the* Elder *and all his Subjects, for ſuffering the Province of the* Weſt-Saxons *to be Seven years without Biſhops,* l. 5. p. 313.
A notable Error either in the Date of theſe Letters, or of the Name of the Pope, Id. p. 314.
Fornication, *if any one in Holy Orders commit it, what his Puniſhment,* l. 5. p. 284, 346.
vid. Adultery.
Framarius *King of the* Almans, *ſent by the Emperor* Valentinian *into* Britain, *though with no higher a Command than that of a Tribune,* &c. l. 2. p. 94.
France, *how early it became the moſt Civilized of thoſe* Gothic *and* German *Nations, that had ſome Ages before ſettled themſelves in this part of* Europe, l. 4. p. 243.
Frank-pledges, *the Antiquity of them; no* Norman *Invention, as ſome People pretend,* l. 6. p. 14.
Franks, *the Kingdom ſo called, divided by* Earnwulf (Charles *the* Groſs *his Brother's Son*) *into Five parts, and each King to Govern under* Earnwulf, *and where their ſeveral Kingdoms were fixed,* l. 5. p. 290.
Freemen, *no* Engliſh *Freeman could in the* Saxon *times be hanged for any Crime but Treaſon,* l. 4. p. 209.
Every one to find Sureties, that he ſhall do right, if accuſed, l. 6. p. 42.
Every one to enter himſelf into ſome Hundred *or* Tything, Id. p. 58.
Freodguald *Succeeds* Theodoric *in the Kingdom of* Bernicia, l. 3. p. 146.
Freothwulf *Reigned in* Bernicia *Seven or Eight years,* l. 3. p. 145.
His Deceaſe, Id. p. 146.
Frethanleage, *now* Fretherne *in* Glouceſterſhire, l. 3. p. 147.
Friburg, *that is,* Barons *to have their Dependants forth-coming, or to anſwer for them upon any complaint,* l. 6. p. 102.
Frieſland (Old) *the Goſpel firſt preached there, and by whom,* l. 4. p. 211.
The Engliſh-Saxons *derived from the* Friſians, l. 3. p. 120.
Friſians *aſſiſt the ancient* Saxons *of* Germany *againſt the* Danes *in a Sea-fight,* l. 5 p. 287..
Fritheſtan, *when he was Ordained and took the Biſhoprick of* Wincheſter, l. 5. p. 314. 315.
Edward *the* Elder's *Charter of Confirmation of the Priviledges of* Cambridge, *directed to this* Fritheſtan, *then Chancellor and Doctor; but the Charter is grievouſly ſuſpected,* Id. p. 318.
His Deceaſe, Id. p. 331.
Frithogithe, *Queen of the Weſt-Saxons, went with* Forthere *Biſhop of* Shireburne *to* Rome, l. 4. p. 223.
Frithwald *Biſhop of* Wytherne *died, when he was Conſecrated; and how long he continued a Biſhop,* l. 4. p. 228.
Fugitives, *King* Edward *the* Elder's *Law againſt them,* l. 5. p. 325, 326.

What

What the Forfeiture of relieving or harbouring any, l. 6. p. 58.
Fullenham, *now* Fulham, *not far from* London, l. 5. p. 283.
Furſeus (*or* Furſee) *comes out of* Ireland *to preach the Goſpel to the* East-Angles, *and converts many people,* l. 4. p. 180.

G

GAcon, *Biſhop of* Landaff, *the Firſt of the* Welſh-Biſhops *that was conſecrated by an Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, l. 6. p. 21.
Gaini, *anciently the Country about* Gainsborough *in* Yorkſhire, l. 5. p. 269.
Gainsborough *in* Lincolnſhire, *anciently called* Gegnesburgh, l. 6. p. 37, 39.
Galgacus, *Chief of the* Britains *in Authority and Birth, makes a Noble Oration to his Army,* l. 2. p. 60.
Their utter Overthrow and Flight, Id. p. 62, 63.
Galienus (Pub. Licinius) *Emperor in his Father* Valerian's *life-time. The Empire had been quite ruined through his Exceſſes and Careleſneſs, had not the* Thirty Tyrants, *as they are called, undertaken its Defence,* l. 2. p. 81.
Is at laſt ſlain by the Treachery of three of his own Captains, Ibid.
Gallio, *of* Ravenna, *ſent againſt* Boniſitius *in* Africa; *but the year before, he was ſent into* Britain, *upon their earneſt ſoliciting the* Romans *the ſecond time for Supplies; which in all probability were brought hither in the beginning of the Reign of* Valentinian *the third,* l. 2. p. 105, 106.
Game. *None in hunting to meddle with the King's Game,* l. 6. p. 60.
Gavelkind. *That old Cuſtom or Tenure firſt ſet up in* Wales, *and the great miſchief it occaſioned,* l. 5. p. 250.
Gaule, *upon compoſition, delivered up to the* Goths *by* Honorius, l. 2. p. 105.
Gemote, *or* Hundred-Court, *every one ought to be preſent at it,* l. 6. p. 13, 14.
General; *if his heart fails, the Army flies. A Cowardly General often makes Cowardly Soldiers,* l. 6. p. 30, 87.
Gentlemen *of ordinary Eſtates had in King* Alfred's *time Villages and Townſhips of their own (as well as the King and the Great Men), and they received the Penalties due for Breach of the Peace,* l. 5. p. 295.
Geoffrey of Monmouth, *is the chief, if not the only Author of* Brutus *and his Succeſſors, and his Hiſtory cried out againſt almoſt as ſoon as publiſhed,* l. 1. p. 6.
His ſtory of the Britiſh *War in* Claudius *the Emperor's time, different from the* Roman *Accounts, and wherein,* l. 2. p. 39, 40.
A notorious Falſhood in him about Severus *his Death,* Id. p. 78.
His ſtory of Conſtantine's *being elected King by the* Britains, *proved falſe,* l. 3. p. 116.
His ſtory (as to its truth) enquired into, of Auguſtine's *perſuading King* Ethelbert *to incite* Ethelfrid *King of* Northumberland, *to make War on the* Britains, l. 4. p. 164, 165.
His Account of Cadwallo's *being buried at* London, *and his Body put into a Brazen Statue of a Man on Horſeback, and ſet over* Ludgate *for a Terror to the* Saxons, *all falſe,* Id. p. 177.
Gerent, *King of the* Britains, *fights with King* Ina, *and* Nun *his Kinſman,* l. 4. p. 215.
Is ſuppoſed to have been King of Cornwall, *and why,* Id. p. 216.
Germanus *and* Lupus, *ſent from* France *to confirm* Britain *in the Catholick Faith,* l. 2. p. 107.
His ſecond Voyage to Britain (*upon the renewed Addreſſes of the* Britains) *to defend God's Cauſe againſt* Pelagianiſm, l. 3. p. 117.
The Miracle he wrought upon a Magiſtrate's Son, the Sinews of whoſe Legs had been long ſhrunk up, which by his ſtroking he reſtored whole as the other, Id. Ibid.
Gerontius, *General to* Conſtans, *brings all* Spain *under his Obedience,* l. 2. p. 103.
But being turned out of his Command, revolts, and ſets up Maximus, *one of his Creatures, for Emperor. His cruel End,* Id. Ib.
Geſſoriacum, Portus Iccius *in* Cæſar's *time, afterwards* Bononia, *and now* Buloigne, l. 2. p. 31, 40.
Geta, Severus *the Emperor's Younger Son, Governor of the* Southern *part of this Iſland,* l. 2. p. 75.
Is killed by the Treachery of his Brother Baſſianus, *in his Mother's Arms,* Id. p. 77.
And Baſſianus *had taken the Sirname of* Antonini, Ib. & 79.
His Name commanded to be razed out of all Monuments, by this his wicked Brother; which was done accordingly, Id. p. 79.
Gethic, *the ancient* Scythic, *or* Gethic *Tongue, the Mother of the* German, l. 3. p. 122.
Gewiſſes; *the Nation of the* Weſt-Saxons, *anciently ſo called, received the Chriſtian Faith in the Reign of* Cynegils, *by the preaching of* Byrinus *an* Italian, *who came hither by the order of Pope* Honorius, l. 4. p. 179.
Gildas, *deſigned not any exact Hiſtory of the Affairs of his Country, but only to give a ſhort Account of the Cauſes of the Ruin of it by the* Scots, Picts, *and* Saxons, l. 3. p. 137.

His ſharp Invective againſt the Britiſh *Kings, accuſing Five of them of very heinous Enormities,* Id. p. 139.
His ſevere Character of the Britiſh *Clergy,* Id. p. 140, 141.
That he could not Study at Oxford, *as is ſuppoſed by ſome, for the* Pagan-Saxons *were then Maſters of that part of* England, l. 5. p. 290.
Girwy, *now* Yarrow *near the mouth of the River* Tyne, *where a Monaſtery was built in Honour of St.* Paul, l. 4. p. 194, 205, 222.
Giſa *ſucceeds* Duduc *in the Biſhoprick of* Somerſetſhire *(i. e.* Wells), l. 6. p. 88.
Glan-Morgan *in* Wales, *had its Name from one* Morgan, *who was driven thither by his Brother* Cunedage, *and there ſlain,* l. 1. p. 11.
Glappa *King of* Bernicia, *Reigned for Two years, but who he was, or how Deſcended, the Authors are ſilent in,* l. 3. p. 144.
His Death, Id. p. 145.
Oſgat Glappa, *the* Daniſh *Earl, when he was* Expelled England, l. 6. p. 73.
Glaſs, *when the Art of making it was firſt taught the* Engliſh *Nation,* l. 4. p. 194.
Glaſtenbury *Beſieged by King* Arthur *in* Gildas *his time, with a great Army out of* Cornwal *and* Devonſhire, *becauſe Queen* Gueniver, *his Wife, had been Raviſhed from him by* Melvas, *who then Reigned in* Somerſetſhire, l. 3. p. 135.
The Ancient Regiſters of this Monaſtery are not to be wholly ſlighted as falſe, ſince King Arthur *was there Buried, and his Tomb diſcovered about the end of the Reign of King* Henry *the* Second, Id. p. 137.
This Ancient Monaſtery was new built by King Ina *with large Endowments and Exemptions from Epiſcopal Juriſdictions,* &c. l. 4. p. 218, 219.
King Edmund's *Body was brought from a place called* Pucklekirk *(where he was killed) hither, and here buried,* l. 5. p. 345.
And ſo likewiſe King Edgar's *with great Solemnity, for he had been a very liberal Benefactor to this Monaſtery,* l. 6. p. 9.
As was Edmund, *Sirnamed* Ironſide, *his Grandſon's. This was by all the* Saxons *called* Glæſtingabyrig, Id. p. 48.
Gleni, *a River, but where is not by our Authors mentioned,* l. 4. p. 174.
Glewanceſter, *now called* Glouceſter, l. 3. p. 145.
Glotta *and* Bodotria, *two* Streights, *now the* Friths *of* Edinburgh *and* Dunbritton *in* Scotland, l. 2. p. 99.
God *in* Bede's *time was ſerved in Five ſeveral Languages,* l. 1. p. 5.
Goda *Earl of* Devonſhire, *marching out with one* Strenwald *a Valiant Knight to fight the* Danes, *they were both killed,* l. 6. p. 22.
Godfathers, *anſwerable for thoſe Children for whom they ſtand, till they come to years capable of Learning the Creed and the Lord's Prayer,* l. 4. p. 233.
Godfred, *Son of* Harold *the* Dane, *ſubdues the whole Iſle of* Angleſey, *and ſpoils all the Land of* Dywet, *with the Church of St.* David's, &c. l. 6. p. 7. 20.
Godiva, *a Foundreſs (with her Husband* Leofrick *Earl of the* Mercians) *of the Monaſtery of* Coventry, *and how ſhe freed the ſaid Town from the Grievous Taxes impoſed on it,* l. 6. p. 71.
Godmundingham, *the place where an Idol-Temple ſtood in King* Edwin's *time, not far from* York, Eaſtward, *near the River* Darwent, l. 4. p. 174.
Godwin, *Earl, Governor, or Lord Lieutenant of* Weſt-Saxony, l. 6. p. 61.
His Treachery to Alfred *(one of King* Ethelred's *Sons) whom by a Forged Letter, in the Name of Queen* Emma *his Mother, he enticed over into* England, *then made him Priſoner at* Guilford, *and ſent him up to* Harold; *and what afterwards became of him and his Six hundred followers; his Eyes put out, and he not long ſurvived their loſs, and moſt of them ſuffered various kinds of cruel Deaths,* Id. p. 62, 63.
Is accuſed of the Villany by Ælfrick *Archbiſhop of* York, *and how he purchaſed his Reconciliation to King* Hardecnute, Id. p. 67.
By his Intereſt gets Edward *the* Confeſſor *(the Brother of the abovementioned* Alfred) *to be* Elected, *and afterwards Crowned King at* Weſtminſter, Id. p. 69, 70.
His own and his Son's great Power, in being able to withſtand the King and all the Nobility that were with him at a Great Council at Glouceſter, Id. p. 77, 81.
But being ſummoned to appear at another Curia *held at* London, *he and Earl* Sweyn *his Son, fled to* Baldwin *Earl of* Flanders *for Protection,* Id. p. 77, 78.
His ſailing for England, *but being purſued he returns to* Bruges, *and coming again ſoon after, commits a thouſand Ravages,* Id. p. 80, 81.
What the ground of all this conteſt between the King and him; at laſt in a Great Council a Peace was made, and Hoſtages given on both ſides, Id. p. 81.
Is Accuſed by King Edward *for the Death of his Brother in the Great Council, and how he made his Peace,* Id. p. 83.

He and his Sons reſtored to their former Honours and Eſtates, in a Great Council, Id. p. 82, 83, 84.
His Death, and Burial in the old Monaſtery of Wincheſter, Id. p. 84, 85.
His Character, Wives, and Iſſue, Id. p. 85.
Gogmagog, *the mighty Gyant in* Cornwall, *taken up by* Corinæus *in his Arms, though he was no Gyant himſelf, and flung off by him (if you will believe the Fable) from a Cliff into the Sea*, l. 1. p. 9.
Gordianus M. Anton. *elected Emperor by the* Prætorian *Bands, had an Army in* Britain; *though nothing was done, by what can be found*, l. 2. p. 81.
Gormond, *an* African *King, comes out of* Ireland *to fight* Careticus; *and what the ſucceſs*, l. 3. p. 148.
Goſpatrick (*a great Officer in* Northumberland) *murthered upon the account of a quarrel between him and Earl* Toſtige, l. 6. p. 90.
Goſpel; *ſuppoſed to be firſt preached in this Iſland in the Reigns of either* Claudius *or* Nero; *though by whom, unknown*, l. 2. p. 51, 52.
The ſtory of Joſeph *of* Arimathea, *and his Twelve Companions coming to preach the Goſpel in* Britain, Id. p. 52, 53.
Chriſt was preached here as early as the firſt Conqueſt of it by the Britains, Id. p. 69.
Who firſt preached the Goſpel in the Countrey of the Griſons, l. 2. p. 70.
The firſt preaching of the Goſpel in Germany, *and by whom*, l. 4. p. 211.
The joyful Tidings of it firſt brought to us from Canterbury, l. 6. p. 36.
Government *devolved on the* People, *when the Emperor acquitted the* Britains *of the* Roman *Juriſdiction*, l. 2. p. 104.
Grætanleage, *the Laws that were made there by King* Athelſtan, *in a Great Council*, l. 5. p. 339, 340, 341.
Grand Inqueſt. *Vid.* Inqueſt.
Gratian, *the Emperor, creates* Theodoſius *the Younger his Partner in the Empire, aſſigning him the* Eaſt *for his ſhare*, l. 2. p. 95.
Being routed by the Forces of Maximus, *is forced to fly with Three hundred Horſe towards the* Alps; *but* Andragathius *with ſome Light-Horſe being ſent after him, overtakes him near the Bridge of* Singidunum, *and there kills him*, Id. Ibid.
Gratianus, *ſirnamed* Funarius (*from his great ſtrength in pulling a Rope from Four Men*) *made General of all the Forces throughout* Britain, l. 2. p. 89.
The Britiſh *Army* elected *him Emperor, and cloathed him with the* Imperial Purple, Id. p. 102.
But he is ſoon after deprived both of his Life and Empire, Id. p. 104, 105.
Gregory, *made Biſhop of* Rome, *in what year*, l. 3. p. 149.
Sirnamed the Great, *to whom the* Engliſh *Nation owed its Converſion*, l. 4. p. 152.
Would have come himſelf to preach God's Word to the Engliſh; *but the Citizens of* Rome *would by no means ſuffer him to go ſo far from them*, l. 4. p. 153.
In the Fourth Year of his Pontificate he ſends Auguſtine *with many Monks over to the* Britains, *to preach the Goſpel to them: Calls the Emperor his* Lord, *and dates his Letters by the year of* His *Reign, and not that of* his own, l. 3. p. 149. l. 4. p. 153, 158.
His Deceaſe; the Account of his life may be read in Bede, Id. p. 163, 165.
Griffyn, *Prince of* Wales, *entring* England, *ſpoils great part of* Herefordſhire, *and carries away much Booty*, l. 6. p. 84, 86, 87.
The Son of Ratherch ap Juſtin, *raiſes a great Army againſt* Griffyth *Prince of* North-Wales, *and what the ſucceſs*, Id. p. 85.
A Peace mediated between Edward *the* Confeſſor *and this Prince*, Id. p. 87.
How he reſtores Ælfgar *to his Earldom, after he was a ſecond time baniſhed by King* Edward, Id. p. 88.
Is ſlain by his own people, and his Head ſent to Earl Harold, *and the* gilded Stern *of his Ship, which he cauſed to be carried to King* Edward, Id. p. 89.
Griffyth ap Lewellin ap Sitſylt, *raiſes a great Army againſt Prince* Jago *of* North-Wales, *whoſe Soldiers deſerting him, he was ſoon overthrown and ſlain*, l. 6. p. 64.
His good Government afterwards over thoſe of North-Wales, *and his total ſubduction of* South-Wales, *and his other Conqueſts:* Howel ap Edwin *narrowly eſcapes him; but he took his Wife Priſoner, whom he liked ſo well, that he kept her for his Miſtreſs*, Ibid.
He is taken Priſoner by ſurprize, but is immediately reſcued, Id. p. 70.
His Engagement with Ritherch *and* Rees, *and the ſucceſs thereof*, Id. p. 71.
Revenges the death of One hundred and forty of his beſt Soldiers, treacherouſly killed by the Gentlemen of Yſtrad Towy, Id. p. 73.
Griffyth ap Madoc, *deſigning to bring all* Wales, &c. *under his ſubjection, was ſlain by the Princes* Edmund *and* Edred, *who brought his Head to their Father*, l. 5. p. 321.
St. Grimbald: *the Univerſity of* Oxford, *founded in the ſecond year of his coming over into* England; *the difference between him and thoſe he brought over with him, and the* old Scholars *whom he found there*, l. 5. p. 288, 289, 290, 306.

St. Grimbald *ſent for from* France *by King* Alfred *to aſſiſt him in his Learning*, l. 5. p. 306.
His Deceaſe, Id. p. 312.
Grime, *King of the* Scots, *refuſing to pay part of a* Tribute *to the* Danes, *which King* Ethelred *demanded of him, had his Countrey of* Cumberland *laid almoſt waſte*, l. 6. p. 28.
Griſons *make* Lucius *to have been their Apoſtle, and firſt to have Preached the Goſpel in their Countrey, and ſhew his Tomb at* Cloir *at this day*, l. 2. p. 70.
Grymkytel, *made (upon the Death of* Ethelric*) Biſhop of the* South-Saxons, *that is, of* Selſey, l. 6. p. 65.
His Deceaſe, Id. p. 73.
Guarinus *King of the* Huns, l. 2. p. 96.
Gueld, *that is*, Tribute, l. 4. p. 187.
Guendelew, *Son of* Keidiaw, *a Prince of the* North *parts of* Britain, l. 3. p. 146.
Gueniver, *Vid.* Glaſtenbury.
Guiderac *in the* Britiſh *Tongue, is* Mould *in* Flintſhire *in the* Engliſh; *the place is called* Maes German, *that is* German's-Field, *where the* Britains *got a great Victory over the* Picts *and* Saxons, *by the means of* Germanus *a* French *Biſhop*, l. 2. p. 108, 109.
Guild, *or* Fraternity, *ſignified ſometimes ſuch as were Fellow-Contributors to the ſame Pariſh-Feaſt in honour of the Saints; ſometimes ſuch as were bound together in the ſame* Decennary *or* Tything, l. 5. p. 294.
Guintelin, *his Character, his Virtuous Wife* Maeria, *and his Reign*, l. 1. p. 13.
Gunhilda, Cnute's *Niece, being his Siſter's Daughter, Marries* Hacun *a* Daniſh *Earl*, l. 6. p. 53.
Hardecnute's *Siſter ſent over to the Emperor* Henry, *to whom ſhe had been before Betrothed, and was kindly received by him for ſome time, till ſhe was accuſed of* Adultery, *and how her Honour was vindicated at laſt by her little Page*, Id. p. 66, 67.
But it made her forſake her Husband, and retire into a Monaſtery for all her life afeer, Id. p. 67.
The Noble Matron was Baniſhed England *with her Two Sons*, Id. p. 73.
Gunhildis, *a Beautiful Young Lady (*Sweyn's *Siſter) Beheaded, and bore her death with great bravery, having ſeen her Husband and her Son ſlain before her face*, l. 6. p. 37.
Gurgi, *a* Britiſh *Prince, Son of* Gliver Goſgard Vawr, *a Prince of* Cumberland, l. 3. p. 147.
Gurguint, *in his Reign the* Danes *refuſed to pay him the Tribute which had been impoſed by* Belinus, l. 1. p. 13.
Guthfrith, *or* Godfred, *Son to* Sythric, *a* Daniſh *King of* Northumberland, *ſucceeds his Father there, but was ſoon* expelled *by* Athelſtan, *who added thoſe Dominions to his own*, l. 5. p. 330.
Flies into Scotland, *and raiſes a Rebellion againſt* Athelſtan, *but he makes him ſubmit to him: The Civil Treatment* Athelſtan *gives him, and his Revolt from him afterwards*, Id. p. 331, 332, 333.
Guthlac, *firſt a Monk, then a profeſſed Anchorite, builds a Cell at* Croyland; *the incredible Miracles told of him*, l. 4. p. 216.
A Monaſtery founded in honour of him (by Ethelbald *King of the* Mercians*) who was then lately deceaſed*, Id. p. 218.
The Danes *break open his Tomb, and thoſe of the Princes there buried, and finding no plunder, ſet the Church on fire, and burn their dead bodies*, l. 5. p. 271.
Guthrun, Gythram, *or* Gorman, *their Leader or King, was promiſed by the* Danes *to become a* Chriſtian, *and accordingly King* Alfred *was his Godfather at his Baptiſm*, l. 5. p. 283, 284, 298.
The Kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles *delivered up to him*, Id. p. 283.
The League between King Alfred *and him, as alſo the Secular and Eccleſiaſtical Laws that were made then by them*, Id. p. 283, 284, 285.
His Chriſtian *Name*, Athelſtan; *called King of the* Normans; *his Deceaſe*, l. 5. p. 298.
He died Ten years before King Alfred, *therefore no Eccleſiaſtical Laws could be made between him and* Edward *the* Elder, *who was* Alfred's *Son and Succeſſor*, Id. p. 326.
Guy, *Earl of* Warwick, *returning from the* Holy Land *in a Pilgrim's Habit, Fights one* Colebrand, *a Monſtrous* Daniſh *Giant near* Wincheſter, *and kills him, and retiring to a Hermitage near* Warwick, *there ends his days*, l. 5. p. 337, 338.
Gwgan, *King or Prince of* Cardigan, *his death; ſome ſay he was drowned by misfortune*, l. 5. p. 277.
Gwido, *Earl of* Ponthieu, *detains Earl* Harold *Priſoner, but ſoon ſets him at Liberty by the Command of* William *Duke of* Normandy, l. 6. p. 92.
Gwyn, *or* Gwyr, *a Countrey in* North-Wales, *ſubdued by* Eneon, *Son of* Owen, *Prince of* South-Wales, l. 6. p. 6.
Is deſtroyed a ſecond time by the ſame Perſon, Id. p. 16.
Gwyneth, *that is* North-Wales, l. 3. p. 147. l. 5. p. 317.
Gyrth, *King* Harold's *Youngeſt Brother, his excellent Advice to him not to fight in Perſon againſt*

against Duke William, *rejected, which cost* Harold *his Life*, l. 6. p. 111.

H

HAcun, *a* Daniſh *Earl, Baniſhed* England *(under preſence of an Ambaſſy) by King* Cnute, *who was afraid of him, and why*, l. 6. p. 53.

Hadrian (Ælius) *a* Spaniard, *ſucceeds his Uncle* Trajan *in the Empire; his Politicks*, l. 2. p. 67.

Comes over into Britain, *and reduces the Inhabitants; he builds a wall of Eighty Miles in length cross the Iſland*; Id. p. 67, 76.

Haſe, *ſuppoſed to be* Hatfield *in* Northumberland, l. 4. p. 215.

Halfdene *Marches with one half of the* Daniſh *Army into the Kingdom of* Northumberland, *and there ſoon conquers the whole Country, ſpoiling as far as* Galloway, l. 5. p. 277, 315.

Divides that Kingdom amongſt his People, from whence they date their Reign there, Id. p. 278.

Is ſlain by King Alfred, Id. p. 286.

Hamtun (*that is now* Southampton) *where* Wulfheard *the Ealdorman fights with a Fleet of Three and thirty* Daniſh *Pyrates, and obtains a ſignal Victory over them*, l. 5. p. 258.

Hardecnute, *Son to King* Cnute *by Queen* Emma, *is appointed by his Father to be King of* Denmark, l. 6. p. 56.

But is Decreed in the Great Council at Oxnaford, *upon the fierce diſputes of the contending Parties, That this Kingdom ſhould be divided between* Harold *and him, and* Hardecnute *to enjoy all the* Southern *Provinces; but he never did all the time of his Brother* Harold, Id. p. 62.

He being at Harold's *Death in* Bruges *with his Mother, is invited by the Chief Men of* England *to come over and receive the Crown, which he accordingly did with all poſſible convenience, and ſo is* Elected *King. The ſeveral Taxes he raiſes. His Conſecration. His revenging the Injury* Harold *did to his Mother, and ſending his Siſter* Gunhilda *to the Emperor* Henry, *to whom ſhe had been before Betroth'd, and the Feaſt he firſt kept for her Nuptials*, Id. p. 66.

Is incenſed againſt Biſhop Liſing *and Earl* Godwin *for the Death of his Half-Brother* Alfred, *and how the buſineſs was made up, and he reconciled to them*, Id. p. 67.

Plunders and Burns the City, and waſtes the County of Worceſter, *and upon what account; Deceaſes at* Lambeth, *and is Buried in the New Monaſtery of* Wincheſter. *His Character. A Holyday kept to his remembrance*, Id. p. 68.

Harold *King of* Norway, *his Preſent to King* Athelſtan *of a Ship, whoſe* Stern *was Gilded, and it's* Sails *Purple*, l. 5. p. 339.

Harold, *Son to King* Cnute *by* Ælgiva, *he appoints to be King of* England *after him*, l. 6. p. 56.

Is Choſen *King by the Great Council held at* Oxnaford, *though oppoſed by the Great Men of the* Weſt-Saxons, *upon the pretence of a* Suppoſititious Birth, *and the Diſputes riſe ſo high about the* Election, *that many fearing it would iſſue in a* Civil War, *left their Habitations upon it*, Id. p. 61, 62.

Sends a Guard to Wincheſter, *and Tyrannically ſeizes on his Father's Treaſures there, which he had bequeathed to the Queen his Mother-in-law*, Id. p. 62.

Dies at Oxnaford, *and is Buried at* Weſtminſter; *how long he Governed* England, Id. p. 65.

The Tax he raiſed for ſetting out Sixteen Sail of Ships whereof every Port was to bear their proportion, incenſes the minds of the Engliſh *againſt him. His Character, and the reaſon of his being called* Harefoot, l. 6. p. 65.

His Body is dug up by Hardecnute's *Order, his Head cut off, and flung into the* Thames, *but afterwards taken up by Fiſhermen, and Buried in St.* Clement's *Church-yard*, Id. p. 66.

Harold, *ſirnamed* Hairfax, *King of* Norway, *and Brother to King* Olaf, *putting* Sweyn *King of* Denmark *to flight, ſubdues that Kingdom, but dying ſoon after,* Sweyn *recovers it again*, l. 6. p. 74.

Harold, *Son of Earl* Godwin, *the Quarrel that aroſe between* Edward *the* Confeſſor *and his Father, his Brother* Sweyn *and him, and how he is forced to fly into* Ireland *for Protection*, l. 6. p. 75, 77, 78.

Returns from Ireland, *and kills and plunders all that comes in his way, but is in a Great Council reſtored to his former Honour and Eſtate*, Id. p. 80, 81, 82.

Is Founder of the Abbey of the Holy Croſs *at* Waltham *in* Eſſex; *goes (with Earl* Toſtige *his Brother) with a great Army both by Land and Sea into* Wales, *and ſubdues that Country*, Id. p. 89.

Seems to be the Adopted and Declared Heir *of the Crown*, Id. p. 90.

Endeavours to appeaſe the Northumbers *about his Brother* Toſtige, *but in vain; his Character of being a Valiant and Worthy Prince*, Id. p. 90, 91.

His going over into Normandy, *and the occaſion of it. His promiſes to Duke* William *there, That when King* Edward *died, he would*

would deliver up Dover-*Caſtle to him, and procure him the Succeſſion; but yet he ſucceeded the* Confeſſor, *who declared him his Succeſſor in the Kingdom,* Id. p. 92.
The various Reports how he was advanced to it, whether by Election, *or otherwiſe,* Id. p. 105.
The wiſe courſe he takes to preſerve himſelf in that Dignity he had got, Id. p. 106.
The ſeveral Invaſions deſigned and preparing againſt him, and his great Care and Induſtry in oppoſing them both by Sea and Land, Id. p. 106, 108, 109.
An Ambaſſador ſent to him from Duke William, *to put him in mind of the Breach of his Word, and threatning to force him to perform it; with* Harold's *Anſwer,* l. 6. p. 107.
His Victory over the King of Norway, *and his Brother* Toſtige, Id. p. 109.
His going againſt Duke William *(who landed at* Haſtings*) with but part of his Forces, with a Reſolution to fight him, and his preparations for it,* Id. p. 110, 111.
The precipitate Anſwer he gave to the Monk whom Duke William *ſent to him with Propoſals; telling him,* He would leave it to God to determine between them, Id. p. 111.
The manner how he drew up his Army in order to a Battel, Id. p. 111, 112.
His Foot breaking, in purſuit of the Enemy, who they thought were flying, loſt him the Victory, his Crown, and Life; for he was ſlain by an Arrow ſhot through his Brains; his Standard taken, and ſent to the Pope, Id. p. 112, 113.
How his Body came to be known amidſt the Crowd of the ſlain, and not long after buried in the Abbey-Church of Waltham. *His Character: His Wives and Children; and the Law he made,* Id. p. 114, 115.
Harwood-Foreſt, *anciently called* Warewell, *where* Athelwold *was ſlain with a Dart, by whom, and upon what account,* l. 6. p. 10.
Haſtings, *or* Hæſtein, *the* Dane, *his arrival in* Kent, *and the Ravages he makes there; but is at laſt forced to ſurrender to King* Alfred, *with his Wife and two Sons, and to become a Chriſtian, and accept of Conditions, which he ſoon after broke,* l. 5. p. 299, 300.
His Ships broke to Pieces, the beſt of them being ſaved, and carried into Port, Id. p. 300.
Hatred; *too many men's natures to hate thoſe that have too much obliged them,* l. 2. p. 64, 65.
Heacca, *Biſhop of the* South-Saxons *(that is, of* Chicheſter*), his Deceaſe,* l. 6. p. 88.
Headda, *Abbot of* Medeſhamſted, *the Charter ſaid to be wrote by him,* l. 6. p. 4, 5.
Heads; Oſwald's *Head and Arms cut off by* Penda's *Order, and ſet on a Pole for a Trophy of his Victory,* l. 4. p. 181.
Scotch; *ſlain in War, ſet upon high Poles round about the Walls of* Durham, l. 6. p. 27.
Healfange, *that is, what is paid in Commutation for the Puniſhment of hanging by the Neck, to the King, or Lord,* l. 5. p. 347. Vid. l. 6. p. 59.
Healfden, *a* Daniſh *King, is ſlain in Battel, with ſeveral Earls, and many Thouſand Soldiers, by King* Edward *the* Elder's *Army,* l. 5. p. 315.
Heathens *and* Pagans; *by theſe names are meant the* Danes *and* Norwegians, *together with the* Goths, Swedes, *and* Vandals, *which for ſo long together waſted* England, l. 5. p. 255, 256.
Heavens; *a Red-Croſs appeared in the Heavens after Sun-ſet,* l. 4. p. 230.
Hedda, *when he ſate as firſt Biſhop of* Winchester, Id. p. 181.
Took the Biſhoprick of the Eaſt-Saxons, Id. p. 196.
His Death, and Excellent Character, Id. p. 212, 213.
Heddi, *conſecrated Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *that is, of the* Weſt-Saxons, *by Archbiſhop* Theodore, *when,* l. 4. p. 193.
Heddi (Stephen) *the Author of the Life of St.* Wilfrid, *his Account of the Quarrel between* Egfrid *King of* Northumberland, *and that Biſhop,* l. 4. p. 197.
Heliogabolus (Anton.) *ſucceeds* Opilius Macrinus *in the Empire, but after three years Reign is killed by the* Prætorian *Band,* l. 2. p. 80.
Helmeſtan, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and the Dean of that Church, had the Education of Prince* Ethelwulf, *during the Life of his Elder Brother,* l. 5. p. 257.
Helmham *in* Norfolk, *a Biſhop's See, taken out of the Biſhoprick of* Dunmoc, l. 4. p. 193.
Is continued to be the ſole Biſhop's See for the Kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles, *till long after that it was removed to* Norwich, l. 5. p. 274.
Hemeida, *a* Welſh *King, expelled the Biſhops of St.* Davids, *and Archbiſhop* Novis, *but at laſt he and all the Inhabitants of* South-Wales, *and* Rodri *with his Six Sons ſubmit to* Alfred, l. 5. p. 306.
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Thoſe that came over with them were rather Friſians, Id. p. 120.

Were

Were the Sons of Witgilfus, *who was the Son of* Witta, *and he the Son of* Vecta, *and he the Son of* Woden, Id. p. 121.
Hengeſt *demands of King* Vortigern *the Countrey of* Kent *for his Daughter, and has it,* Id. p. 126.
Sends over for Octa *and* Ebuſa, *his Son and Nephew,* Ibid. & p. 142.
Is choſen King by the Saxons, *and made to retire into the Iſle of* Thanet, Id. p. 128.
When he and his Son Æsk *fought againſt the* Britains, *and obtained a great Victory,* l. 3. p. 129.
When he and his Brother fought again with them, and took much ſpoil, Id. p. 131.
His Death, Id. p. 132.
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His Brother Horſa, *ſlain at* Engleford *in* Kent, l. 3. p. 128.
Hengeſtdune *(now* Hengſton *in* Cornwal*) where King* Egbert *beats the* Danes *and* Weſtern Welſh, l. 5. p. 257.
Henwald, *two Prieſts of this name barbarouſly murthered by the* Old Saxons, *and their Bodies flung into the* Rhine; *but their Murther was notoriouſly revenged,* l. 4. p. 212.
Heofenfield *(or* Heaven-field*), lying near to what we call the* Picts-Wall, l. 4. p. 177.
Heraclitus, *made by* Severus *Lieutenant of the* Southern *Parts of* Britain, l. 2. p. 74.
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Grand-Niece to King Edwin, *and converted by* Paulinus: *Her ſevere Sanctity,* Id. p. 199.
Very much againſt Biſhop Wilfrid, *upon ſubſtantial reaſons,* Id. p. 215.
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Makes a great ſlaughter of the Britains, *but is ſlain with* 1200 *men, near the Caſtle of* Kenwith, Id. p. 281.
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Hock-Wedneſday, *a Holiday in Memory of* Hardecnute's *Death, on which the people danced, and drew Cords acroſs the ways, as they do now on ſtated days in ſeveral Pariſhes in* England, *to ſtop Paſſengers till they get ſome Money from them,* l. 6. p. 68.
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Howel, *Brother to* Conan, *Prince of* Wales, *upon a Quarrel betwixt them, obtains the Victory; it was upon his claiming the Iſle of* Angleſey, l. 5. p. 250.
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Comes into England *with an Army, where he was fought with, and killed in Battel; leaving no Iſſue of his Body,* Id. p. 21.
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Hubba, *Vid. the next Word.*
Hubbleſtones, *or* Hubbleſtow, *in* Devonſhire, *had its Name from a* Daniſh *Captain (one* Hubba*) being ſlain by* Odun, *Earl of that County, and there buried under a heap of ſtones,* l. 5. p. 281.
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Is repaired and rebuilt in thoſe places that had been deſtroyed, by the Command of King Edward *the* Elder, Id. p. 322.
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I

JAgo *and* Jevaf, *Princes of* North-Wales, *raiſe great and long Wars to get the Supreme Government of all* Wales, *as being of the* Elder Houſe *to the Sons of* Howel, l. 5. p. 349, 350.

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His Soldiers deſerting him, he is ſlain in Battel by Griffyth ap Lewelin, Id. p. 64.

Janbryht *(alſo called* Lambert*) Conſecrated Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *received the Pall,* l. 4. p. 228, 229.

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Iceni, *thoſe who inhabited* Suffolk, Norfolk, Camebridge, *and* Huntingtonſhire, l. 2. p. 42.

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Are turned out of their ancient Eſtates, and treated like Slaves, Id. p. 47.

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He hath the Character of being a very Gallant Man, but dies within a few years, Id. p. 143.

Idel, *a River on the* Mercian *Border, now in* Nottinghamſhire, l. 4. p. 170, 171.

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Iffi, *the Son of Prince* Oſrid, *received Baptiſm,* l. 4. p. 174, 176.

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Igmond *the* Dane, *with a great Number of Soldiers, Lands in the Iſle of* Angleſey, *where they obtain a Victory over the* Welſhmen, *who gave them Battel,* l. 5. p. 303.

Ilford, *near Chriſt-Church in* Hampſhire, *ſeated in the New Foreſt, called* Itene *in* Engliſh-Saxon, *perhaps it anciently went by the Name of* Ityngaford, l. 5. p. 314.

Iltutus, *a Pious and Learned* Britain *of* Glamorganſhire, l. 3. p. 149.

Images, *not introduced into the* Engliſh-Saxon *Church at the foundation of the Abbey of* Eveſham, *by* Edwin *Biſhop of* Worceſter, *as is pretended by ſome,* l. 4. p. 216, 217.

Image-Worſhip, the Church of God wholly abominated, as practiſed in the Greek *and* Roman *Churches, and was not then receiv'd in* England, l. 4. p. 236, 237.

Impoſtor, *a notable* Scotch *one, who called himſelf* Run, *ſets up for Prince of* South-Wales, *but he and his Army ſoon put to the Rout,* l. 6. p. 52.

Ina, *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *builds a Monaſtery at* Glaſtenbury, *endows it with divers Lands, and exempts it from all Epiſcopal Juriſdiction; Reigns Seven and thirty years, goes to* Rome, *and there Dies,* l. 4. p. 204, 218, 219, 220.

The Son of Kenred, *the Son of* Ceolwald, *when he took the Kingdom, but without any* Right *of Succeſſive Deſcent,* Id. p. 205.

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The

The Kentiſh-*men enter into a League with him, and give him Thirty thouſand Pounds for his Friendſhip, and why,* Id. p. 209.
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John of Beverlie; *firſt he was Biſhop of* Hagulſtad, *then of* York, l. 4. p. 202, 213, 215.
He was Biſhop Three and thirty Years, and Eight Months, then dies, and is buried at Beverlie, *and afterwards canonized by the name of St.* John of Beverlie, Id. p. 218.
John, *ſirnamed* Scotus *and* Erigena, *and* Grimbald, *aſſiſted King* Alfred *in founding the Univerſity of* Oxford: *He tranſlates* Dionyſius *his* Hierarchia *out of* Greek *into* Latin, l. 5. p. 306.
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Jovian, *choſen Emperor by the Army; who refuſing to command Heathens, they cried out,* They were all Chriſtians, *and then he accepts the Empire. He dies Seven Months after, by the Damp of a new-plaiſter'd Chamber where he lay, at* Daduſtana, *on the Borders of* Galatia, l. 2. p. 91.
Ipſwich *in* Suffolk (*anciently* Gipiſwic) *is waſted by the* Danes, l. 6. p. 23.
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Ithamar, *a* Kentiſh *man, ſucceeds* Paulinus *in the Biſhoprick of* Rocheſter, l. 4. p. 181.
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Ithanceſter, *upon the Bank of the River* Pent, *was anciently a City,* l. 4. p. 184.
Ivor, *Son to* Allan, *or* Aſſer, *Duke of* Armorica, *or* Little-Bretaigne, *conquers the Countries of* Cornwal, Devonſhire, *and* Somerſetſhire, *and re-peoples them with* Britains, *and by Agreement marries* Ethelburga, *Couſin to* Kentwyn, l. 3. p. 145. l. 4. p. 201, 220.
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Judges, *when they were firſt appointed by King* Alfred, l. 5. p. 291.
None ſhould preſume to take upon them this Office without due Qualifications. How many Alfred *hang'd in one year for their falſe Judgments,* Id. p. 308.
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How often they were to hold the Gemot, *or Aſſembly for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice,* Id. p. 326.
King Edgar's *Law of fining a Judge that paſſes an unjuſt Sentence, unleſs he will take his*

his Oath he did it not out of malice, but from unskilfulneſs and miſtake of Judgment, l. 6. p. 13, 58.
How Juſtice was to be adminiſtred between the Engliſh *and the* Welſh, Id. p. 44.
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K

KEawlin. *Vid.* Ceawlin.
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L

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Between

Between Edward *the* Elder, *and the* Danes *Inhabiting* East-England *and* Northumberland, l. 5. p. 314. *Vide* Peace.
Learning *reduced to a very low ebb in King* Alfred's *time, by reason of the* Danish *Wars*, l. 5. p. 304.
Lease *of Abbey-Lands made in a Great Council, the* first Example *of it*, l. 4. p. 230.
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Leganceſter, *that is*, West-Chester. *Vide* Chester.
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Westchester *was anciently called by this Name*, l. 4. p. 164.
Leicester, *anciently* Caer-Leir, *by whom said to be first Built*, l. 1. p. 11.
Tocca *the first Bishop there, which continued a Bishop's See for divers Ages*, l. 4. p. 223.
Anciently called Ligceaster, *and when Repaired*, l. 5. p. 314.
And Ligraceaster, Id. p. 319.
Leighton *in* Bedfordshire, *anciently called* Ligtune, l. 3. p. 145. l. 5. p. 319.
Lent, *by the Authority of* Earcombert, *Ordained to be observed, which seems to have been the* first *observed in* England *by a Law*, l. 4. p. 180.
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When he Died, l. 5. p. 251.
Leo, *Bishop of* Treve, *sent by Pope* John *as his* Nuntio *to King* Ethelred, *with Letters of Complaint against the* Marquiss *of* Normandy, l. 6. p. 24.
Leof, *a notorious Thief, Banished by King* Edmund, *but be returned, and at a great Entertainment of the King's, Stabs him, so that he instantly died*, l. 5. p. 345.
Leofgar, *Ordained Bishop of* Hereford *in the room of Bishop* Athelstane, *together with his Clerks, is Slain by* Griffyn *Prince of* Wales, l. 6. p. 87.
Leofred, *a* Dane, *his Ravages in* Wales, *but at last is Beheaded by* Athelstan's *Order*, l. 5. p. 321.
Leofric, *Earl of* Mercia (*with his Lady* Godiva) *Founders of the Monastery of* Coventry, *and the Repairers of several others*, l. 6. p. 71, 72.
Comes to the Great Council at Gloucester *about Earl* Godwin, Id. p. 77.
His Death and Burial in the Church of the Monastery of Coventry, Id. p. 88.
Leofric, *King* Edward *the* Confessor's *Chaplain, succeeds* Living, *Bishop of* Devonshire, (*that is, of* Exeter,) l. 6. p. 73.
Is Enthroned there, he walking to Church between the King and Queen Editha, *his Wife*, Id. p. 78.
Leofwin, *the Abbot, is unjustly Expelled from the Monastery of* Elig, *goes with Archbishop* Athelnoth *to* Rome, *and there clears himself before the Pope, of what he had been accused*, l. 6. p. 53.
Leotheta (*in* French, Judith) *Daughter of* Charles *the* Bald *King of the* Franks, *Married to* Ethelwulf *King of the* West-Saxons, l. 5. p. 263.
Places her by him on his Royal Throne, but the Nation would not permit her to be called Queen, *for there was formerly a Law made against it, upon account of a certain wicked Queen, called* Eadburga, *Wife to King* Brythtric, Id. p. 264.
Lethard, *Bishop to* Bertha, *Wife of* Ethelbert *King of* Kent, *whom she brings over with her from* France *to assist and strengthen her in the* Christian *Faith*, l. 4. p. 153.
Levatriæ, *now* Bows *upon* Standmore *in* Richmondshire, l. 2. p. 74.
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Leutherius, *or* Lothair, *Bishop of* Winchester, l. 4. p. 192. *Vid.* Eleutherius.
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Llewelin, *Prince of* North-Wales, *surely mistaken, and put instead of* Howel *King of* South-Wales, l. 5. p. 328.
Llewelin ap Sitsylt, *in Right of his Wife, Prince of* South-Wales, l. 6. p. 27.
Raises great Forces against Aedan ap Blegored *the Usurper of his Countrey, and in a bloody Battel Kills him with his Four Sons. His Descent*, Id. p. 40.
After Conan's *Death he possesses himself of* South-Wales, *and Governs both the Countries with great Peace and Prosperity*, Id. p. 51, 52.
Slain by Howel *and* Meredith, *the Sons of Prince* Edwin, *or* Owen, Id. p. 53.
Liblacum, *signifies the Art of Conjuration, or Witchcraft, that sort of it particularly called Fascination*, l. 5. p. 340.
Licinius, (Priscus) *Proprætor, or Lieutenant in this Island in* Hadrian's *time*, l. 2. p. 67.
Lideford, *anciently called* Hildaford, l. 6. p. 26.

Lifing,

Lifing *made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, l. 6. p. 37.
Deceaſes, and who ſucceeds in his room, Id. p. 51.
Lightning, *ſuch fell as the Age had never ſeen before; it appeared as if the ſtars ſhot from Heaven*, l. 4. p. 224. l. 5. p. 261.
Vid. Miracles and Prodigies.
Strange kind of Wild-Fire *appeared, ſuch as none ever remembred, and did a great deal of miſchief*, l. 6. p. 56.
Limene, *a River, lying from the* Eaſtern *part of* Kent, *as far as the* Eaſt-*end of that great Wood called* Andred, l. 5. p. 299.
Lindisfarne, *an Iſle and Epiſcopal See, till that Church was deſtroyed by the* Danes, *and then the See was removed to* Durham, l. 3. p. 144.
Deſired by Aidan, *of* Oſwald, *for his Epiſcopal See; it is a* Peninſula, *except when the Sea quite overflows that Neck of Land which joins it to* England, l. 4. p. 178, 183.
Ceolwulf *profeſſes himſelf a Monk in this Monaſtery, who brought great Treaſures and Revenues in Land to it*, Id. p. 223.
Eadbert, *King of* Northumberland, *cauſes the Cathedral Church to be beſieged*, Id. p. 225.
Lindiſſe, *the* Danes *(landing at* Humberſtan*) ſpoil all that Countrey*, l. 4. p. 170.
Lindiſſi, *now* Lincoln, l. 4. p. 175.
Litchfield, *anciently called* Licetfield, l. 4. p. 217.
Two Biſhops ordained in this Dioceſs on the Death of Alwin, Id. p. 223.
Becomes an Archbiſhoprick, the Biſhops of the Provinces of the Kingdom of Mercia, *and the* Eaſt-Angles, *ſubject to it; obtained of the Pope by* Offa, Id. p. 229, 233.
The Archbiſhoprick confirm'd by a General Synod of the Kingdom, Id. p. 233.
Becomes again an ordinary Biſhoprick, ſubject to the See of Canterbury, Id. p. 235.
Living, *Abbot of* Taviſtock, *brings the Letter that* Cnute *wrote upon his Return from* Rome, *and ſent into* England, *the Purport of which is there ſet down*, l. 6. p. 55.
Succeeded in the Biſhopricks of Worceſter *and* Glouceſter, Id. p. 65.
Is accuſed to King Hardecnute, *and* deprived *of his Biſhoprick*, Id. p. 67.
Living, *Biſhop of* Devonſhire, *(that is,* Exeter*) deceaſes, and who ſucceeds him*, Id. p. 73.
London, *ſaid (though without any ground of truth) to be called by* Brute, Troja Nova, *which in time was changed to* Trinobantum, *or* Troynovant, l. 1. p. 9.
Mellitus *made Biſhop of* London, l. 4. p. 159, 166.
When it had been part of the Eaſt-Saxon *Kingdom for above One hundred years*, Id. p. 177.
When it ſuffered great miſchief by Fire, Id. p. 229.
With a great Multitude of its Inhabitants conſumed by a ſudden Fire, Id. p. 242.
Taken by the Danes, *Three hundred of their Ships coming into the Mouth of* Thames, l. 5. p. 261.
Tribute due from the King of Aberfraw *to the King of* London, l. 5. p. 229. l. 6. p. 3.
Taken from the Danes *by King* Alfred, *who repairs it*, l. 5. p. 288.
The City miſerably deſtroyed by Fire, l. 6. p. 21.
Beſieged by the Danes, *but they were forced to draw off*, Id. p. 25.
Always gave the Danes *an ill Reception*, Id. p. 34.
Becomes ſubject, and gives Hoſtages to Sweyn *the* Dane, Id. p. 38.
Beſieged by the Daniſh *Forces both by Land and Sea, but* God *delivers it from their fury*, Id. p. 46.
Submits to the Danes *(as part of the* Mercian *Kingdom) who take up their Winter-Quarters there*, Id. p. 48.
The flouriſhing Trade and Wealth of it, that in Cnute's *time could pay above a ſeventh part of that exceſſive Tax of* Danegelt *which was laid on the whole Nation*, Id. p. 51.
Lords, *to have none of the Inteſtate's Goods, but what is due to them as a* Heriot, l. 6. p. 59.
Lord's-Day; *if any Servant do then any work by his Maſter's order, he ſhall be* free, *and his Maſter fined Thirty Shillings; but if he does it of his own accord, he ſhall be* beaten, &c. *The Puniſhment of a Freeman, or Prieſt, that worketh on that day*, l. 4. p. 208, 211. l. 5. p. 285.
Strictly obſerved in the Saxon *times*, l. 4. p. 209.
No Market to be held on this day, under Penalty of the Wares, *and a Mulct of Thirty Shillings beſides, by King* Athelſtan's *twenty fourth Law*, l. 5. p. 341.
Edgar's *Law for keeping this day like the* Jewiſh *Sabbath*, l. 6. p. 13.
Lord's-Prayer. *Vid.* Creed.
Lothaire, *King of* Kent, *his Death*, l. 4. p. 202.
Lothair, *Nephew of Biſhop* Agelbert, *takes on him the Epiſcopal Charge over the* Weſt-Saxons, l. 4. p. 192.
Lothebroc, *deſcended from the Royal Family in* Denmark; *the ſtory of his coming hither into* Norfolk, *and being killed by King* Edmund's *Huntſman, the Body found out by his own Greyhound*, l. 5. p. 272, 273.

Lots; *none to be caſt for deciding of Civil Controverſies,* l. 4. p. 234.
Lucius, *ſucceeds his Father* Coil, *the Tributary King of the* Britains; *is called* Lees, *ſirnamed by the* Britains Lever-Maur, *that is, the* Great Light, l. 2. p. 68.
In the beginning of Commodus *his Reign, he ſends to* Eleutherius, *then Biſhop of* Rome, *deſiring by his means to be made a Chriſtian,* Id. p. 68, 69.
But the ſtory ſeems to be of very ſuſpicious credit, Id. p. 69.
His Converſion, when it happened, Ibid.
Had Regal Authority under the Romans, *in ſome part of this Iſland,* Id. Ib.
Lucullus (Saluſtius) *Legate of* Britain *in the days of* Domitian, l. 2. p. 65.
Ludgate, *received its name from King* Lud, *as conjectured,* l. 1. p. 16.
Cadwallo's *being in a Braſs Statue ſet over* Ludgate, *falſe,* l. 4. p. 177.
Ludican, *King of the* Mercians, *and five of his Ealdormen, ſlain by the* Eaſt-Angles, *and upon what occaſion,* l. 5. p. 253.
Lugeanburh, *now* Loughburrow *in* Leiceſterſhire, *or* Leighton *in* Bedfordſhire, l. 3. p. 145.
Lupicinus, *ſent into* Britain *by* Julian, *to compoſe the Troubles there raiſed by the* Scots *and* Picts, l. 2. p. 90.
Lupus, *Biſhop of* Troyes, *and* Germanus *Biſhop of* Auxerre, *ſent to confirm* Britain *in the Catholick Faith,* l. 2. p. 107.
Lupus (Virius) *had the Government of the* Northern *parts of* Britain; *but buys a Peace of the* Meatæ: *He gives an Account to* Severus *of the ſtate of Affairs here,* l. 2. p. 74.
Was left by the Antonini *their Lieutenant in* Britain, Id. p. 79.

M

MAccuſe, *King of* Man *and ſeveral other Iſlands,* l. 6. p. 9.
Macrinus (Opilius) *makes away* Caracalla, *and is choſen Emperor by the Army,* l. 2. p. 79.
Maelgwn Gwineth, elected *King of the* Britains *in* Wales, *and the manner of it,* l. 3. p. 146, 147.
His Deceaſe, Id. p. 148. *Vid.* Malgo.
Magnentius, *ſlays* Conſtans, *and keeps the* Weſtern *Empire from* Conſtantius *for three years; and then, not longer being able to conteſt it, kills himſelf at* Lyons, l. 2. p. 89.
Maildulf, *a* Scotch *Monk, and Philoſopher,* l. 4. p. 195.
Maims and Wounds: *King* Alfred's *Law concerning them,* l. 5. p. 296.
Malcolm, *King of* Scots, *receives from King* Edmund *the whole Countrey of* Cumberland, *upon condition to aſſiſt him both by Sea and Land,* l. 5. p. 344.
And to attend him at ſeveral great Feaſts *in the year, when he held his* Common-Council; *and for that end divers Houſes were aſſigned him to lye at by the way,* Id. p. 345.
Receives Sweyn, *and gives him free Quarter for fourteen years,* l. 6. p. 26.
Waſtes the Province of the Northumbers, *and beſieges* Durham, Id. p. 27.
Another *of the* ſame Name *becomes ſubject to King* Cnute *upon his going thither, and three years after dies,* Id. p. 56.
A Third *of this Name enters* Northumberland, *and depopulates the Earldom of* Toſtige, *formerly his ſworn Brother,* Id. p. 89.
Maldon *in* Eſſex (*anciently* Maldune) *rebuilt and fortified by King* Edward *the* Elder, l. 5. p. 320.
Malgo, *or* Malgoclunus, *in* Welſh Mailgwn Gwineth, *King of* North-Wales, *or elſe of the* Northern *parts of* Britain, l. 3. p. 139.
Called by Gildas *the* Iſland-Dragon, *accuſed of Sodomy, and of murthering the King his Uncle,* Id. p. 140.
Profeſſes himſelf a Monk; but afterwards breaks his Vow, and reigns as Supreme *or* Sole *King of the* Britains, Id. p. 142.
The time he reigned afterwards, and his Death, Id p. 144.
Mallings *in* Suſſex, *the Mannor given by* Baldred *King of* Kent, *to* Chriſt-Church *in* Canterbury; *but being afterwards taken away, it was confirmed by the* Common-Council *of the Kingdom under King* Egbert, l. 5. p. 257.
Malmesbury, *the Abbey begun to be built by one* Adhelm, l. 4. p. 195.
Greatly endowed, and by whom, Id. p. 196. l. 5. p. 329, 339.
King Athelſtan's *great Liberality to this Abbey, where he was buried,* Id. p. 339.
A Nun is taken from hence by King Edgar, *and deflowred,* l. 6. p. 4.
Anciently called in Saxon, Mealdelnesbyrig, Id. p. 40.
Man, *the City; taken by* William *Duke of* Normandy, l. 6. p. 89.
Man, *the Iſle; whither* Aedan *fled from the Borders of* Scotland, *after he was beaten,* l. 3. p. 147.
Deſtroyed by Sweyn, *the Son of* Harold *the* Dane, l. 6. p. 25.
Mancheſter, *in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, *anciently called* Manigeceaſter, *it rebuilt, and fortified with a Gariſon at the Command of King* Edward *the* Elder, l. 5. p. 324.
Mancuſes, *what Sum of Money, now uncertain;*

but by Ethelwulf's *laſt Will he orders Three hundred to be ſent every year to* Rome *for ſuch and ſuch Uſes, and One hundred of them for the Pope himſelf*, l. 5. p. 264, 265.

Mandubratius, *deſires to be relieved from the Injuries of* Caſſibelan, l. 2. p. 34.

Who thereupon is forbid by Cæſar *further to moleſt him*, Id. p. 35.

Is not reſtored to the Kingdom of the Trinobantes; *whereupon he attends* Cæſar *to* Rome, *and is there entertained as King of* Britain, *and a Friend to the* Roman *Commonwealth*, Id. p. 36.

Manſlaughter. *Vid.* Murther.

Marcellus (Ulpius) *ſent to ſtop the Rebellion of the* Britains *in* Commodus *his Reign; a man not to be corrupted by Money, but ſevere in his Converſation*, l. 2. p. 70.

Marcus Aurelius. *Vid.* Aurelius.

Marcus, *is Elected Emperor by the* Britiſh *Army, but they ſoon took him off, he not anſwering their expectations*, l. 2. p. 102.

Margaret, *Daughter of* Edward *the Son of* Edmund Ironſide, *is married to* Malcolm *King of* Scotland, l. 6. p. 49.

Mariage; *concerning the manner and Rights thereof; with Covenants, the Antiquity of them, and of Bonds for Performance*, l. 5. p. 348.

Widows not to marry within the Twelve-Months after their Husbands deceaſe, and what they forfeit if they do, l. 6. p. 60.

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His Deceaſe, and freeing the Engliſh *School at* Rome *from all Tax and Tribute*, Id. p. 287.

Marius (*called by our* Britiſh *Writers* Meurig) *ſucceeds his Father* Arviragus, *and ſlays* Roderick *King of the* Picts, *who aided the* Caledonians, l. 2. p. 66.

His Death, about what year of our Lord, leaving the Kingdom to his Son Coil, Id. p. 67.

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Martinus, *a Prefect, endeavours to ſtab* Paulus, *but miſſing his Paſs, runs his Sword into his own Body. His good Character*, l. 2. p. 89.

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Maximinian, *ſaid to Command the* Roman *Legion in* Britain, *the Fabulous ſtory of him*, l. 2. p. 101, 102.

Marcus Aurelius Maximinianus, *Aſſociate in the Empire with* Diocleſian, *adopted* Conſtantius Chlorus, *Cæſar; conſtrains him to put away his Wife, and to Marry his Daughter; is forced to conclude a Peace with* Carauſius, *and to yield him up* Britain, l. 2. p. 83.

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Maximus (Pupienus) *Vid.* Balbinus.

Maximus (Trebellius) *hath the Province of* Britain *delivered to him*, l. 2. p. 51.

Falls into the Hatred and Contempt of his Army for his ſordid Covetouſneſs; and the Averſion heightned by Rolcius Cœlius, Id. p. 53.

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His Image is ſent to Alexandria, *and ſet up in the Market-place to be Reverenced*, l. 2. p. 96.

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Meanwari, *ſuppoſed to be People of that part of* Hampſhire, *lying over againſt the Iſle of* Wight, l. 4. p. 188.

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The manner of erecting this Foundation, Id. p. 186, 187.

Pope Agatho's *Bull of Priviledges to it, ſuppoſed to be Forged long after, and by whom*, l. 4. p. 200. l. 6. p. 4, 5.

Is burnt and deſtroyed by the Danes (*who killed all the Abbots and Monks they found there*) *with a Noble Library, and all its Charters, and they carried away all the rich ſpoil of that place*, l. 5. p. 270, 271, 272.

Afterwards the Bodies of above Fourſcore Monks, with their Abbot, there ſlain, were Buried in one Grave in the Church-yard, and putting a Pyramidal Stone over them, the Images of the Abbot and Monks about him, were Carved on it, Id. p. 172.

Is

Is rebuilt by Athelwald, *Biſhop of* Winchester, *who is ſaid to have found the Charter, which Abbot* Headda *had formerly wrote*, l. 6. p. 4, 5.
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Parts Caernarvonſhire *from the Iſle of* Wight, l. 4. p. 165.
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The Mulct *which was to be paid for killing a Woman with Child; or of killing in Troops or Companies, and to whom*, Id. p. 293, 294.
By a Prieſt, his Eſtate is Confiſcated and he Degraded, &c. Id. p. 297.
By Witchcraft, *the Puniſhment for it by King* Ethelſtan's *Law*, Id. p. 340.
The Murtherer alone to bear the deadly feud *of the Kindred of the Party ſlain, or within a Year to Pay the Value of the ſlain Man's Head*, Id. p. 347.
The Puniſhment in caſe of Manſlaughter, l. 6. p. 43.
Edward *the* Confeſſor's *Law concerning it*, Id. p. 101.
How the Party wrongfully killed is to be cleared in his Reputation, and what ſatisfaction is to be made to his Friends for it, Id. p. 103.
Myranheofod, *that is in* Saxon, Ant's-head; Thurkytell *of that Name fled from the* Danes, *and the* Engliſh *Army beaten by them*, l. 6. p. 34.

N

NAitan, *King of the* Picts, *deſires the Aſſiſtance of the* Engliſh *Nation concerning the Celebration of* Eaſter, l. 4. p. 216, 221.
Nation, *the Miſeries and Deſolations that Divine Providence brings upon a Wicked and Perverſe People in it*, l. 3. p. 150.
Nazaleod, *a Great* Britiſh *King; ſome think him* Ambroſius, *others* Uther Pendragon, *his pretended Brother; and others again only the General of the King of the* Britains, l. 3. p. 134.
Nennius, *a* Britiſh *Author of no great Credit*, Id. p. 114.
A credulous trivial Writer, who vents a great many Fables, l. 3. p. 136.
Could not Study at Oxford, *as is ſuppoſed by ſome Writers, and why*, l. 5. p. 290.
St. Neot, *the Story of King* Alfred *in the Account of this Saint's Life*, l. 5. p. 280.
Nero, *his ſucceeding* Claudius *in the Empire*, l. 2. p. 45.
Nerva, *his ſhort Reign, and the great Commotions in it in this Iſland*, l. 2. p. 66.
Neſſe-point *in* Eſſex, *called by the* Saxons, Ealdulfe's Næſe, l. 6. p. 81.
Newenden, *a Town in* Kent, *quite deſtroyed by the* Saxons, *and afterwards rebuilt; where it ſtood in the Reign of King* Edward *the Firſt*, l. 3. p. 132, 133.
Nice, *the Great Council there, when Aſſembled; ſome of our Biſhops aſſiſted at it*, l. 2. p. 88.
Nicholaus, *Biſhop of* Florence *made Pope upon the* Expulſion *of Pope* Benedict, l. 6. p. 88.
Niger (Peſcenius) *Saluted Emperor in* Syria, *War againſt him by* Severus, l. 2. p. 72.
Is afterwards ſlain by him, Id. p. 73.
Night-Mare, *a Diſeaſe, whence it came to be ſo called*, l. 3. p. 125.
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Battel of Aſh-down, *by* Cnute *and his Army*, l. 6. p. 47.
King Cnute *cauſes ſeveral of them to be put to death, but for what Crimes unknown*, Id. p. 50.
Their great Degeneracy before the coming in of William *Duke of* Normandy, Id. p. 116.
Normandy, *formerly called* Neuſtria, *entirely Conquered by* Rollo *the* Dane, *who Reigned there Fifty years*, l. 5. p. 278.
The Succeſſion of the Dukes there, l. 6. p. 53.
The great Battel of Valleſdune, *between* Henry *King of* France, *and the Nobility of that Dukedome, for their refuſing to accept of the Baſtard* William *for their Duke*, Id. p 74.
Normans, *or* Northlandmen, *were* Danes *and* Swedes, *their Religion and common Deities*, l. 5. p. 256.
All Baniſh'd that had introduc'd unjuſt Laws, and given falſe Judgments, and committed many Outrages upon the Engliſh, *except a very few*, l. 6. p. 82.
Too many brought over by Edward *the* Confeſſor, *who ſoon by their Cuſtoms corrupted the* Engliſh *Simplicity*, Id. p. 98.
Before their Engaging King Harold, *ſpent the night in Prayers and Confeſſions*, &c. l. 6. p. 112.
Northalbingia, *formerly* Old Saxony, *it's extent and bounds*; l. 3. p. 118.
Northampton, *anciently called* Hamtune, l. 5. p. 319, 321.
Northern *People of* Britain, *deſcribed by* Herodian, *afterwards ſuppoſed to be called* Picti, l. 2. p. 22.
Northumbers, *that is, all thoſe* Engliſh-Saxons *who lived* North *of the River* Humber, l. 4. p. 171.
When moſt part of this Nation, as well Nobles as others, retired into Monaſteries, Id. p. 221.
Their frequent Rebellions *and* Expulſion *of their Kings, ſhew them to be of a proud and turbulent Temper*, Id. p. 239, 240. l. 5. p. 260.
Kings of England *appointed Earls under them to Govern that Countrey*, l. 5. p. 259.
Expel *their Lawful King* Osbryht, *and ſet up a Tyrant and Uſurper, not Deſcended from the* Royal Line, Id. p. 267.
Expel Egbert *their King, and* Wulfher *Archbiſhop of* York, Id. p. 277.
Rebel *againſt King* Athelſtan, *and the Event of their ſo doing*, Id. p. 330.
Beat the Scotchmen, *many of whoſe Heads were afterwards ſet upon Poles round the Walls of* Durham, l. 6. p. 27.
Take Arms againſt their Earl Toſtige, *ſlaying his Servants and ſeizing his Treaſures; committing a world of Outrages and Deſolations: And what the ground of this Inſurrection*, Id. p. 90, 91.
Northumbrian *Kingdom began in* Ida, *and when*, l. 3. p. 142.
Becomes divided into Two, viz. Deira *and* Bernicia, Id. p. 143.
The Cuſtom of this Nation was anciently to ſell their own Children, or other near Relations to Foreign Merchants, l. 4. p. 152.
A perverſe and perfidious Nation, worſe than Pagans, Id. p. 240.
A certain Youth is made King hereof by the joint Conſent of both the Engliſh *and* Danes, *King* Alfred *himſelf confirming the* Election, l. 5. p. 286.
North-Wales, *a part of the* Roman *Province, anciently called* Genoani, *or* Guinethia, l. 2. p. 68. l. 5. p. 317.
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Upon the Death of Howel Dha, *it returned to the Two Sons of* Edwal Voel, l. 5. p. 349.
Is ſorely harraſſed by King Edgar, *and the cauſe of the War*, l. 6. p. 3, 4.
War is made upon it by Eneon, *who ſubdues all the Countrey of* Gwin *or* Gwir, Id. p. 6, 16.
Is Conquered by Meredyth, *Prince of* South-Wales *for himſelf*, Id. p. 22.
On the Death of Edwal ap Meyric, *it was under an* Anarchy *for ſome time*, l. 6. p. 25.
It gave occaſion to great diſturbances, till Ædan *got and held it for Twelve Years, but whether by* Election, *or* Force, *uncertain*, Id. p. 30, 31.
Blithen *and* Rithwallen *made Joint Princes thereof by King* Edward *the* Confeſſor, Id. p. 90.
Norway, Harold Harfager *their King, coming with a great Fleet to Invade* England, *Lands in* Yorkſhire *but is ſlain in Battel with moſt of his Men*, l. 6. p. 109.
Norwich, *the only Biſhop in* England, *ſince the Diſſolution of* Monaſteries, *that has ſtill the Title of an* Abbot, l. 6. p. 54.
Nothelm *receives his Pall from* Rome, *and is made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *after* Tatwin, l. 4. p. 223.
His Death, and who is Conſecrated in his room, Id. p. 224.
Numerianus, *the Son of the Emperor* Carus, *made* Cæſar *by him, whom he takes with him into the* Eaſt; *but this pious Son was ſlain by* Aper, *one of his Captains*, l. 2. p. 83.
Nunnery, *Vid.* Monaſtery.
Nunnichia, *the Wife of* Gerontius, *her extraordinary Courage and Affection to her Husband*,

hand, who was prevailed upon to ſlay her by her own Importunity, rather than ſhe would be left behind him, expoſed to the violence of an enraged Multitude, l. 2. p. 103.

O

Oakly *in* Surrey, *anciently called* Aclea, *where the* Danes *were beaten by King* Æthelwulf, l. 5. p. 261.

Oath of Fidelity. *Vid.* Fealty.

The Oath the Danes *took to King* Alfred *(which they ne'er would take before to any Nation) upon a Sacred* Bracelet, *to depart the Kingdom,* l. 5. p. 278.

Or Pledge (i. e. a man's Promiſe to obſerve the Law, and keep the Peace) to be ſtrictly kept, and the Puniſhment in breaking it, made by King Alfred, Id. p. 292.

To give Security by Oath at twelve years of Age, and for what, l. 6. p. 58.

Vid. Purgation.

Odo, *Biſhop of* Wells, *ſucceeds* Wulfhelme *in the Archbiſhoprick of* Canterbury. *His Character,* l. 5. p. 333.

Is ſeverely revenged on the Lady Athelgiva, *for cauſing King* Edwi *to turn all the Monks out of divers Monaſteries, and putting Secular Channons in their rooms,* Id. p. 354.

His Deceaſe, l. 6. p. 2.

Offa, *the Son of* Sigher, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *marries* Keneſwith, *but not long after, through her perſuaſions, takes upon him a Monaſtick Life, and goes to* Rome *for that end,* l. 4. p. 214. *Vid.* 217.

Is propoſed as a Pattern for all other Princes to follow, Id p. 214.

Offa, *expels the Uſurper* Beornred, *King of the* Mercians, *(His Pedigree.) and ſucceeds him by the* General Conſent *of the Nobles, and afterwards becomes a Terror to all the Kings of* England, Id. p. 227.

Obtains of the Pope a Pall for the See of Litchfield *to become an Archbiſhoprick,* Id. p. 229.

Subdues the Nation of the Heſtings, *but who they were, is not known,* Id. p. 230.

And Cynwulf *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *fight at* Benſington *in* Oxfordſhire, *where* Offa *prevails,* Id. Ib. & p. 236.

Is forced to make a Peace with the Saxon *Kings,* Id. p. 231.

Seizes on the whole Countrey of North *and* South-Wales, *planting* Saxons *in their places, and annexes them to his own Kingdom, making a famous* Ditch *from Sea to Sea, to defend his Countrey from the Incurſions of the* Welſh, *called* Offa's Ditch, Ibid. & p. 239.

His Eldeſt Son Egfred *(or* Egbert, *as in the* Saxon *Annals) is anointed and crowned King with him,* l. 4. p. 233, 235.

Builds a new Church and Monaſtery in honour of St. Alban, Id. p. 237.

His Death, after he had reigned forty years, and Burial in a Chappel at Bedford, *near the River* Ouſe. *He had a great mixture in him of Virtues and Vices, and ſeems to have been the firſt of our* Engliſh-Saxon *Kings, who maintained any great Correſpondence with Foreign Princes,* Id. p. 238.

His Enmity with Charles the Great, *and afterwards his firm League with him,* Id. p. 239.

Offerings at the Altar, *Pope* Gregory *determines how they were to be divided,* l. 4. p. 155.

Olaff, *is driven out of* Norway, Cnute *conquering that Countrey for himſelf,* l. 6. p. 53.

Returning to regain his Right, he was ſlain by the people, but afterwards was canonized under the Title of a Martyr, Id. p. 54.

Olanæge, *an Iſland in the River* Severne, *now called the* Eighth, l. 6. p. 47.

Old Saxony. *Vid.* Northalbingia.

Orcades, *the Iſlands in the* Northern *Ocean, near* Scotland, l. 2. p. 94.

Governed long by Engliſh *and* Daniſh *Kings,* l. 5. p. 259.

Ordeal, *not to be uſed to a perſon accuſed of a Crime, unleſs there be no direct proof againſt him,* l. 5. p. 285.

A ſimple and a threefold Ordeal, Id. p. 340. l. 6. p. 59.

A Daniſh *Cuſtom, and grew more in requeſt in the Reign of King* Cnute, l. 6. p. 43.

After what manner this Judgment was to be executed by the Biſhop's Officer, Id. p. 100.

Order; *that of St.* Baſil, l. 4. p. 167.

That of St. Benedict, Id. p. 167, 168.

Of St. Equitus, Id. p. 168.

Ordgar, *the Abbot, rebuilds the Abbey of* Abingdon, *which had been deſtroyed by the* Danes, l. 4. p. 196.

Ordgar, *Earl of* Devonſhire, *and afterwards Father-in-Law to King* Edgar, *founded the Abbey of* Taviſtock, *which was not long after burnt by the* Danes, l. 6. p. 4.

Ordination of a Biſhop, *whether without the preſence of other Biſhops, or not,* l. 4. p. 156.

Ceadda *renews his Ordination, and upon what account,* Id. p. 191.

Biſhop Wilfrid *is ſent into* France *to be re-ordained,* Id. p. 192.

Ordovices, *thoſe people now of* North-Wales, l. 2. p. 42.

Almoſt deſtroyed a whole Squadron of Roman *Horſe,* Id. p. 55.

Their whole Nation very near cut off by Agricola, Ibid.

Orgiva. *Vid.* Edgitha.
Orkeney, *the Iſles, when firſt diſcovered by the* Romans, l. 2. p. 63.
Orotius (Paulus) *took what he wrote from an Hiſtory of* Suetonius, *which is now loſt,* l. 2. p. 35.
Osbald, *a Nobleman, is made King of* Northumberland, *but held it not long, being forced to fly; and going to the King of the* Picts, *dies there an Abbot,* l. 4. p. 239, 240.
According to Simeon *of* Durham, *he was buried in* York Minſter, Id. p. 242.
Osberge, *the Daughter of* Aſlat, *or* Oſlac, *chief Butler to King* Æthelwulf, *to whom ſhe was married, and became the Mother of* Alfred, *who was afterwards King,* l. 5. p. 261.
Her Character, Ibid.
Osbert, *or* Osbryght, *ſucceeds* Ethelred *in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, *and afterwards is killed by the* Danes, l. 5. p. 260.
Their lawful King, is expelled by the Northumbers, *who ſet up an Uſurper, not deſcended from the Royal Line,* Id p. 267.
Lies with the Wife of one of his Noblemen; who, complaining of the Affront to the King of Denmark, *cauſes a great Army to come over to revenge that Injury,* Id. p. 268, 269.
Osfrid, *a Son of King* Edwin *by* Quenburga, *the Daughter of* Ceorle, *King of* Mercia, l. 4. p. 174.
Is ſlain, with his Father; in the Battel of Hethfield, Id. p. 176.
Oskytel, *firſt conſecrated Biſhop of* Dorcheſter, *then made Archbiſhop of* York; *his Death and Burial,* l. 6. p. 7.
Oſmund, *when he began to reign over the* South-Saxons, l. 4. p. 228.
Oſred, *ſucceeds his Father* Alfred *in the Kingdom of the* Northumbers, l. 4. p. 213.
Is reconciled to Wilfrid, *with his Great Men and Biſhops;* Ibid.
Becomes Biſhop Wilfrid's *adopted Son,* Id. p. 214.
Is killed in a Fight near the Sea, on the Southern *Borders. His Character,* Id. p. 217.
Oſred, *the Son of* Alchred, *Nephew of King* Alfwold, *reigned after him, and is betrayed and driven out of his Kingdom, and who ſucceeded,* l. 4. p. 236.
Is put to death by King Ethelred's *Command, and where buried;* Id. p. 237.
Oſric, *the Son of* Elfric, *obtains the Kingdom of* Deira, *abjures the Chriſtian Religion, and is cut off by* Cadwallo, *with all his Army,* l. 4. p. 176.
Oſric *builds a Nunnery at* Bath, l. 4. p. 196.
And the Nunnery of St. Peter *in* Glouceſter, *which afterwards was deſtroyed by the* Danes, *and then rebuilt; and after was King of the* Northumbers, Id. p. 201.
Oſric, *King of* Northumberland, *ſlain, and who ſucceeded him,* Id. p. 220.
Oſtorius Scapula, *ſucceeds* Plautius *in the quality of Proprætor, and reduces the moſt* Southerly *parts of* Britain *to the form of a Province,* l. 2. p. 41.
Overcomes the Iceni; *engages with the* Silures *and* Caractacus, *and his Succeſs over them,* Id. p. 42, 43.
Is decreed by the Senate all the Enſigns of a Triumph; and being worn out with cares and troubles, dies, Id. p. 44, 45.
Oſwald *and* Oſwie, *with* Eanfrid *their Elder Brother, all Sons of King* Ethelfrid, *are baniſhed by* Edwin, l. 4. p. 170, 171.
Oſwald, Edwin's *Succeſſor in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, *finiſhes St.* Peter's *Church in* York, Id. p. 174, 176. l. 5. p. 254.
Routs Cadwallo, *with all his Forces. His Speech to his Army,* l. 4. p. 177.
His Kingdom extended over both Deira *and* Bernicia. *He would interpret Biſhop* Aidan's *Sermons to his Subjects that heard, but did not underſtand them. In his Reign Churches were built in divers places of his Kingdom. His Great Character,* Id. p. 178.
His Charity. He was Edwin's *Nephew by his Siſter* Acca, Ibid. & p. 179.
Fights a great Battel with Penda, *and was therein ſlain,* Id. p. 180.
The many Miracles ſuppoſed that he wrought after his death, Ibid.
He was the ſixth King that ruled over all Britain, l. 5. p. 254.
His Body (under the Title of Saint) *long after tranſlated from* Bardeney *in* Lincolnſhire, *into* Mercia, l. 5. p. 315.
Oſwald Ætheling, *fighting with* Ethelhard, *is worſted, and the next year dies,* l. 4. p. 220.
Oſwald, *Son to King* Ethelred, *is mentioned by his Father in his Charter to the Abbey of* Abingdon, l. 5. p. 276.
Oſwald, *Archbiſhop of* York, *his Deceaſe,* l. 6. p. 5.
Oſwald, *Biſhop of* Worceſter, *ſucceeds his Kinſman* Oskytell *in the Archbiſhoprick of* York, l. 6. p. 7.
His Death, and Burial in the Church of St. Mary *in* Worceſter, Id. p. 23.
Oſweſtre *in* Shropſhire, *anciently called* Maſerfield, *where was fought the great Battel between* Oſwald, *the moſt Chriſtian King of* Northumberland, *and* Penda, *the Pagan King of the* Mercians, l. 4. p. 180.
Oſwin, *the Brother of King* Oſwald, *is made King of* Deira, l. 4. p. 181.
His Death at Ingerlingum, Id. p. 182.
His Character, Id. p. 183.

The Seventh King that Ruled over all Britain, l. 5. p. 254.
Oſwulf, *his Son, ſucceeds* Eadbert *in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, *but is ſlain within a Year after by the Treachery of his own Servants,* l. 4. p. 228.
Oſwy, *the Son of* Uſric, *King of* Bernicia, l. 4. p. 182.
Treacherouſly procures Oſwin *to be ſlain, but afterwards builds a Monaſtery where the Murther was committed, to expiate the Crime,* Id. p. 183.
Overcomes Penda, *who in the Battel is ſlain,* Id. p. 185.
The Ealdormen of Mercia *Rebel againſt him,* Id. p. 188.
His Death and Burial at Streanſhale-Monaſtery, Id. p. 192.
Otford *in* Kent, *anciently called* Ottanford, *where the* Mercians *and* Kentiſhmen *had a Battel,* l. 4. p. 230.
Outlawry, Ethelward *the Ealdorman is* Outlaw'd *in a Great Council of the Kingdom,* l. 6. p. 51.
Earl Sweyn, Son *of* Godwin, *is declared* Outlaw'd *in a Great Council at* London, Id. p. 77.
The Common Law of all Outlaws, *they are ſaid to have* Wulfes hefod, *(i. e. a* Wolf's head*) or as we ſay in* Latin, gerere Caput Lupinum, Id. p. 99, 100.
Uſurer's Convicted, to be look'd on as Outlaw'd *Perſons,* Id. p. 102.
Earl Elfgar *is* Outlaw'd *in the* Witena-Gemot, *and for what,* l. 6. p. 86.
Vid. Pledge.
Oxford, *the Univerſity when Founded, and who the firſt Regents and Profeſſors there. The Quarrel that aroſe betwixt* Grimbald *and the Old Scholars of* Oxford. *This paſſage of the Quarrel, &c. objected againſt by Sir* Henry Spelman, *and anſwered,* l. 5. p. 288, 289, 290.
The flouriſhing ſtate of Learning here, related by Aſſer, *very much queſtioned,* Id. p. 304.
King Alfred *aſſiſted by* Grimbald, *and* John Scotus, *in Founding this Univerſity,* Id. p. 306.
Is taken and Burnt by the Danes, l. 6. p. 34, 35.
All Studies ceaſe there for a long time after, till about the Year Eleven hundred thirty three, from which time the Scholars have continued there, Id. p. 35.

P

PAenius Poſthumus *runs himſelf through with his own Sword, and why,* l. 2. p. 50.
Pagan-Rites, *the Forbidding of them to be obſerved by the Decree of* Calcuith, l. 4. p. 234.
Pagans, *Vid.* Heathens.
Palace-Royal, *the Puniſhment on any that fight within it,* l. 4. p. 208.
Palladius, *the Biſhop ſent by Pope* Cæleſtine *to the* Scots *to confirm their Faith,* l. 2. p. 109, 110.
St. Pancrace Church, *the firſt Built in* Britain, *and from a* Heathen *Temple was turned into a* Chriſtian *Church,* l. 4. p. 157.
It had been before the Old ruinous Church of St. Martin *without the City of* Canterbury, Id. p. 163.
Papinian, *the Great Lawyer, helping* Geta *to Govern the* South *part of this Iſland,* l. 2. p. 75.
Baſſianus *would have had him wrote a Defence of his Murthering his Brother* Geta; *but his ſharp reply to him coſt him his Life,* Id. p. 79.
Pardon, *Vid.* Prerogative.
Paris, *the Univerſity there when firſt Erected, by whom, and by what means,* l. 4. p. 244.
The Danes *paſſing up the River* Seine, *take up their Winter-Quarters there,* l. 5. p. 287.
Pariſh-Feaſts, *in ſeveral parts of* England *to this day: Their Antiquity,* l. 6. p. 99.
Parker, *the Archbiſhop, Author of the Latin Hiſtory* de Antiquitate Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, l. 4. p. 165.
Parliament, *King* Ethelbert *confirms there all the Charters of Endowment on Chriſt-Church, and that of St.* Pancrace *in* Canterbury, l. 4. p. 163.
Parliament Men to have no Injury done them, but the Party ſhall be Fined for it, Ibid.
Egbert *changed the Name of this Kingdom into that of* England, *by the Conſent of his Parliament held at* Winchester, l. 5. p. 247.
Where the Great Men of the Kingdom were wont of courſe to attend at the King's Court, to Conſult *and* Ordain *what was good and neceſſary for the* Common-Weal, Id. p. 261.
Paſchalis, *the Pope, ſucceeds* Stephanus, *and is Conſecrated,* l. 5. p. 251.
Paſham *in* Northamptonſhire, *anciently called* Paſſenham, l. 5. p. 322.
Patern, *a Preacher at* Llan Patern *in* Cardiganſhire, l. 3. p. 149.
Paulinus, *a* Roman, *Conſecrated by* Juſtus *to be Biſhop of the* Northumbers, l. 4. p. 171.
Is ſent as a Spiritual Guide and Guardian with Ethelburga *to the Court of King* Edwin, *where he is Inſtructed in the Principles of the* Chriſtian Faith, Id. p. 172.
Converts his Chief Idol-Prieſt, *and ſeveral of the Nobles. Is the firſt Biſhop of* York, Edwin *ſettling the Epiſcopal See there. Spent a Month*

Month at Adefrin *in doing ſcarce any thing elſe but Catechiſing and Baptizing*, Id. p. 173, 174.
Converts Blecca, *the Governor of* Lincoln, *with all his Family, to the Faith. Has an Archiepiſcopal Pall ſent him by Pope* Honorius, *and he Ordains one of that Name Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, Id. p. 175.
Takes on him the care of the Church of Rocheſter, Id. p. 176.
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Peadda, *Son of* Penda, *deſiring* Alfreda *the Daughter of* Oſwy *to his Wife, and not being able to obtain her unleſs he turned to the* Chriſtian Faith, *he voluntarily accepted it*, l. 4. p. 183, 184.
Held the Province of South-Mercia *divided from the* Northern *by the River of* Trent, *to be held as Tributary to the* Northumbrian *Kingdom. At laſt is ſlain by the Treachery of his Wife*, Id. p. 186.
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Pedidan, *or* Pendrid's Mouth, *the River* Parret *in* Somerſetſhire, *where a great Battel was fought between theſe, and the* Dorſetſhire-men *and the* Danes, l. 5. p. 260, 301.
Pelagius, *a* Britiſh *Monk, when he firſt broached his Hereſy*, l. 2. p. 107.
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Pen, *in* Somerſetſhire, *by the* Saxons *called* Peanhoe *and* Peonnan, l. 6. p. 28, 45.
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The sign of the Cross appeared of it self upon men's Clothes, Id. p. 235.
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Q

QUarrel, *or* Deadly Feud, *King* Alfred's *Law concerning it,* l. 5. p. 296.
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Queen, *upon the Account of* Eadburga's *ill conduct of her self, both as Wife to* Brihtric, *King of the* West-Saxons, *whom she Poisoned, and as Widow upon divers other accounts; a Law was made, That for the future no King's Consors should be so called,* l. 5. p. 264.
Quenburga, *Daughter of* Ceorle *King of* Mercia, *and Wife to King* Edwin, l. 4. p. 174.
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R

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Succeeds Ethelred, *who was driven out of his Kingdom of* Northumberland, *but soon after fighting with the* Danes *at* Alvethelie, *he and Earl* Alfred *were slain,* l. 5. p. 260.

Rees,

Rees, *the Brother of* Griffyn, *King of* South-Wales, *was by the Command of* Edward the Confessor, *put to death for his Insolencies against the* English, *and his Head sent to the King*, l. 6. p. 85.
Reginald, *succeeds* Eowils *and* Healfden *as King over the* Danes, l. 5. p. 315.
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He takes York, Id. p. 324.
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Is called King of York, *because he had conquered that Countrey*, Id. p. 344.
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Robert, *Duke of* Normandy, *sends Ambassadors to King* Cnute *to demand that his Nephews (viz.* Edward *and* Alfred, *King* Ethelred's *Two Sons) might be restored to their Right; and upon his refusing, he prepares a great Navy to force him to it, and what happened thereupon*, l. 6. p. 54.
To whom he recommends his Son William, *a Child of Seven Years Old (afterwards King of* England*) whilst he undertakes his Pilgrimage to* Jerusalem, *where he Dies*, Ibid. & p. 56.
Robert, *a* Norman *Monk, made Bishop of* London, *by* Edward *the* Confessor, l. 6. p. 73.
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Tobias *the Biſhop there dies,* Id. p. 219.
Dun *conſecrated Biſhop here after the Death of* Eadulph, Id. p. 224.
Rollo, *the* Dane *or* Norman, *waſtes* Neuſtria *(afterwards called* Normandy*) and not long after made an entire Conqueſt of it, reigning there fifty years. His Dream,* l. 5. p. 278.
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Romanus, *Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *drowned in going on a Meſſage to* Rome, l. 4. p. 176.
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Rowena, Hengeſt's *Daughter, her Arrival into* Britain, &c. l. 3. p. 125.
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Run, *or* Reyn, *the pretended Son of* Meredyth ap Owen, *a vile* Scotch *Impoſtor, that ſets up for Prince of* South-Wales, *but he is ſoon routed and all his Party,* l. 6. p. 52.
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S

Sacrilege, *what Puniſhments to be inflicted on thoſe who commit it,* l. 4. p. 156, 163.
Salaries, *uſually allowed to thoſe that had been* Proconſuls, l. 2. p. 64.
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The Port given by King Canute *to* Chriſt-Church *in* Canterbury, *with all the Iſſues,* &c. l. 6. p. 54.
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Sarum (Old) *called in the* Britiſh *times* Searebyrig, l. 3. p. 142.
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Were

Were ſent for to repel the Scots *and* Picts, Id. p. 117.
Had the Iſle of Thanet *given them for their Habitation,* Id. p. 118.
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Break League with the Britains, *their Confederates, and over-run almoſt the whole Iſland,* Id. p. 126.
By Vortimer *are forced to return into* Germany, *and never durſt return hither till after his death,* Id. p. 128.
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The Engliſh-Saxons *ſuffer'd no Nation to outgo them in Deceit, and all manner of Wickedneſs; and therefore they at laſt met with the Judgments of God in the Wrath of men,* l. 5. p. 247.
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Are driven out of Wales *by the* Northern Britains *into* Mercia, Id. p. 317.
Utterly rout and put to flight the Scots, Iriſh, *and* Danes, Id. p. 334.
Saxony (Old) *called* Northalbingia, *its Extent and Bounds,* l. 3. p. 118.
Saxulph, *or* Sexwulf, *a Monk; to his care is committed the finiſhing of the Abbey of* Medeſhamſted, *though* Peadda *and* Oſwy *had laid the Foundation, and gone a good way through it,* l. 4. p. 186, 187.
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Scapula. *Vid.* Oſtorius.
Sceapige (*now the Iſle of* Sheppy) *in* Kent, *waſted by the Heathens or Pagans,* l. 5. p. 255.
The Danes *take up their Winter-quarters there,* Id. p. 262.
Sceorſtan, (*perhaps* Shire-ſtone, *for*) *the place is ſuppoſed to be a Stone that parts now the Four Counties of* Oxfordſhire, Glouceſterſhire, Worceſterſhire, *and* Warwickſhire, l. 6. p. 45.
Sceva, *a* Roman *Soldier, his incredible Valour,* l. 2. p. 29.
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Or Colledge *of the* Engliſh *Nation* (*at* Rome) *burnt,* l. 5. p. 251.
Whom it were that Alfred *obliged to keep their Sons at School until fifteen years of Age,* Id. p. 297.
Scotch Hiſtorians, *extend the Limits of King* Kened's *conquering the* Picts, *too far,* l. 5. p. 259.
Scotland, *anciently called* Albania, North-Weſt *to the Mountains of* Braid-Albain, *and its Extent,* l. 2. p. 83, 98.
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Scots, *came into this Nation out of* Ireland, l. 1. p. 4, 5.
Came into Ireland *in the Fourth Age of the World,* Id. p. 7.
Scoti, *ſometimes called* Hiberni, *becauſe they firſt came out of* Ireland, l. 2. p. 84.
They with the Picts *make cruel Incurſions, and lay waſte all places near the Borders of* Britain, Id. p. 90.
The firſt Roman *Author that mentions them, is ſaid to be* Ammianus Marcellinus; *but St.* Jerome *has given a much more Ancient Paſſage of them, which he tranſlated out of* Porphyry *the* Greek *Philoſopher, who wrote an Age before,* Id. p. 91.
Are owned by ſome Antiquaries to be planted in Ireland *in the time of* Claudian, Id. p. 94, 95.
And Picts *continually waſted the* Roman *Territories,* Id. p. 95.
Their Incurſions in the beginning of Honorius *his Reign,* Id. p. 97, 98.
They miſerably haraſs'd the Britains, *till ſpeedy Supplies were ſent them by the* Romans, Id. p. 106.
The Scots *Converſion to Chriſtianity,* Id p. 109, 110.
Were ſometimes uſed for Iriſh-men, *ſometimes for Native* Scots, Id. p. 110.
And Picts *landing in* Britain *in ſhoals, on the* Romans *deſerting it,* l. 3. p. 114

Ever acknowledged Biſhops *neceſſary for ordaining others in the Miniſtry*, l. 3. p. 144.
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Who Inhabited Britain, *practiſed no* Treachery *againſt the* Engliſh *Nation, when* Bede *finiſhed his Hiſtory*, Id. p. 221.
Three Scots *come from* Ireland *to King* Alfred, *reſolving to lead the Life of* Pilgrims, l. 5. p. 298.
The firſt time any of their Kings made Submiſſion to the Engliſh *was in King* Edward *the* Elder's *Reign*, l. 5. p. 323, 324.
Are miſerably routed, with their King Conſtantine, *by* Athelſtan *and his Army*, Id. p. 334, 335, 336.
Submit themſelves to King Edred, *and their King Swears* Fidelity *to him*, Id. p. 349.
Are overcome by Uthred, *the Valiant Son of* Waltheof *Earl of the* Northumbers, *and the Reward he received of King* Ethelred *for his Bravery*, l. 6. p. 27.
Scriptures, *the Reading of them Decreed in the Second Council at* Cloveſhoe *to be more conſtantly uſed in Monaſteries; and the* Creed *and* Lord's Prayer *to be learn'd in* Engliſh, l. 4. p. 225.
Sea, *Thoſe that have the Command there, may force a King of* England *to what terms they pleaſe*, l. 6. p. 81.
Seals, Edward *the* Confeſſor, *was the firſt* Engliſh *King we meet with that affixed any to his Charters*, l. 6. p. 98.
The Iſland of Seals, *Vid.* Seolefeu.
Sebba, *Vid.* Siger.
Sebbi, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *becomes a Monk, and ſoon after dies*, l. 4. p. 210.
Sebert, *the Son of* Richala, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *receives Baptiſm, and cauſes St.* Paul's *to be Built at* London, l. 4. p. 159.
Founds the Church and Abbey of Weſtminſter, Id. p. 166.
His Death, Id. p. 168.
A moſt Learned and Chriſtian *Prince*, Id. p. 175.
Secington, *(anciently* Seccandune*) in* Warwickſhire, l. 4. p. 227.
Security *to be given by all Servants for their good Abearing; and all others of ill Fame to have it given for them*, l. 5. p. 346.
Every one of Twelve Years of Age to give it by Oath, *and for what*, l. 6. p. 58.
Selred, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, l. 4. p. 214.
Sirnamed the Good, *Reigned Thirty eight year, and then ſlain, but is unknown how, or by whom*, Id. p. 225.
Sempingham *in* Lincolnſhire, *anciently called* Sempigaham, l. 5. p. 261.
Seneca *(only in his Books a* Philoſopher*) his* Extortion *on the* Britains, l. 2. p. 47.
Seolefeu, *that is*, The Iſland of Seals, *afterwards called* Selſey, *where* Wilfrid *Founded a ſmall Monaſtery*, l. 4. p. 198.
Sermon, *the firſt that is to be found at any King's* Coronation, *by whom, and to whom made*, l. 6. p. 70.
Serpents, *ſtrange ones ſeen in the Province of the* South-Saxons, l. 4. p. 230.
Servants, *none to receive another Man's Man into his Family, without leave firſt had of his Maſter; the Penalty of doing the contrary*, l. 5. p. 341.
To give Security for their good Abearing, Id. p. 346.
Who Deſert their Lord in Battel, what they Forfeit, and to whom, l. 6. p. 60.
Seſter *(that is, a* Horſe-Load*) of Wheat, Sold in* Hardecnute's *time for Fifty five Pence and more*, l. 6. p. 66, 72.
Severn, *the River, from whence it came to be ſo called*, l. 1. p. 10.
Severus *the Emperor, makes War againſt* Peſcenius Niger, *and ſlays him; then ſends Meſſengers to diſpatch* Albinus, *and the effect thereof*, l. 2. p. 72, 73.
Puts Lætus Severus *to Death for his Treachery*, Id. Ib.
Makes an Expedition into Britain, *and the iſſue of it*, Id. p. 74, 75.
How he Treats his Son Baſſianus *that twice attempted to kill him*, Id. p. 75, 76.
Makes a Wall *croſs the Iſland from Sea to Sea, One hundred thirty two Miles in length, and from thence he receiv'd the Stile of* Britannicus, Id. p. 76.
This Wall *was built in the ſame place where* Adrian's *was before*, Id. p. 100.
His Death, and Funeral Pile, and Character, Id. p. 77, 78.
Severus (Alexander) *ſucceeds* Heliogabolus, *having been before declared* Cæſar *by the* Senate; *his Actions in this Iſland*, l. 2. p. 80.
Is ſlain by ſome of his own Army, Id. Ib.
Severus (Germanus *his Scholar*) *being Ordained Biſhop of* Triers, *preaches the* Goſpel *to the* Germans, l. 3. p. 117.
Seward, *Abbot of* Croyland, *conceals* Withlaf *King of* Mercia, *from the Diſpleaſure of King* Egbert, *in the Cell of the Holy Virgin* Etheldrith, *Daughter of King* Offa, *till a perfect Reconciliation was made*, l. 5. p. 254.
Sexburga, *Governs the Kingdom of the* Weſt-Saxons *for a year, as being left to her by King* Cenwalch *her Husband. Her Character*, l. 4. p. 192.

Shaftsbury, *first called* Paladur, *afterwards* Septonia, *by whom Built*, l. 1. p. 10.
New built by King Alfred, l. 5. p. 285, 298, 307.
Called in Saxon, Scæftesbyrig, l. 6. p. 20.
Shaving of Crowns, *and about the manner of it*, l. 4. p. 216.
Sheovesham, *or* Secvesham *Abby*, *Vid.* Abingdon.
Shepholme, *a little Island in the Mouth of* Severne, *anciently called* Bradanrelic; Florence *calls it* Reoric, l. 5. p. 319.
Sheriffs, *their Antiquity and Appointment by King* Alfred, l. 5. p. 291.
Sherwood-Forest, *anciently called* Walewode, l. 5. p. 321.
Ships, *a great Tax raised by* Harold, *for setting out Sixteen Sail, which highly incensed the minds of the* English, l. 6. p. 65.
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Shireburne, *anciently called* Westwude, l. 4. p. 214.
Shiremotes, *to be held* Twice *every Year, and who to be present thereat*, l. 6. p. 13.
Shropshire, *anciently called* Scrobbesbyrigscire, l. 6. p. 32.
Sicga, *dies, who killed the good King* Oswald, *or* Alfwold, *(as one Historian says) by his own hands*, l. 4. p. 236, 238.
Sigebert, *succeeds his Brother* Eorpenwald *in the Kingdom of the* East-Angles, *he was Baptized in* France, *whither he had been Banished; and by Bishop* Fœlix *his assistance erects a School to Instruct Youth, and two Years after* Resigns *his Kingdom to his Cousin* Egric, *and became a Monk*, l. 4. p. 179.
Is forced out of his Monastery by the East-Angles, *to encourage the Soldiers against* Penda *King of the* Mercians, *where he is killed*, Id. p. 181.
Is made a Christian *at the persuasion of King* Oswy, Id. p. 184.
And at last wickedly Murthered, by whom, and upon what occasion, Id. p. 188, 189.
Sigebert, *Cousin to* Cuthred, *succeeds him in the Kingdom of the* West-Saxons; *is* Deposed *by* Cynwulf, *and the Great Council, for his Cruelty and Injustice, and at last a certain* Hog-herd *ran him through, and killed him*, l. 4. p. 226.
Sigeferth, *a petty King of some Province, makes himself away, and is Buried at* Wilton, l. 6. p. 4.
Another of the same Name (a Danish Thane) *Treacherously slain, and his Goods seized on, and his Beautiful Widow secured by King* Ethelred, Id. p. 40.
Siger *and* Sebba, *who succeed* Swidhelm *in the Kingdom of the* East-Saxons, *their relapse from the* Christian Faith *into* Idolatry, *but soon again they renounced their* Apostacy, l. 4. p. 190.
Sigeric, *Vid.* Syric.
Sihtric, *a* Danish *King of* Northumberland, *is Married to* Edgitha, *the Sister of King* Athelstan; *his professing himself a* Christian, *though he relapsed soon after, and Died the next year*, l. 5. p. 330.
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Silures, *their Complexion Swarthy, and they had Curled Hair like the* Spaniards, l. 1. p. 4.
The Inhabitants of the now South-Wales, l. 2. p. 42.
Their Name ought wholly to be extinguished, and why, Id. p. 45.
Are wasted by many small Incursions, Id. p. 46.
Simony, *the first Example of it in the* English *Church*, l. 4. p. 191. *Vid.* Wini.
Singin, *a Captain over the* Worcestershire-men, *kills* Constantine *King of the* Scots, l. 5. p. 335, 336.
Sithicundmon, *esteemed equal to a* Thane, *by the Valuation of his Head*, l. 5. p. 342.
Slaves, *The Common People of* England *were not such* Slaves *in* Alfred's *time, as some* late Writers *would fain make them*, l. 5. p. 294, 295.
Snottingaham, *the Town taken, and Commanded to be Repaired and Garison'd by King* Edward *the* Elder, l. 5. p. 324.
Soldier, *the Discovery made by* One, *and yet his* Fidelity *at the same time to a Prince to whom he had formerly taken a Military Oath*, l. 5. p. 335.
He that deserts his Lord, or fellow Soldier, what he Forfeits and to whom, l. 6. p. 60.
Somerton, *taken by* Ethelbald *from the* West-Saxons, l. 4. p. 221.
Was anciently a great Town and Castle, that gave Name to that Countrey which is now called Somersetshire, Id. p. 222.
Southampton, *was anciently called* Hamtun, l. 5. p. 258.
Destroyed by Danish Pyrates, *when*, l. 6. p. 20.
South-Saxons, *when this Kingdom began*, l. 3. p. 132.
Are Converted by the Preaching of Wilfrid, l. 4. p. 198.
Their Province, which had belonged to the Diocess of Winchester, *is made an* Episcopal *See*, Id. p. 214.
South-Shoebury *in* Essex, *anciently called* Sceobyrig, *where the* Danes *built a Castle*, l. 5. p. 300.
Southumbers, *that is, the* Mercians, l. 4. p. 210, 212.

South-

South-Wales, *the Seat of War a long while for the Supremacy between* Jevaf *and* Jago, *the Sons of* Edwal Voel, *and the Sons of* Howel Dha, *and the* Danes, l. 5. p. 349, 350. l. 6. p. 6, 7, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 53, 64.
The Iriſh-Scots *invade it by the means of* Howel *and* Meredyth, l. 6. p. 56.
Is moleſted by Conan *the Son of* Jago, *who had fled into* Ireland *for the ſafety of his life*, Id. p. 70.
So infeſted by the Daniſh *Pyrates, that the Sea-Coaſts were almoſt deſerted*, Id. p. 74.
Sparhafock, *a Monk of St.* Edmundsbury, *made Abbot of* Abandune; *and afterwards Biſhop of* London, *upon the Tranſlation of* Robbyrd *to the See of* Canterbury, l. 6. p. 74, 75.
But the Archbiſhop refuſed to conſecrate him (tho he came to him with the King's Letters and Seal), becauſe the Pope had forbad him. However, he held his Biſhoprick, Id. p. 76.
Sometime after is depoſed *from it*, Id. p. 78.
Spot Wulfric, *a Courtier, builds the Monaſtery of* Burton *in* Staffordſhire, *with his own Paternal Inheritance, and gets King* Ethelred *to confirm it*, l. 6. p. 31.
Stamford, *a Caſtle, commanded by King* Edward *the* Elder *to be built on the* South-*ſide of the River* Weland, l. 5. p. 323.
Standing-Army, *no War poſſibly to be maintained long either at home or abroad, without one*, l. 6. p. 33.
Stanmore *Battel in* Weſtmorland, *between* Marius *the* Britiſh *King, and the* Caledonians, l. 2. p. 66.
Stealing. *Vid.* Theft.
Stephanus, *the Pope, ſucceeds* Leo, *and the next year dies*, l. 5. p. 251.
Another of this name, Abbot of Mountcaſſin, *is conſecrated Pope in the room of* Victor, l. 6. p. 87.
Deceaſes the next year, and who ſucceeds him, Id. p. 88.
Stigand, Cnute's *Chaplain, had the care of the Church of* Aſhdown (*which the King cauſed to be built there*) *committed to him*, l. 6. p. 51.
Is conſecrated Biſhop of the Eaſt-Angles (*i.e.* Helmham), Id. p. 71, 73.
Receives again his Biſhoprick, from which it ſeems by the Simoniacal *Practices of Biſhop* Grymkitel *he had been before* deprived, Id. p. 72.
And upon the death of Alfwin, *is promoted to the See of* Wincheſter, Id. p. 73.
At laſt is made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Id. p. 81.
Had the Pall ſent him by Pope Benedict. William *of* Malmesbury *his Character of him. He conſecrates* Ægelric *a Monk of* Chriſt-Church, *Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *and* Syward *the Abbot, Biſhop of* Rocheſter, Id. p. 88.
Stilico, *Governor to the Emperor* Honorius, *during his Minority; his Character*, l. 2. p. 97.
By a Legion ſufficiently furniſhed with Arms, diſpatched to Britain, *delivered the Inhabitants both from ſpoil and inevitable Captivity*, Id. p. 99, 104, 105.
Is killed by the Army, when Baſſus *and* Philippus *were Conſuls*, Id. p. 104.
Stone *in* Staffordſhire, *whence it had its name*, l. 4. p. 195.
Stonehenge, *here* Aurelius Ambroſius *was crowned, and not long after buried*, l. 3. p. 131.
Is called Mons Ambroſij, *ſaid to be the Monument of* Ambroſius, *and thought by the latter Antiquaries to be founded by him*, Ibid.
Strætcluyd, *the Colony erected by the* Britains, l. 5. p. 344.
Strangers, *as ſoon as they landed, the Merchants are to declare their number, and bring them before the King's Officers in* Folemote, l. 5. p. 294.
The Law againſt buying and receiving Strangers Cattle, Id. p. 346.
A Law to harbour them for two nights, as Gueſts, but no longer ſo, l. 6. p. 103.
Strathern, *the* Scotiſh *Writers will needs have this Province underſtood by the word* Jerne, l. 2. p. 98.
Streanſhale *Monaſtery, founded by* Hilda, l. 4. p. 188.
Is now Whitby *in* Yorkſhire, Id. p. 189.
Strikers in open Court, *before the King's Ealdormen, their Puniſhment*, l. 5. p. 295.
Stufe *and* Withgar (*Nephews to King* Cerdic) *fight againſt the* Britains, *and put them to flight*, l. 3. p. 135.
Succeſſion to the Crown, *how ſettled between the* Picts *and* Scots, l. 1. p. 4, 5.
The Britains *had no Notion of any Right the* Eldeſt Brother *had to command all the reſt, not even after they became Chriſtians*, Id. p. 17.
Suetonius (Paulinus) *in his time the* Romans *received a great Blow in* Britain, *and the Account of it*, l. 2. p. 46, 47, 48.
Afterwards he gained a mighty Victory over Boadicia, *and them*, Id. p. 49, 50.
Carries it too haughtily towards thoſe that ſubmit, Id. p. 50, 51.
Is ſucceeded by Petronius Turpilianus, Id. p. 51.
Sunday. *Vid.* Lord's-Day.
Suppoſititious Birth, *ſaid to be put upon King* Cnute (viz. *the Son of a Shoemaker then newly*

newly born) by Ælgiva, *one of his Wives,* l. 6. p. 61.
Suretyſhip, *concerning the Breach of the King's and Archbiſhops,* &c. *what Fine was to be paid upon it by* Alfred's *Law,* l. 5. p. 295.
Every one to find Sureties for his good Behaviour, l. 6. p. 14.
Every Lord to be Surety for the appearance of every perſon in his Family, Id. p. 42.
Whoſoever refuſes to give it, to be put to death, Id. p. 42, 43.
For the Danes *that ſtay in* England, *to enjoy in all things perfect Peace,* Id. p. 101.
Sutbury *in* Suffolk, *anciently called* Southburg, *where Biſhop* Alfwin *deceaſed,* l. 4. p. 242.
Swale, *a River; but where, is not mentioned,* l. 4. p. 174.
Swanawic, *now* Swanwick *in* Hampſhire, *near the place where the* Danes *loſt* 120 *of their Ships in a violent Storm, as they were going towards* Exmouth, l. 5. p. 278.
Swebryht, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *his Death,* l. 4. p. 223.
Sweden, *anciently called* Scandinovia, l. 1. p. 4.
And Gothia, Id. p. 5.
Swedes *and* Danes, *called* Normans *by the* French *Hiſtorians; an Account of their Religion, and the Deities they worſhipped,* l. 5. p. 256.
Sweyn, *the Son of* Harold *the* Dane, *ſlays* Edwal ap Meyric *in Battel, and deſtroys the Iſle of* Man: *He and* Anlaff *beſieges* London, *endeavouring to burn it, but are forced to march off; the Ravage and Murthers they committed in* Eſſex, Kent, *and* Suſſex, &c. l. 6. p. 25.
Ouſted *his Father both of his Kingdom and Life; was afterwards* expelled *himſelf, and wander'd up and down without relief, but plagues* England *after this all he could, for refuſing to receive him,* Id. p. 26.
Sweyn, *King of* Denmark, *receiving news of the Maſſacre of his Countreymen in* England, *by the Advice of his Great Council comes with Three hundred Sail of great Ships, and revenges this barbarous piece of Treachery,* l. 6. p. 30, 31.
His frequent Returns home, and Incurſions and Ravages here, Id. p. 32, 37, 38.
His Return into England, *and upon what occaſion,* Id. p. 37.
His Deceaſe, and the Monk's Relation of the Suddenneſs of it, Id. p. 38, 39, 40.
Sweyn, *Eldeſt Son of King* Cnute, *be appoints before his death, to be King of* Norway, l. 6. p. 56.
Is driven out of his Kingdom by Harold, *ſirnamed* Hairfax, *but he recovered it again,* Id. p. 74.
Sweyn *(Earl) Son of* Godwin, *goes over to* Baldwin *Earl of* Flanders, *and ſtays there all Winter, being in diſgrace at Court for deflowring an Abbeſs,* l. 6. p. 73, 74.
Makes a League with Edward *the* Confeſſor, *and the King's Promiſes to him. How he decoys his Couſin* Beorne *on Shipboard, and cauſes him afterwards to be made away,* Id. p. 75.
Is declared outlaw'd, *in a Great Council held at* London, Id. p. 77.
Going from Flanders *to* Jeruſalem *barefoot, in Pennance for the Murther of* Beorne, *in his Return home he dies,* Id. p. 82.
Swidhelme, *the Son of* Sexbald, *ſucceeds* Sigebert, *and is made a Chriſtian by* Cedda, l. 4. p. 189.
Switheard, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, *dies, and* Elfwold *ſucceeds him,* l. 4. p. 225, 228.
Swithred, *King of the* Eaſt-Saxons, *is vanquiſhed by King* Egbert, *and* driven out *of the Kingdom, which the* Weſt-Saxon *Kings enjoyed ever after that* Expulſion, l. 5. p. 255.
St. Swithune, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *his Conſecration and Deceaſe; and excellent Character,* l. 5. p. 266, 267.
Sydeman, *Biſhop of* Devonſhire, *(that is,* Wells) *his Death, and Burial,* l. 6. p. 16.
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Of Streanſhale, Id. p. 189.
At Hertford, *which appointed when* Eaſter *ſhould be kept,* Id. p. 193.
To be aſſembled once a year at a place called Cloveſhoe, Id. Ib.
At Hatfield, *where the* Five firſt General Councils *were received and confirm'd,* Id. p. 199.
Of all the Biſhops of Britain, *about Biſhop* Wilfred, *where held, and what done,* Id. p. 206, 207, 213.
Decree the Province of the South-Saxons *to be an Epiſcopal See, but it did not long continue ſo,* Id. p. 213, 214.
Of Cloveſhoe, *its Decrees chiefly made in Confirmation of the Charter of King* Withred, *concerning free Elections to Monaſteries in* Kent. *A ſecond Synod held there, and what was done in it,* Id. p. 224, 225.
At Aclea, *where the place was, uncertain; as alſo under what King, and what Decrees were made there,* l. 4. p. 232, 236.
The troubleſome one of Calcuithe, *where Archbiſhop* Janbryht *loſt part of his Province to the See of* Litchfield, Id. p. 233. l. 5. p. 251.
The Decrees made therein. Two diſtinct Seſſions of it, l. 4. p. 234.
At Pinchenhale, *now* Finkley, *in the Biſhoprick of* Durham, Id. p. 236, 242.

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His Decease, Id. p. 24.
Syward, *Abbot of* Abingdune, *succeeds* Ædsige *in the Archbishoprick of* Canterbury; *by whom consecrated, but soon after* deposed *for his Ingratitude to his Predecessor, and at last translated to the See of* Rochester, l. 6. p. 72.
His Decease, Id. p. 74.
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Lost his Son in the Engagement, and how bravely he bore it, Id. p. 85, 86.
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T

TAcitus (M. Claudius) elected *Emperor against his Will; his Reign, and Death,* l. 2. p. 82.
Talieſſen, *a famous* Britiſh *Bard, whose Verses are preserved to this day,* l. 3. p. 150.
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Temples of Idols, *ordered not to be pulled down, but new consecrated,* l. 4. p. 158.
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It lies on the East-*part of* Kent, l. 4. p. 153.
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Theft, *the Punishment of it,* l. 4. p. 209. l. 5. p. 346. l. 6. p. 14.
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Stealing

Stealing a ſecond time, what the Puniſhment thereof, Id. p. 326, 340.
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Theobald, Ethelfred's *Brother, is ſlain at the Battel of* Degſtan, l. 4. p. 159.
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Another of this name conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *at* Rome, *is ſent into* Britain, Id. p. 191.
Makes a thorough Viſitation of his Province, Id. Ib.
Calls a Synod of all the Biſhops and Great Men at Hartford, Id. p. 193.
His Death and Burial, Id. p. 205.
Theodoric, *the Son of* Ida, *reigns in* Bernicia, l. 3. p. 146.
Theodoſius, *ſent as General by* Valentinian, *to put a ſtop to the Incurſions on the* Britains, *made by ſeveral barbarous Nations,* l. 2. p. 92.
Returns to London *victorious, having recovered the Plunder and Captives, and eſtabliſhes a firm Peace for a long time,* l. 2. p. 92, 93.
A Plot contrived againſt him by Valentinus *of* Pannonia; *but he and the Conſpirators being ſeized, are commanded to be put to death,* Id. p. 93.
Is received by the Emperor with great Commendations, on his being recalled to Rome, *after he had left* Britain *in Peace,* Id. p. 94.
Theodoſius, *the Son, created by* Gratian, *his Partner in the Empire,* Id. p. 95.
Undertakes his Quarrel againſt Maximus *the Tyrant, who ſeizes him and orders him to be beheaded,* Id. p. 96.
Reſtores Valentinian *the ſecond to the Empire of the* Weſt, *and overcomes* Eugenius *the Uſurper, who was deſervedly put to death,* Id. p. 97.
Takes the whole Empire to himſelf both of Eaſt *and* Weſt. *His death,* Id. Ib.
Theodwulf, *King of* Bernicia *for one year, and then dies,* l. 3. p. 146.
Theomantius, *or* Tenantius, *ſucceeds* Caſſibelan, *by the general applauſe of the people,* l. 2. p. 36.
In his Reign Octavius *obtains the Empire of* Rome, Id. Ib.
Tholouſe, *taken by the* Goths, l. 2. p. 104.
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Thunore, *a* Thane, *cruelly murthers the two Sons of* Ermenred, l. 4. p. 180, 185.
Thurkyll *appointed Earl over* Eaſt-England *by King* Cnute, l. 6. p. 50.
Is baniſhed by King Cnute, *but the Crime for which is uncertain; though ſaid for being a principal Promoter of Archbiſhop* Ælfeage's *Murther,* Id. p. 52.
Thyra, *King* Æthelred's *Daughter, married to* Gormun, *King of the* Danes, *whoſe Son by her was* Sweyn, *the Father of King* Cnute, l. 5. p. 276.
Tiberius, *ſucceeds* Auguſtus *in the Empire, and is given up to Eaſe and Luxury, which made him rather have thoughts of contracting than enlarging the Bounds thereof. In his time the* Britains *paid their uſual Cuſtoms and Tolls for thoſe Commodities they tranſported to the* Romans *into* Gaul, *and what they took in exchange from them,* l. 2. p. 37.
Tilabury, *now called* Tilbury, *near the River* Thames, l. 4. p. 184.
Tinmouth, *anciently called* Dunmouth, *where the* Danes *were vanquiſhed,* l. 5. p. 256.
Tiowulfingeeaſter, *a City near the River* Trent, *but where, is not known,* l. 4. p. 175.
Titulus, *or* Titillus, *Son of* Uffa, *King of the* Eaſt-Angles, l. 3. p. 145.
Tobias, *the Biſhop, dies at* Rocheſter; *a very Learned man in that Age,* l. 4 p. 219.
Tóceſter *in* Northamptonſhire, *anciently called* Tofeceaſter, l. 5. p. 321, 322.
Torſwick, *anciently* Turſige *in* Lindſey, *part then of the* Northumbrian *Kingdom,* l. 5. p. 277.
Toſtige, *Son of Earl* Godwin, *to whom* Edward *the* Confeſſor *gave the Earldom of* Northumberland, l. 6. p. 86.
His Earldom depopulated by Malcolme, *King of* Scots, Id. p. 89.
The Northumbers *riſe againſt him, and ſet him aſide, and chuſe* Morchar *for their Earl,* Id. p. 90.
His Baniſhment, and what the occaſion of it, Id. p. 91, 92.
His Invaſion, and endeavours to dethrone *his Brother* Harold; *with the Ravages he committed up and down the Sea-Coaſts,* Id. p. 106.
Joins the King of Norway's *Fleet, and lands in* Yorkſhire *with them, but they are both ſlain by* Harold *at* Stænford-Bricge, Id. p. 109.
Tower of London, *ſaid to be firſt founded by* Belinus, l. 1. p. 13.
Tradition, *an uncertain Guide in Matters of Fact,* l. 3. p. 114.

Traffick, *King* Edward *the* Elder's *Law about it, confirming the Fourth Article of the League made between his Father and* Guthrun *the* Dane, *appointing* Vouchers *to make good the Sale of any thing*, l. 5. p. 284, 325.
Athelstan's *Law, forbidding any Commutation of Goods, unless in the presence of such as are thereby appointed*, Id. p. 340, 341.
Trajan, *the Emperor, soon reduces the* Britains *that Revolted against him*, l. 2. p. 66.
Paved the publick ways with Stone, and raised Cause-ways, &c. Id. Ib.
Transmarine-Nations, *are the* Scots *from the* North-West, *and the* Picts *from the* North, *and why this Name is given to them*, l. 2. p. 99.
Transportation, *a Law for it as to such and such Criminals, though the King should Pardon them as to Life and Member*, l. 6. p. 102.
Traytor, Elfgar *was so to the* King and the whole Nation, l. 6. p. 86.
Treasure-Trove, *all to be the King's, unless found in a Church, and then too it was the King's if it were Gold; but if Silver, then he to have one half, and the Church the other*, l. 6. p. 101.
Trebellius Maximus, *Vid.* Maximus.
Trekingham, *a place so called from Three* Danish *Kings being Buried there*, l. 5. p. 270.
Triades, *an Antient* Welsh *Chronicle so called, written near a Thousand Years ago*, l. 3. p. 146.
Tribute, *Cæsar appoints how much should be paid by the* Britains *to the People of* Rome, l. 2. p. 35.
It ceases during the Residence of Kynobelin *at* Rome, Id. p. 36.
Is suspected to be paid in Kynobelin's *time by a Coin of his*, Id. p. 37.
A great one is imposed upon North-Wales *annually by King* Athelstan, l. 5. p. 338.
War is made upon North-Wales *by King* Edgar, *for non-payment of* Tribute *from the King of* Aberfraw *to the King of* London, l. 6. p. 3, 4.
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Sixteen thousand pounds Tribute *given them beside their maintenance*, Id. p. 25.
Another of Twenty four thousand pound paid them, and provision likewise, Id. p. 29.
Another of Thirty thousand pounds paid them, and to find them Provisions during their stay, Id. p. 32.
And another both of Provisions and Money to make Peace with them, which they soon after broke, Id. p. 35. *Vid.* Danegelt.
Triers, *The Seat of* Maximus *his Usurped Empire*, l. 2. p. 95.
Trinobantes, *submit to* Cæsar, *sending him Forty Hostages, and Corn for his Army*, l. 2. p. 34.
Moved to Rebel by the Cruelty of the Romans, Id. p. 47, 48.
Triumphal Honours and Ornaments, *bestowed on* C. Sidius *(though he had never been* Consul*) for Routing the* Britains, l. 2. p. 39.
Given to Flavius Vespatian, *and two Sacerdotal Dignities, with the Consulship, and why*, Id. p. 41.
Conferr'd on Agricola, *By* Titus Vespatian, *for his great Atchievements*, Id. p. 57. *And by* Domitian, *with the Honour of a Statue*, Id. p. 63.
Troops, *or Companies, by the* Saxons *called* Hlothe, *by the Laws of King* Ina *the Number that constituted one was above thirty, The Mulcts payable by those that killed in Troops, and to whom*, l. 5. p. 293.
Trumbrith, *or* Trumbert, *when consecrated Bishop of* Hagulstade, l. 4. p. 201.
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Trutulensis, *a Port, supposed by Mr.* Somner *to be* Richborough *near* Sandwich, l. 2. p. 63.
Tryals, *the Antiquity of them by a* Grand Inquest *of more than Twelve men*, l. 6. p. 43.
Tuda, *Bishop of* Lindisfarne, *dies of the Plague, and where buried*, l. 4. p. 189, 190.
Tudric, *King of* Glamorgan, *said to have exchanged his Crown for a Hermitage, but afterwards going out of it against the* Saxons, *in the defence of his Son* Mouric, *he received a mortal Wound*, l. 3. p. 148, 149.
Tudwall Gloff, *or the* Lame; *why he was so called*, l. 5. p. 317.
Turkytel, *a* Danish *Earl, owns King* Edward *the* Elder, *for his Lord*, l. 5. p. 319.
Goes into France, *with King* Edward's *leave and Convoy, with what* Danes *would follow him*, Id. p. 320.
The Chancellor, *his great Valour, and Slaughter of* Constantine *and* Anlaff's *Army, and his narrow Escape from being killed by them*, Id. p. 335, 336.
Afterwards he was Abbot of the Abbey of Croyland, Id. p. 336, 349.
Sent Ambassador by King Edred *to the* Northumbers, *to reduce them to their Duty*, Id. p. 349.
Carries Archbishop Oskytel, *his Kinsman's Body to* Bedford, *to be buried*, l. 6. p. 7.
His Death, Id. p. 12.

Turne-

Turne-Iſland, *formerly called the Iſle of* Medcant, l. 3. p. 146.
Turpilianus (Petronius) *ſent in* Paulinus Suetonius *his room, as being more exorable to the* Britains, l. 2. p. 51.
Twelfhind-man, *one that is worth Twelve hundred Shillings of Eſtate,* l. 5. p. 346.
Twihind-man, *one worth Two hundred Shillings of Eſtate; they both to join together to apprehend a Thief, if known where he is,* Id. Ib.
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Tythes, *to be paid according to the Scriptures. The firſt Decree of any Council in* England, *concerning the Payment of them, and that declares them to be of* Divine Right, l. 4. p. 234.
Æthelwulfe's *famous and ſolemn Grant of them, which was the* firſt General Law *that ever was made in a Mycel Synod of the whole Kingdom for their Payment,* Id. p. 263.
Edgar's *Law concerning them and* Firſt-Fruits, l. 6. p. 13.
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Tythings, *when Counties were firſt thus divided by King* Alfred, l. 5. p. 291.
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V

VAcancy of the Throne *in* Edwi's *time for above a year, and what Enormities were committed during that time,* l. 5. p. 354.
Valentia; *who ordered the* Northern *Province of* Britain *to be for the future called* Valentia, *and why,* l. 2. p. 93.
In France, *defended by* Conſtantine *againſt* Honorius, Id. p. 102.
Valentinian, *choſen Emperor by the Army at* Nice *in* Bythinia, *and not long after declares* Valens *his Brother Partner in the Empire,* l. 2. p. 91.
Is again reſtored to the Empire of the Weſt *by* Theodoſius, *but held it not long; for he was ſtrangled by* Arbogaſtes *at* Vienne *in* Gallia, Id. p. 97.
Valentinus, *plotting with ſome Soldiers againſt* Theodoſius, *they were ſeized and delivered to* Dulcitius, *to be put to death,* l. 2. p. 93.
Valerianus (Pub. Licinius) *Emperor, is made the Footſtool of the Tyrant* Sapores, *King of* Perſia, *for ſeven years; then flead alive, and ſo died,* l. 2. p. 81.
Valuation. *The Valuation of mens Heads, from the King's, down to the Countreyman's,* l. 5. p. 341, 342.
Vectius Bolanus, *ſucceeds* Trebellius Maximus *in the Government of* Britain, l. 2. p. 53.
Could not attempt any thing on the Britains, *becauſe of the Factions of the Army,* Id. p. 54.
Venedoti, *and* Dæmetæ, *the Inhabitants of* Wales, l. 2. p. 85. l. 3. p. 139.
Venutius, *a Prince of the* Jugantes, l. 2. p. 45.
Is highly provoked by the Injuries of Queen Cartiſmandua; *his Wife; he takes up Arms againſt the* Romans; *ſhe deſpiſes him, and embraces an Adulterer,* Id. Ib.
This War is ſuppoſed to have begun in Nero's *time,* Id. p. 46.
But is carried on againſt the Romans, *even till, and in the time of the Emperor* Vitellius, Id. p. 54.
Veranius, *waſtes the* Silures *by many ſmall Incurſions; a man of great Vanity and Ambition, as appears by his Laſt Will,* l. 2. p. 46.
Verulam, *that is, St.* Albans; *the Great Council which was held there,* l. 4. p. 239.
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Titus *his Son, ſerving under him as a Tribune, is much renowned for his Valour,* Id. Ib.
Succeeds Vitellius, *who was* depoſed *about the Tenth Month of his Reign,* Id. p. 54.
His Death, when, Id. p. 56.
Veſpatian (Titus) *ſucceeds, and rather exceeds than equals his Father in Valour and Worth,* l. 2. p. 56.
For the great Atchievements of Agricola, *he was fifteen times ſaluted* Imperator, *or* General; *is ſtiled,* The Delight of Mankind; *but yet dies, as ſuſpected, by Poyſon,* Id. p. 57.
A Cohort of his, having ſlain a Centurion and other Soldiers, deſerted and went to Sea, turning Pyrates where ever they landed; but at laſt the Suevians *and* Friſians *took and ſold them as Pyrates,* Id. p. 59.
Uffa, *the* Eighth *King from* Woden, *and* Firſt *of the* Eaſt-Angles, l. 3. p. 149.
Gets himſelf made ſole King, and governs with that Glory, that it is ſaid the Kings deſcending from him were called Uffings. *How long he reigned, uncertain,* Id. Ib.

Vice-Domini, *that is, the Governors of Provinces, divided by King* Alfred *into two Offices*, viz. Judges *and* Sheriffs, l. 5. p. 291.

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Victorinus, *a* Roman *Governor in* Britain, l. 2. p. 104.

Vienne, *a City in* Dauphine, *where* Constans *was slain*, l. 2. p. 103.

Villain, *if he wrought on Holidays, he was to satisfy it with his skin, (that is, by whipping,) or pay his Head-gild*, &c. l. 5. p. 285.

Villains; *great and prosperous ones often meet with the Punishment they deserve, as well the Actors as Contrivers*, l. 2. p. 96.

Virgilius, *the* Scotish *Abbot, his Decease*, l. 5. p. 312.

Virgins, Geoffrey *of* Monmouth's *Story of* Ursula's *being sent over to* Britain, *and Eleven thousand Noble Virgins to attend her, besides sixty thousand of meaner condition; she to be bestowed on* Conan, *and the rest on the other* Britains, *and their End*, l. 2. p. 96, 97.

Vitalian, *the Pope, confirms by his Bull King* Wulfher's *Charter to the Abbey of* Medeshamsted, l. 4. p. 187.
This Bull is confirmed by Pope Agatho, Id. p. 200.

Ulfkytel, *the Ealdorman, his sharp Engagement with the* Danes, *and the bloody slaughter on both sides*, l. 6. p. 31.

University, *of* Paris, *by whose means erected*; Alcuinus *an* Englishman *reading there Logick, Rhetorick, and Astronomy*, l. 4. p. 244.
Of Oxford *and* Cambridge. *Vid. their particular Heads.*

Unust, *King of the* Picts. *Vid.* Eadbert, *King of* Northumberland.

Vortigern, *is chosen King by the* Britains, l. 3. p. 116.
By the Advice of his Council he sent for the Heathen Saxons *to repel the* Scots *and* Picts, Id. p. 117.
Falls passionately in Love with Rowena, Hengest's *daughter*, Id. p. 125.
Marries her, and is divorced from his former Wife, Id. p. 126.
The story of his taking his own Daughter to Wife, and having a Son by her, is all unlikely, Id. p. 127, 128.
Is deposed, *and* Vortimer *his Son is* chosen *King by the* British *Nobles*, Id. p. 128.
Is restored; wages War with the Saxons, *but by the Treachery of* Hengest *is taken Prisoner, and for his Ransom gives up* East-Sex, Middlesex, *and* Sussex, Id. p. 129.
Uncertain what at last became of him, but was again deposed, *and thought to be burnt in his Castle by his Successor* Aurelius Ambrosius, Id. p. 131.

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Drives them into Germany *for all his lifetime*, Id. Ib.
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Vortipore, *King of that part of* South-Wales *called* Demetia, l. 3. p. 139.

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He with Edmund Etheling *plunders all places where ever they come*, Id. p. 41.
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W

WAda, *a Rebel in chief in* Northumberland, *that leads out the Conspirators to Battel against King* Eardwulf *at* Billingahoth, *near* Whalie *in* Lancashire, l. 4. p. 241.

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Wounds and Maims, *King* Alfred's *Law concerning them,* l. 5. p. 296.
Wulfheard, *an Ealdorman, at* Southampton *fights* 33 Daniſh *Pyrates, and makes there a terrible ſlaughter of them,* Id. p 258.
Wulfhelme, *conſecrated Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, l. 5. p. 329.
His Deceaſe, and who ſucceeds him, Id. p. 333.
Wulfher, *ſucceeds his Brother* Peadda, *and greatly enriches the Abbey of* Medelhamſted *with Lands and other Endowments,* l. 4. p. 186, 187.
Is proclaimed *King by the Ealdormen of* Mercia; *takes the* Iſle of Wight, *with the Countrey of the* Meanvari, Id. p. 188.
Fights with Æſcwin *at* Bedanheafde, Id. p. 195.
Concerning his Baptiſm; and the ridiculous ſtory of his murthering his two Sons with his own hands, as alſo his Death, Id. Ib.
Wulfher, *Archbiſhop of* York, *is* expelled *by the* Northumbers, *but reſtored to it the next year after,* l. 5. p. 277.
His Deceaſe, Id. p. 299.
Wulfnoth, *Father of Earl* Godwin, *being impeached before King* Ethelred, *and eſcaping, and running away with ſome of his Ships, turns Pyrate, and does a world of miſchief, by burning the reſt of the Fleet that had eſcaped Shipwreck,* l. 6. p. 33.
Wulfric. *Vid.* Spot.
Wulſtan, *is wickedly ſlain by his Couſin* Berthferth, *Son of* Bertwulf *King of* Mercia, *and his Body buried at the Monaſtery of* Rependun *in* Derbyſhire, l. 5. p. 261.
Wulſtan, *Archbiſhop of* York, *is made a cloſe Priſoner at* Witharbyrig, *by King* Edred, *and for what; but becauſe of his Function he is afterwards pardoned, and reſtored,* l. 5. p. 350.
His Deceaſe, Id. p. 355.
Wulſtan, *Archbiſhop of* York, *conſecrates* Ethelnoth (*a Monk and Dean of* Canterbury) *Biſhop,* l. 6. p. 51.
His Deceaſe, and who ſucceeds him, Id. p. 53.

Yarrow,

Y

YArrow, *near the River* Tine, *anciently called* Girwy, l. 4. p. 194.
Year; *the* English-Saxon *Year began not at* Lady-day, *as ours does now, but at* New-Year's-tide, l. 6. p. 93, 94.
Year and Day *allow'd for discovery of Murther*, l. 6. p. 101.
York, *anciently called* Caer-brank, *by whom built*, l. 1. p. 10.
And Eoferwick, l. 5. p. 324. l. 6. p. 41.
Auguſtine *had Power from Pope* Gregory *to ordain whom he pleaſed Biſhop there, and he to ordain Twelve Biſhops more, and enjoy the Honour of a Metropolitan*, l. 4. p. 158.
Paulinus, *the firſt Biſhop of* York, Id. p. 173.
The City and Monaſtery of this place burnt, Id. p. 224.
A Noble Library built there by Biſhop Egbert, *accounted one of the beſt in* Europe, Id. p. 229.
Is taken by Reginald *the* Daniſh *King of* Northumberland, l. 5. p. 324.
Stormed, plunder'd, and many of the Inhabitants ſlain by the King of Norway, l. 6. p. 109.
Yric, *appointed by King* Cnute *to be Earl of the* Northumbers, l. 6. p. 41, 59.
Yrling *the* Dane, *and* Lothen, *with Twenty five Ships land at* Sandwic, *and commit great havock*, l. 6. p. 74.
Ywrch (Edwal) *the Son of* Cadwallader, l. 3. p. 145.

Z

ZEal; *the Intemperate Zeal of ſome Churchmen, how not to be imitated*, l. 2. p. 96.
The Founding of a Monaſtery accounted a ſufficient Atonement to God for whatſoever Injuſtices Princes committed; ſo great was the Superſtitious Zeal of Ancient Times, l. 4. p. 242.
Upon Oſwy's *Repentance for his Treacherous Procurement of King* Oſwin's *Death, he builds a Monaſtery on the Place where the Murther was committed, to expiate the Crime, and to pray as well for his own Soul, as for the King's he had cauſed to be killed*, l. 4. p. 183.
Vid. Egbert, Id. p. 192, 193.

The

The most considerable ERRATA. *The smaller the Reader may easily amend.*

Book 1. P*Age* 7. *line* 21. *for* his *r.* certain of his. *id. l.* 27 *for* transactions *r.* translations. *p.* 13. *l.* 32. *dele* now. *p.* 14. *l.* 38. *after* longer *r.* able. *p.* 17. *l.* 13. *for* the *r.* any. *ib. for* originals *r.* words.

Book 2. *P.*21. *in marg. for* Lib. *r.* Diod. *p.*22. *l.*16 *for* then *r.* as. *p.*24. *l.*8. *for* at *r.* yet. *id. l* 48. *put the Semicolon after* it. *p.* 30. *l.* 20. *d.* of. *p.* 46. *in marg. after* Hiſtory *r.* Lib. 3. *id. in marg. after* Annal *d.* LXIII. *p.* 54 *l.* 9. *d.* partly. *p.* 56. *l.* 14. *for* and that *r.* at an. *p.* 60. *l.* 26. *after* Tributes *r.* they uſed *p* 63. *l* 7. *for* ſome *r.* ſometimes. *p* 64. *l.* 49. *for* who wanted *r.* the wonted. *id. l.* 52. *for* bought *r.* ſought. *p.* 66. *l.* 13. *for* found *r.* famed. *p.* 70. *l.* 9. *r.* Choir. *p.* 72. *l.* 48. *for* charged *r.* changed. *p.* 75. *l.* 2. *after* all *r.* things. *ib. for* having *r.* leaving. *p.* 79. *l.* 21. *for* when he *r.* having. *id. l. penult. for* and *r.* he then. *ib. after* Army *make a* Full Point. *id. l. ult. for* other *r.* (as many of his Succeſſors) *within a Parentheſis. p.* 83. *l.* 6. *r.* Vopiſcus. *p.* 86. *l.* 30. *for* wrote *r.* wrought. *p.* 87. *l.* 5. *r.* Conſtantius. *id l.* 13. *d.* Auguſtus. *id. l.* 14. *after* declared *r.* Auguſtus. *id. l.* 26. *after* out *r.* of. *p.* 88. *l.* 1. *for* Mercurius *r.* Maxentius. *id. l.* 32. *for* 114. *r.* 314. *p.* 89. *l.* 34. *d.* and. *id. l.* 50. *r.* Ariminum. *p.* 93. *l.* 33. *r.* Dulcitius. *p.* 95. *l.* 4 *after* former *r.* of that name. *p.* 96 *l.* 14. *r.* Priſcillian. *p.* 97. *l.* 30. *r.* Honorius. *p.* 98. *l.* 37. *r.* Veremundus. *p.* 100. *l.* 15. *for* long ſo *r.* ſo long *p.* 104. *l.* 22. *after* for *r.* as. *ib. for* proved for *r.* obſerved. *p.* 106. *l.* 33. *r.* 435.

Book 3. *P.*115. *l.*45. *for* by *r.* the. *p.*118. *l.*15. *for* 149 *r.* 449. *id. l.*45. *for* Elles *r.* Albis. *p.*119. *l.*20. *r.* Krantzius. *p.* 122. *l.* 44. *for* Ranulphus *r.* Angrimus Jonas. *p.* 123 *l.* 29. *for* names other *r.* other names. *p.* 124. *l.* 33. *for* latter *r* former. *p.* 128. *l.* 19. *for* him *r.* them. *p.* 133. *l.* 45. *for* 500 *r* 504. *p.* 137. *l.* 27. *for* Thom. Radburne *r.* and others. *p.* 138. *l.* 41. *r.* Camalan. *p.* 141. *l.* 6. *put a Semicolon after* one. *id. in marg for* Anno DLXIV. *r.* DXLIV. *p.* 142. *in marg. for* DLXVII. *r.* DXLVII. *p.* 152. *l.* 30. *for* England *r.* Britain.

Book 4. *P.*158 *l.*13. *for* ſixty *r.* ſix hundred and one. *p.*159 *l.*48 *after* Sebert *d.* alſo baptized Ethelbert. *p.*161 *l.*13. *d.* as they relate. *id. l.* 38. *for* but *r.* then. *p.* 163. *l* 28. *for* Seal *r.* Hand. *p* 167. *l.* 26. *for* denied *r.* much queſtion'd. *p* 169. *l.*3. *for* them *r.* him *p.* 180. *l.* 37. *for* one *r.* this. *p.*191. *l.* 7. *for* Monaſtery *r.* Mortality. *p.* 193. *l.* 27. *for* January *r.* March. *p.* 199. *l.* 15. *for* Seat *r.* See at. *p.* 204. *l. penult. r.* Cadwallo. *p.* 205. *l* 41. *for* he again *r.* Benedict. *p.* 211. *l.* 50. *r.* 696. *p.* 219. *l.* 17. *d.* by. *p.* 220. *in Marg. after* cap. *r* 35. *f.* 148. *p.* 223. *l.*23. *for* 31. *r.* 21. *id. l.* 36. *for* Leyceſter *r.* Cheſter. *p* 229. *l.*6. *for* Death *r.* Reſignation. *p.* 231. *l.* 37. *for* flight *r.* fight. *p.* 240. *l.* 36. *after* Northumbers *r.* had the year before. *id. l.* 39. *r.* Cobre. *p.* 241. *l.* 4. *for* Biſhop *r.* D^r. *p.* 242. *l.* 29. *for* Rog. Hoveden *r.* Simeon of Durham. *ib. r.* Osbald.

Book 5. *P.*250. *l.*22. *for* 40 *r.* 4. *p.*255 *l.*49. *for* thouſand *r.* hundred. *p.* 258 *l.*8. *for* was not Son but Brother to, *r.* was Son, not Brother to. *p.* 265. *l.* 43. *for* Ethelred *r.* Ethelbert, *in Capital Letters. p.* 266. *l.* 45. *d.* all. *p.* 272. *l.*21. *for* Britains *r.* Danes. *p.* 277. *l.*19. *for* Bertulph *r.* Burhed. *p.* 278. *l.* 21. *for* him *r.* them. *p.* 279. *l.* 26. *after* his *r.* third. *p.* 281. *l.* 47. *for* Hubbleſtones *r.* Hubbeſtow. *p.* 286. *l.* 21. *d.* and ſays for. *p.* 289 *l* 29. *d.* though. *p.* 298. *l.* 7. *for* Menia *r.* Mercia. *p.* 300. *l.* 4. *for* then *r.* though. *id. l.* 5. *for* ſallied *r.* went. *ib. d.* of their Camp *p.* 305. *l.* 46. *d.* not only. *p.* 306. *l.* 2. *after* Aſſer *d. the Parenth. r* himſelf *id. l.* 44. *r.* Brocmail. *p.* 312. *l* 27. *for* ſome *r.* new. *p* 324. *l.* 25. *for* that *r.* Derby. *id. l.* 26. *for* Derby *r.* that ſhire. *p.* 343. *l.* 11. *for* them *r.* him. *p.* 344. *l.* 7. *d.* for this, *r.* the next.

Book 6. *This Book being printed at another Preſs, the Title was forgot to be alter'd like the reſt; therefore in Page* 1. *in the Title, d.* Britain now called *r.* England; *and ſo alſo in the Titles of all the reſt of the Pages.* P. 3. *l.* 15. *for* who *r.* for he. *p.* 4. *l.* 7. *d.* for that Tribute, *r.* in lieu thereof. *p* 24. *l.* 50. *after* Normandy *r.* and King Ethelred. *p.* 26. *l.* 22. *for* whither *r.* either. *p.* 29. *l.* 29. *for* to manage *r.* who managed. *p.* 39. *l.* 36. *for* then *r.* there. *p.* 56. *l.* 16. *d.* after. *p* 72. *l.* 15. *for* conſecrated *r.* deſign'd. *p.* 89. *l.* 10. *for* chief Standard-bearer *r.* Mareſchal. *p.* 96. *l. penult. for* ſome years *r.* the year. *p* 97. *l.* 9. *for* ſuſpicious *r.* certain. *p.* 110. *l.* 30. *for* Kings *r.* Dukes. *p.* 113. *l.* 26. *d.* them. *ib. for* not to ſhoot *r.* not to be ſhot. *p.* 116. *l.* 20. *for* Ages *r.* Years.

Appendix *to the former* Addenda.

SOme things of moment having been caſually omitted, or miſtaken, I thought good to inſert them here.

The Years of our Lord left out in the Margin by the Overſight of the Printers, and not perceived till the Work was finiſh'd.

P. 132. *l* 32. *in margin add* Anno Dom. CCCCLXXXVIII. *p.* 174. *l.* 15. *in marg. add* Anno Dom. DCXXVIII.

P. 80. *l.* 16. *after* Macrinus, *add within a Parentheſis* (being ſlain by the Army, as was alſo his Predeceſſor.) *p.* 110. *l* 28. *after Notes, r.* of the Learned Dr. *Gale. p* 138. *l.* 42. *after* abſence, *add* but was here alſo ſlain: And yet another Ancient *Welſh* Chronicle makes King *Arthur* to have died at *Glaſtenbury* of the Wounds he received in that Battel. *p.* 179. *l.* 39. *after* Epiſcopal See, *add*, whom Pope *Honorius* ſent into *England*, to preach the Goſpel to the *Eaſt-Angles. p.* 181 *l.* 4. *after* Victory, *add*, But he was ſome years after eſteemed a Saint and Martyr for the Chriſtian Religion. *Oſwin* his Brother ſucceeded him, and according to the *Saxon* Annals reigned 30 years. *p.* 185. *l.* 45. *after* Winved, *add*, *Anno* was avenged. *p.* 193. *l.* 26. *after* Eaſter *add* [day], *and after* fourteenth *add* [day of the]: *Theſe words not being* Bede's, *are to be added to explain his meaning. p.* 195. *l.* 22. *The Account of St.* Erkenwald *being repeated in the next Page, may be here ſtruck out. And p* 196. *l.* 16. *after* according to, *d.* Bede, *and read it thus*, According to *Mat. Weſtminſter* (for *Bede* does not give us the time) Archbiſhop *Theodore, &c.* conſecrated *Erkenwald* (younger Son to *Anna* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*) Biſhop, *&c. p.* 225. *l.* 45. *over-againſt theſe words*, the City of *Beban, add in the margin*, now called *Bamburgh* Caſtle in *Northumberland. p.* 232 *l.* 12. *over-againſt* Soccabyrig, *add in the margin*, now called *Secburne*, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham. p.* 241. *l* 9. *after* buried *r. thus*, and another *Eanbald* was conſecrated in his ſtead. Alſo the ſame year Biſhop *Ceolwulf* died. *And then d the ſame words in that line. p.* 262. *l* 28. *after* Dignity, *add*, Though I conceive the truth of the ſtory was, That this anointing amounted to no more than the *Chriſm* adminiſtred by the Pope at this young Prince's Confirmation; which by the *Monkiſh* Writers of thoſe times is magnified into a Royal Unction. *p.* 311. *l.* 2 *after* Eadred, *add*, Vice-King or Alderman of, *&c. p.* 315. *l.* 24. *after* St. *Oſwald, add within a Parentheſis*, (once King of *Northumberland.*) *p.* 317. *l.* 44. *after* Northumberland, *add*, Yet that the *Britains* of *Cumberland* were, notwithſtanding this Relation, many years after ſtill remaining in that Countrey; as you may find in the next Book, under *Anno Dom* 945.

Book VI. *p.* 12 *l* 9 *after* Charter, *add*, commonly called *Oſwald*'s Law, from St. *Oſwald* the Biſhop, who is ſuppoſed to have procured it. *ib. in the margin, over-againſt the word* Charter, *add*, Vid. Sir *H. Spelman*'s Councils, Vol. 1. *Anno Dom.* 964. It is alſo found to be enrolled (by *Inſpeximus*) in the *Tower*. Vid. Chart 9. *Edw.* 3. n. 49. Chart. 4. *Edw.* 4. n. 4. *p* 14 *l.* 31. *after* to paſs, *add*, This King is alſo mentioned by *William* of *Malmesbury* to have made a Law for reſtraining exceſſive drinking; by which it was ordained, That no man, under a great Penalty, ſhould drink at one draught below certain Pins which were order'd to be fix'd on purpoſe on the inſide of the Cups or Goblets. *p.* 25. *l* 48. *after* Countrey, *add*, *Norway*, of which (as *John* of *Wallingford* informs us) he was then King. *p.* 45. *l.* 40. *after* Almer *d* joined, *r.* both which had then privately combined with, and aſſiſted the *Danes* underhand.

Taken from ye Authors Emendations wth his own hand in a booke presented by him to Mr Laughton Libr: keepr of ye Universitie.

lib. 4. pag. 167. after, but it hath been doubted by Cardinal Baron: Tho relying upon ye Authority of those great Antiquaries mentiond in ye following page I was perswaded when I wrote this, yt Augustine & ye monks yt come wth him were of ye Benedictine order, yet having now perusd ye answer of ye learnd Dr. Stillingfl. to Mr Cressys Apology cap. 4. p274, to 299. I have great reason to change my opinion, & to believe Baronius was in ye right who positively asserts yt they were not Benedictines, but followd another Rule: for this see St. Gregorii Dialogus citd by ye abovementiond Dr. p. 275.

lib. 4. pag. 182. add. to Bed: cited in ye margin. lib. 2. c. 1. Bede relates this only as a vulgar tradition, not yt he had any certain ground for it in any Hist: or publ. Register of ye Rom. Ch. & therefore it seems more likely, yt as Malmesbury relates of Q. Bertha wife to K. Ethelbert, & Letardus ye Bp. she had brought over wth her out of France, had before this inclind ye heart of ye King her husband to receive ye Gosp. & yield to ye preaching of Augustine: wch is also intimated in Pope Gregorii letter to Theodoric & Theodebert Kings of France, wherein he lets ym know yt ye Saxons having a great desire to be converted, he had sent ym Augustine ye bearer of this Epist: add. Dr. Stillingfl. agt Cressy p. 270. 271.

lib. 2. pag. 88. after Alexandrians, says; add. yet yt no certain Cycle or Rule was then ordaind for ye keeping of it, see Dr. Stillingfl. answ. to Cressy. p. 316. to 322.

ye generall introduct: to ye whole work: pag. lxxi. but I now find in the fair Chronicle in ye Publ. Libr. of ye Univers. of Cambr: & wch formerly belongd to ye Monast: of Abingdon ye same relation of this Kings Coronation, tho ye Author livd long after ye coming in of ye Normans.